The Newest Sappho

P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, Frs. 1–4

STUDIES IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK SONG, VOL. 2

Edited by
ANTON BIERL
& ANDRÉ LARDINOIS

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Preface

This is the second volume in a series within Brill's Mnemosyne Supplements which records the proceedings of the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song (http://greeksong.ruhosting.nl/). One volume in the series, entitled *The Look of Lyric: Greek Song and the Visual*, eds. Vanessa Cazzato and André Lardinois, has already been published, while two more are in preparation: on authorship and authority in Greek lyric poetry and on the reception and transmission of Greek lyric poetry from 600 BC to 400 AD. The Network was founded in 2007 as a means of facilitating interaction among scholars interested in the study of archaic and classical lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry. Most of the papers included in this volume were originally presented at the conference entitled 'Sappho in the Third Millennium', organised by Anton Bierl at the University of Basel in the Summer of 2014, or at the panel on the New Fragments of Sappho, organised by André Lardinois at the annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies in New Orleans in January 2015. The publication of the volume was then planned jointly by Anton Bierl and André Lardinois and the papers underwent a process of peer reviewing at the hands of the editors as well as an anonymous reviewer for the Press. The contributors were also able to read each other's papers and comment on them before the manuscript went to press. We would like to express our gratitude to the anonymous reader for his fine, crystal-clear comments and his thorough revision of the manuscript. We further would like to thank Debby Boedeker, Vanessa Cazzato, Doris and Pia Degen, Hendri Dekker and Marieke Graumans, who helped us prepare the manuscript for publication, and Laurie Meijers and her team, who did an excellent job in copy-editing and composing the text. Finally, we would like to thank the Faculty of Arts of Radboud University for providing the funds which enabled this volume to be made available through Open Access.

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Note on Abbreviations, Texts, and Translations

Names of ancient authors and titles of texts are abbreviated in accordance with the list in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, fourth edition (2012) xxvi–liii. Unless otherwise specified, Greek and Latin authors are quoted from the Oxford Classical Texts, but the early Greek lyric poets—with the exception of those listed below—are cited from Campbell (1982–1993); the early Greek iambic and elegiac poets from West (1989–1992). Sappho and Alcaeus are quoted from the edition of Voigt (1971), except Sappho Fragments 58 and pre-58 Cologne, for which the versions of Gronewald and Daniel (2007) have been used, and fragments 5, 9, 15, 16, 16a, 17, 18, 18a, the new Brothers Song and the Kypris Song, which are cited after the new versions reproduced in this volume by Dirk Obbink (ch. 1), unless noted otherwise. The poet Pindar is quoted according to the text editions of Snell and Maehler (1987: the *Epinicia*) or Maehler (1989: the Fragments). Translations are by the contributors themselves, unless noted otherwise.

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Introduction

Anton Bierl and André Lardinois

In the spring of 1914, B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt published Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1231, containing a large number of fragments from the second half of Book 1 of a copy of a Hellenistic edition of Sappho, including the famous fragment 16.[1] One hundred years later, almost to the day, a new set of papyrus fragments, derived from the same section of Book 1 of Sappho, was published by the papyrologists Simon Burris, Jeffrey Fish, and Dirk Obbink in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.[2] This new set represents the largest find of Sappho fragments since the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri. It will greatly influence our understanding of individual poems as well as the corpus of Sappho's poetry as a whole for years to come. This volume is intended to start this discussion.

The new discovery consists of five papyrus fragments, preserving the remains of six columns. P. GC Inv. 105 fragments 1–4 preserves small parts of five columns, which provide significant new readings and additions to five previously known songs of Sappho (frs. 5, 9, 16, 17, and 18), as well as traces of two previously unknown songs (frs. 16a and 18a). Most spectacular, however, was the discovery of another papyrus fragment with five complete stanzas of a previously unknown song, which Obbink has labelled the Brothers Poem or Brothers Song.[3] This song is followed on the papyrus by the first two stanzas of a less well-preserved poem, the Kypris Song, which seems to overlap with the old fragment 26 from the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

One of the first occasions for scholars to discuss these new papyrus fragments was provided by Anton Bierl in Basel in the summer of 2014. As a core member of the *Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song* he had taken it upon himself to organize the group's meeting for 2014. He had already decided to devote the conference to Sappho, but initially planned to focus on new methodological developments in Sapphic research. However, when in January 2014 it became known that Dirk Obbink was about to publish two previously unknown songs of Sappho, followed by the publication of

1 Grenfell and Hunt (1914). We would like to thank the contributors to this volume for their remarks and comments on this introduction.

2 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) and Obbink (2014b). Figs. 2.1–2.3, pp. 37–39.

3 P. Sapph. Obbink: see Obbink (2014b) and ch. 1, this volume.

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a series of smaller fragments together with Simon Burris and Jeffrey Fish, he decided to devote a large part of this conference to a discussion of the new material.

At the same time, André Lardinois, when he learned about the discovery of the new papyrus fragments, organised a panel for the annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies (formerly the American Philological Association) in New Orleans in January 2015. Here Dirk Obbink discussed the provenance of the papyri, something reported further since then in *ZPE* and in this volume,[4] and several Sappho specialists cast light on the significance of these fragments for our understanding of Sappho (Lidov and Stehle), for her reception in Latin literature (Morgan), and for the presentation of her poetry to the larger public (Rayor).

In Basel we decided to join forces and try to publish as quickly as possible the papers presented on these two occasions with a few changes (a few participants at the Basel conference originally presented papers on a different topic) and additions (the papers of Kurke and Raaflaub, which came later to our attention). With great effort the contributors wrote their papers and submitted a first draft in March 2015. Some papers have retained their original size, others have been enlarged and expanded. Some contributions (Bierl, Lidov, Obbink) have been reorganised and divided over different sections of the book. As editors we commented on each contribution. Then we circulated the papers so that the contributors could engage with each other's arguments, provide further criticism, and include cross-references in their papers. Our aim was not to reach a consensus: that is impossible in the case of Sappho, and in the case of brand new material, which opens up new avenues for interpretation, it is not even desirable. Many differences of opinion remain, for example about who the enigmatic addressee in the Brothers Song might be: Sappho's mother (Obbink, Kurke), her uncle (Bierl), Larichos (Stehle), her third brother Eurygios (Lardinois, Caciagli), or Doricha (Bowie). We asked the contributors to debate these differences of opinion in the main text or the footnotes of their papers. All contributors subsequently revised their articles and resubmitted them in June 2015. In July we sent the manuscript to Brill to be reviewed by an outside reader, who responded promptly at the end of August. We offered our contributors the opportunity to revise their papers one more time, using the comments of the outside reader, in September 2015. Articles on Sappho or the new material that have appeared since then could only sporadically be taken into account.

4 Obbink (2015a and b) and ch. 2, this volume.

Right from the start we had asked Dirk Obbink to provide the textual basis for the volume. He has prepared a new critical edition with critical apparatus and translation of the poems represented in the new find, including fragment 15, which in P. Oxy 1231 precedes fragment 16 (ch. 1). The reading of the Kypris Poem has changed considerably since the *editio princeps* in ZPE 2014, and Obbink has added P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 to the text of the Brothers Song, which adds four lines to the numbering of this fragment.[5] The contributors in this volume all follow the new numbering of the Brothers Song, but the old one is often included between brackets.

Combining the different papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus, the Green Collection and P. Sapph. Obbink, we now possess a stretch of ten more or less readable poems of Sappho as arranged by the Hellenistic editors: frs. 15, 16, 16a, 17, 18, 18a, 5, 9, the Brothers Song, and the Kypris Song. It is now also apparent that the Hellenistic scholars arranged these poems alphabetically by first letter only. This stretch of poems is derived from the section beginning with the letters 'ο' and 'π' in the latter half of Book One of Sappho.

In his second contribution to the volume (ch. 2), Obbink discusses the subject of these ten fragments and their possible arrangement within the letter groupings. It is revealing that in this stretch of ten fragments only two are obvious love poems (fr. 16 and the Kypris Song), while no fewer than three (frs. 15, 5, and the Brothers Song) and possibly four (fr. 9) are devoted to family members. This is not the impression we get from the indirect transmission, which clearly favoured Sappho's love poetry: before the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri the only two substantial fragments, preserved through the indirect transmission, were both love poems (frs. 1 and 31).

This is just one way in which the new material throws new light on the poetry of Sappho. The other chapters in Part 1 (Sappho in the New Fragments) discuss more ways in which the new papyrus fragments force us to think differently about her work. Joel Lidov (ch. 3) provides an overview of the major songs now identified in Book 1, all in the Sapphic stanza. He discovers one group of songs about love and one about sailors, including Charaxos, and draws attention to the great variety within these two sets that suggests a variety in the personas represented by the singer. He also provides a commentary on some of the major editorial problems in the new material, and cautions against drawing hasty conclusions on the basis of the new fragments: he questions, for example, the commonly-accepted translation of the Brothers Song, lines 7–10 (3–6), and points out that the brother in fragment 5 is not identified as Charaxos, while

5 See also Obbink (2015b) 1.

Charaxos in the new so-called "Brothers Song" is never explicitly identified as a brother. He therefore prefers to refer to it as the Charaxos Song.

Richard Martin (ch. 4) points out that the new Brothers Song lends credence to the ancient tradition according to which Sappho wrote poems of critical evaluation or attack in the manner of *iambos*. He argues that while the main focus in the surviving portion of the song is the return of Charaxos, the poem's indirect object of critical attack is the brother Larichos, poetically shamed for not yet living up to the responsibilities of a grown man.

Kurt Raaflaub (ch. 5) sketches the historical background against which Sappho's songs about her brother Charaxos has to be seen. In particular, he asks what the new texts contribute to our knowledge of the connections between the Greek and Egyptian (or, more broadly, Near Eastern) worlds. Traditions about Charaxos' trading wine at Naucratis and being involved with a high-class courtesan there situate him in a network of elite "high-end" merchants, specialists, mercenaries, and adventurers. They shed light on the possible role of such elite persons in serving as "carriers" of useful knowledge about Egyptian and Near Eastern culture.

Following a recent suggestion of Renate Schlesier (2013), Ewen Bowie (ch. 6) argues that the new material supports the idea that the first context of performance of many of Sappho's songs was the male symposium, and that Sappho herself was an outstanding singer to the accompaniment of a *barbitos* or *lyra*, a singer whose virtuosity was such that she was also in demand for weddings and perhaps civic religious rituals. He shows how several well-known pieces of Sappho's poetry that involve expressions of desire might be understood on this hypothesis. Next he turns to the Brothers Poem and suggests that it was one of a number of songs in which male symposiasts, some of them known to Charaxos and perhaps even seeing themselves as his comrades (ἑταῖροι), were entertained by Sappho's expressions of loyalty to her brother and of her hostility to the entertainer in Naucratis, Doricha, who had led him astray.

The second part of the volume, explicitly devoted to the Brothers Song, continues the discussion of this poem. It starts with a contribution by André Lardinois (ch. 7), who argues for the authenticity of the Brothers Song in the sense that it most likely does go back to Lesbos in the sixth century BCE. He further examines the biographical tradition about Sappho and her brothers and argues that there were many more songs about these brothers within the poetry of Sappho, including fragments 5, 9, and 15. The Brothers Song is not unique in this respect. After discussing the text of this song in some detail, he provides his interpretation. He argues that Charaxos, Larichos, and the speaker should be considered brothers and sister and that the addressee is most likely the person who in the biographical tradition is identified as Sappho's third brother,

Eurygios. He further argues that Sappho's brothers were probably fictional characters and that her songs about them address themes that are familiar from other archaic Greek poets as well, such as the loss of family capital and reputation, the risks of trading at sea, and strife between family members.

Deborah Boedeker (ch. 8) raises the question why Hera is the god whom the speaker proposes to beseech for Charaxos' safe return. This directive is noteworthy, for Hera is not widely associated with seafaring, although that is consistently her role in the corpus of Sappho. Like Obbink and other readers, Boedeker links this directive to Hera's cult at Messon, which the goddess shared with Zeus and Dionysus. She argues that Messon was one of a number of archaic Hera sanctuaries in the Mediterranean world that honoured the goddess as protector of seafarers and traders. In this respect, as well as in the concern the speaker expresses for young Larichos, Hera is the *dieu juste* for the song's scenario. Her role thus contrasts with that of Zeus in the song: Hera should be asked directly for help with Charaxos' homecoming, whereas Zeus is linked with spontaneous turns to good fortune.

Dirk Obbink, in what amounts to his third contribution to the volume (ch. 9), continues the association of the Brothers Song with the cult of Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus at Messon by arguing that the *daimon* whom Zeus can send as a helper in the poem can be plausibly identified with Dionysus. Obbink further offers a reading of the poem as setting forth the fortunes of a mercantile family of traders on seventh century Lesbos and the hopes expressed by the speaker for success in the face of misfortune through correct religious observance and favour.

Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi (ch. 10) asks in what way representations of the *domestic*, and more specifically of the *familial*, may have been culturally vital in Sappho's times. She introduces a comparandum from a different era and artistic medium, that of Pieter de Hooch from the Dutch Golden Age. Peponi argues that despite their evident differences, Sappho's and Pieter de Hooch's representations of the domestic and the familial can be mutually thought-provoking, especially as explorations into the aesthetic and mythopoetic potential hidden in the mundane. She also discusses sisterly discourses in established heroic narratives of the archaic period that Sappho was possibly emulating while creating her own mythopoetics of the domestic and an alternative type of narrative. Peponi argues that this distinctive mythopoetic model encouraged a dual-reception-register and enabled a synergy between poem and audience, whereby audiences played an active role in the formation and dissemination of the imaginary surrounding a poem's circulation.

Leslie Kurke (ch. 11) agrees with Peponi that the Brothers Poem seems to offer a quotidian, even behind-the-scenes, look into the life of Sappho, but she

adds a gendered perspective to this. Sappho offers a 'behind-the-scenes' view of private conversation between two women of the family and then, through the imagined prayer to Hera, transforms that private conversation into public, performative speech. In addition, Kurke argues that various mythic models lie behind the representation of the conversation in the song. While other scholars (e.g. Nünlist 2014) have aligned Sappho's brothers Charaxos and Larichos with Odysseus and Telemachus, with the poet herself cast in the role of Penelope, Kurke argues for an additional, implicit parallel between Sappho's brothers and the Dioscuri as *daimones* sent by Zeus to save sailors in danger at sea. On this reading, in addition to being cast in the role of the long-suffering Penelope, Sappho would play Helen in relation to two asymmetrical or unlike brothers.

Eva Stehle (ch. 12) agrees with the other contributors that the Brothers Poem represents a piece of fictional or otherwise fictionalised drama in which a sister attempts to persuade another family member, but argues that the addressee is not her mother or another brother, but Larichos. She thus agrees with Martin (ch. 4) that Sappho is critical of her younger brother in the poem. In lines 5–6 Sappho, according to Stehle, describes him as insisting that Charaxos will return with a full ship, which she takes as his mantra to deflect pressure on him to act. She then traces Sappho's response to this assertion, showing that in a sequence repeated four times she first undercuts his fixation on what Charaxos will bring and then urges a different attitude and action supportive of the family. In the course of the poem Sappho changes persona from sister to wisdom-speaker and defeats Larichos' claim of certainty by revealing cause and effect at the divine level. From the same perspective she gives a portrait of Larichos as the cause of difficulty for his family. As part of her argument Stehle discusses Sappho's audience and her turn to the third person for Larichos at the end of the poem.

With the paper of Llewelyn Morgan (ch. 13) we leave ancient Lesbos briefly to focus on the reception of Sappho in Latin literature. Morgan finds echoes of the new Brothers Poem in Horace's *Odes* 1.9, and similar observations are developed in relation to *Odes* 3.29, with particular attention to a shared interest in Mediterranean trade. Morgan further notes the formal prominence of these two poems in Horace's collection, and thus the significance of an extensive allusion to Sappho in a collection allegedly owing a special debt to Alcaeus. Some concluding thoughts based on Sappho's autobiography in the *Epistula Sapphus* pursue the question of Sappho's attitude to commerce, and thus to the relative merits of the lifestyles of Charaxos and Larichos, merchant and young aristocrat.

Anton Bierl's contribution (ch. 14) rounds off the section on the Brothers Song in the volume, although subsequent contributors will have more to say

about it as well. Bierl agrees with most of the previous contributors that the Brothers Song is not a personal, biographical, or intimate expression of family matters but functions rather within a public dimension. He takes this idea, however, a step further by arguing that it was originally publicly and chorally performed and that it communalizes erotic experiences and acts out discourses of power relations in the polis and the clan. He connects the Brothers Song with the traditional idea of a myth-and-ritual scenario, creating new myths and narratives for ritual performance. Thus the original occasion for this song was most likely the choral performance during the public festival at Messon. Bierl also argues that there are important thematic parallels between the Brothers Song and the new Kypris Song. He argues that the Brothers Song does not really offer an alternative, but like the new Kypris Song and many other erotic poems, deals with the consequences of love. Sappho portrays erotic entanglement as a programmatic feature of her clan.

Bierl (ch. 15) continues his discussion of the Kypris Song in the next section of the volume, which is devoted to this poem. He provides an analysis of the structure, texture, and meaning of this song. First, he presents some recent reconstructions and addresses their problematic hermeneutical presuppositions in a monodic performance setting. Next, he develops several hypotheses regarding the original choral performance occasion as well as secondary reperformance contexts, and he discusses the metapoetic relevance of the song. He argues that Sappho's audience would have envisaged her body pierced and transfixed, and associated her with a heroic existence in an antagonistic relation to Aphrodite. Thus Aphrodite somehow becomes a reflection of a heroic Sappho. The image of the hero(ine) and Sappho merges through the performance of *kleos* and love, which, Bierl argues, is the medium and essence of Sapphic song.

Boehringer and Calame (ch. 16), in a contribution translated by Paul Ellis and Chiara Meccariello from the French, agree with Bierl that the Kypris Song is representative of Sappho's love poetry. Whereas the Brothers Poem provides new data for the biographical fiction of the poet, the Kypris Song, they argue, with its ritualized language and poetry, affirms Sappho's reputation as a poet of *eros*. They draw extensive parallels with Sappho's other love poetry and conclude that, while almost all these poems speak about the love of one woman for another, the *eros* she describes applies equally to men, which is one reason why Sappho's poetry was popular in the male symposia during the classical period. *Eros* is the same for everyone in a society "before sexuality"; its essential characteristic is not a gender issue but lies, as Boehringer and Calame maintain, in the effect it produces.

Renate Schlesier (ch. 17) also starts her discussion of the new Kypris Song by drawing on parallels with other songs of Sappho, notably on the names she uses

for different aspects of the goddess Aphrodite. She argues that most of the textual reconstruction in Obbink's *editio princeps* (Obbink 2014b) can be defended, unlike different assumptions about the text suggested by Martin West (2014) and Franco Ferrari (2014), but she proposes a different reconstruction of the third line of the poem than the one Obbink suggests in this volume (Obbink, ch. 1). She further argues that the poem is a general reflection about love and is addressed to Aphrodite as a kind of "alter ego" of the poetic persona in Sappho's work.

Diane Rayor (ch. 18) discusses the challenge of presenting Sappho's poetry to the larger public through translation. She points to the significance of the new material for translators of Sappho, because it necessitates shedding previous assumptions about the meaning of words and sentences in Sappho to incorporate the new discoveries. Rayor focuses in particular on the translations of the Kypris Poem, which overlaps with the old fragment 26, and of fragment 17, which is the subject of the next section in this volume. While the different reconstructions and translations of fragment 17 demonstrate how tenuous are our guesses in filling gaps, the new Kypris poem so radically changes the reading of fragment 26 that it now constitutes a new song. The paper ends with some recommendations for future translators of Sappho.

The last section of this volume is devoted to fragment 17, sometimes referred to as the Prayer to Hera. We prefer the more neutral designation of Hera Song. Both the beginnings and ends of lines are preserved on P. GC Inv. 105 fragment 2, thus adding considerably to our reconstruction of the text of the poem. Despite the new evidence, however, large parts of the poem are still very difficult to reconstruct. This holds true in particular for the opening stanza of the song. Joel Lidov (ch. 19), in his second contribution to the volume, summarizes the problems and possibilities for readings and supplements in this first stanza and in lines 11 and 20. His survey of the different choices for the first two lines concludes with an exploratory reading of them as an expression of the joy the festival gives to the god. Lidov further argues for Hera as the antecedent of the relative pronoun in the third line and against reading the letters τοι at the beginning of line 4 as a personal pronoun.

Stefano Caciagli (ch. 20) draws a connection between fragment 17, the Brothers Song and other family poems of Sappho. Based on the fact that the same goddess is addressed in this poem as the one Sappho wishes to pray to in the Brothers Song, and that fragment 17 seems to be concerned with procuring a safe sea voyage for someone, he argues that Sappho in this song prays to Hera for the safe return of her brother Charaxos, as she promises to do in the Brothers Song and similarly in the prayer she offers to the Nereids on behalf of her brother in fragment 5. Caciagli discusses the different possible audiences and

performance contexts of Sappho's family poetry and concludes that fragment 17 may well have been performed at the shrine of Hera at Messon in the presence of her family and friends and perhaps a wider audience as well. The paper concludes with some reflections about pragmatic approaches to archaic Greek poetry in general and Sappho's audience in particular.

Greg Nagy's paper (ch. 21) forms a fitting conclusion to this section and to the volume as a whole. Through an extensive analysis of the Brothers Song, fragment 17, the Kypris Song and fragment 5, Nagy traces the presence of a distinct persona in Sappho's poetry, that of the concerned sister, which both had ritual significance on the island of Lesbos and could be appreciated at male symposia throughout Greece. At the end of his paper he provides evidence that Sappho's name might actually mean 'sister'. Like Obbink, Bierl, and Lidov in the case of the Brothers Song and Caciagli in the case of fragment 17, Nagy situates the initial performance of these songs at Messon in the shrine of Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus. He discusses the evidence for this cult and draws a parallel with the cult of Hera at Argos. He also examines its connection to traditions about the visit of the sons of Atreus to the island in mythical times.

With this contribution we come to the end of the volume, but not to our discussion of these new fragments. Leslie Kurke in the first footnote of her article in this volume remarks that one of the great pleasures of a brand new Sappho poem is that the work of interpretation is necessarily collaborative and "choral". This volume has been a choral endeavour from the start. We hope that it will inspire other people to join the choir and that one day we can sing about even more "newest" songs of Sappho.

PART 1

Sappho in the New Fragments

CHAPTER 1

The Newest Sappho: Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation

Dirk Obbink

The text of Sappho exercised readers, scholars, and lovers long before her 'bright singing columns', λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες,[1] appeared in a Hellenistic edition on papyrus sometime in the third century BC.[2] So vividly were her verses perceived as being orally performed and heard.[3] By the Roman period, readers needed a commentary, together with an adequately corrected and annotated copy, in order to make sense of her poems. These contained the written words of the songs she had once sung, as they had been passed down, and corrected back into the dialect once spoken on the island of Lesbos, by some of the best scholars of the past centuries. Ancient editors, for example, even reinstated the letter *digamma*—a letter not used for over half a millenium—where it could be known from Homeric research and meter to have originally stood in her words,[4] a practice that would be comparable to putting Runes back into Old English texts. Their texts were, of course, not perfect: but they knew the poems better (and had at their disposal far more of them to read) than we do today. As a result, in assessing the evidence of the ancient manuscripts of Sappho preserved on papyrus, a judicious attempt must be made to discern the places where their efforts succeeded, where they failed, and where modern erudition can be brought to bear on the text in order to isolate cases where more work, more understanding, is needed.

1 Posidippus, *Epigr.* 17 Gow and Page = 122 Austin and Bastianini (fictional epitaph for Doricha, but praising Sappho for singing about her), quoted by Athenaeus 13.69.

2 On the Alexandrian edition, see Liberman (2007).

3 Already Herodotus (2.135) cites something Sappho said *in a song* (ἐν μέλεϊ Cαπφὼ πολλὰ κατακερτόμηcέ μιν sc. Charaxos, or perhaps Doricha—possibly Sappho fr. 15, if not the new Brothers Song). Even earlier, we hear that Solon badly desired to learn by heart (apparently orally) a poem of hers that he had heard his young nephew sing 'over the wine' (παρὰ πότον) movingly at a symposium ('Aelian' *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 3.29.50 vol. 3 p. 638 W.)—thus a reference to a text of Sappho's *ante litteras*.

4 A newly attested *digamma* appears in the new papyri, at Sappho fr. 5.3.

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The new fragments published for the first time in 2014 all come from Sappho's first Book, in what turns out to have been an alphabetically ordered edition by incipit or first letter of first word, from the section (about 4–5 ancient columns or modern pages' worth) containing poems beginning with 'ο' and 'π'. Remarkably, four out of the six previously published papyri of Sappho Book 1 come from this section, and so fortuitously overlap with the new fragments, and aided substantially in their identification. All the papyri range from the late first to the early third centuries AD, the hey-day of Roman book-production.[5] All are professionally produced, written in up-scale bookhands for legibility, and have been corrected and equipped by editors with signs and annotations as aids to the reader. They were meant to be read, and to provide the best text that money could buy of a composer who had lived seven hundred years earlier and who may not have committed any of her songs to writing herself.

The present edition of ten of these fragmentary poems does not attempt to solve all problems, or even to document thoroughly the entire scholarly record of work on the text of the poems of Sappho already known among the new fragments. Rather, following the model of editions previously produced for volumes of collected essays on the new papyri of Simonides' Elegies[6] and the New Cologne papyrus of Sappho,[7] it is intended to provide a working text for referencing and discussing the poems, amalgamating the existing manuscript witnesses and comparanda in the secondary tradition, and documenting work on the relevant parts of Sappho's text since the most recent group of new fragments (the 'Newest Sappho') were published in 2014.[8]

Effort has in the first instance been expended on the papyri themselves, in particular on what the new ones have to add to the old ones with which they connect or otherwise relate. For example, for some of the fragments below, as many as four separate papyrus manuscripts contributed to the textual reconstruction of a single line—without any actual physical connection or overlap between any of them (e.g. Sappho fr. 5.15–20). In other cases, there was useful overlap, but occasionally frustratingly different readings from the overlapping witnesses (e.g. frs. 9.6, 17.3–4). Secondly, an attempt has been made to consider and document all viable proposals for the constitution of the text, and to print

5 Only two papyri of Sappho Book 1 do not overlap with the new fragments: P. Oxy. 2288, containing Sappho fr. 1 from the 3rd c. AD which probably stood at the beginning of Book 1, and P. Oxy. 424 containing Sappho fr. 3; only one manuscript witness of Book 1 is earlier: the Florentine ostracon containing Sappho fr. 2 from the 2nd c. BC; P. Berol. inv. 5006, containing Sappho frs. 3–4 is a 7th c. AD parchment that is practically a Mediaeval manuscript.

6 Boedeker and Sider (2001).

7 Greene and Skinner (2009).

8 Obbink (2014b); Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014).

only what seemed reasonably certain, while relegating less promising proposals to the apparatus criticus. There, competing proposals are usually ranked in descending order of persuasiveness, and supporting comparanda are added where relevant for assessing the strength of the argument for their adoption into the text. In cases where proposals seemed to be on the same evidential footing, they are ranked in chronological order of publication. Readings, supplements, or reconstructions impossible and physically at odds with the evidence of the papyrus manuscripts are omitted from consideration and, in general, mention. Passages left unrestored in the text are generally those that would benefit from further study and consideration before committing to a reading or restoration: thus, blanks in the text isolate areas where there is progress on and understanding of the text yet to be made. However, in a few places (for example, Sappho fr. 9), the restoration of the text ventures out on a limb for heuristic or suggestive purposes, to suggest the run of thought *exempli gratia*, or the shape of a poem or its argument, in the interest of encouraging further effort on what might otherwise seem like unpromising ground. The benefit of such conjectural restorations can be seen from the fact that the first of the new fragments to be identified among the Green papyri (Sappho fr. 5) was achieved by means of a search of the TLG corpus on sequences of letters in the papyrus that were not anywhere extant previously in any manuscript or quotation, but had been conjecturally restored by F. Blass in 1899 and printed as accepted restorations in modern editions of Sappho. The hope that further discoveries and connections one day will be made in this way, strongly advises to proceed in this careful if painstaking way towards the future text of Sappho.

The Papyri

Π^{1} PSI 123 (late 1st c. AD papyrus roll, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence)

Π^{2a} P. Oxy. 1231 (2nd c. AD papyrus roll, Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS. Gr. class. c. 76 (P)1–2)

Π^{2b} P. Oxy. 2166 (a) 1 [additional fragment of Π^{2a}]

Π^{2c} P. Oxy. vol. 21, p. 122 [additional fragment of Π^{2a}]

Π^{3} P. Oxy. 2289 (late 2nd c. AD papyrus roll, Sackler Library, Oxford)

Π^{4} P. Oxy. 7 (early 3rd c. AD papyrus roll, British Library, London: inv. 739)

Π^{5a} P. GC (early 3rd c. AD papyrus roll, Green Collection (= GC), Oklahoma City: inv. 105)

Π^{5b} P. Sapph. Obbink (privately owned, formerly Robinson Collection, University of Mississippi USA) [additional fragment of Π^{5a}]

Abbreviations

[Π^1]	papyrus Π^1 does not preserve the text at this point
⊗	beginning or end of poem marked in papyrus
Benelli	Benelli (2015)
BF	Burris and Fish (2014)
BFO	Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014)
Bowie	Bowie, this volume
Di Benedetto	V. Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto and Ferrari (1987)
Diehl	Diehl (1917)
Diels	Diels (1898)
Ferrari	Ferrari (2014)
Fränkel	Fränkel (1928)
Grenfell and Hunt	Grenfell and Hunt (1898)
Hunt	Hunt (1914)
Lardinois	Lardinois, this volume
Liberman	Liberman (2014)
Lidov 2004	Lidov (2004)
Lidov^1	Lidov, ch. 3, this volume
Lidov^2	Lidov, ch. 19, this volume
Lobel *Aμ*	Lobel (1927)
Lobel *Σμ*	Lobel (1925)
Martinelli Tempesta	Martinelli Tempesta (1999)
Marzullo	Marzullo (1958)
Milne	Milne (1933)
Nagy	Nagy, this volume
Neri	Neri (2014)
Obbink	Obbink (2014b)
Pfeijffer	Pfeijffer (2000)
Prodi	E. Prodi by private communication
Schlesier	Schlesier, this volume
Schubart	Schubart (1948)
Snell	Snell (1944)
Theander	Theander (1934)
West	West (2014)
Wilamowitz^1	Wilamowitz (1898)
Wilamowitz^2	Wilamowitz (1914)

The Poems (in the original order of Sappho Book 1)

'Fragment 15'

[*c.*14]α̣ μάκαι̣[ρ-
[*c.*14] . υπλο . ̀ο̣΄[
[*c.*14] . ατοcκα[
[*c.*12]

[ὄccα δὲ πρ]όcθ' [ἄμ]β̣ροτε κῆ[να λῦcαι
[. . . . .]αταιϲ̣(.)ν̣εμ[⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[cὺν . . . . .] τύχαι λίμ̣ε̣νος κλ[⏑ – ×
[*c.*11] .

[Κύ]πρι, κα[ί c]ε πι[κροτ ̣́ .]αν ἐπεύρ[– ×
[μη]δὲ καυχάc[α]ι̣το τόδ' ἐννέ[ποιcα
[Δ]ω̣ρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὠc ποθε[×
[. . .]ερον ἦλθε. [⨂]

Sources: Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. i + fr. 3) incipit in 'o'? 0–4 stanzas missing? 1 μάκαι̣[ρα supplemented by Hunt (μά- Π^{2a}) 2 ευ- or αυ-: εὔπλοι̣α̣ Fränkel 3 – ὀ]τ̣ατος κα[ὶ Diehl (2nd ed.) 5 ὄccα δὲ Fränkel comparing Sappho fr. 5.5 πρ]όcθ' [ἄμ]β̣ροτε Hunt κῆ[να λῦcαι Theander 6 ἀ̣νεμ[οc Schubart 7 cὺν κάλαι] τύχαι e.g. Obbink p. 42: cὺν] τύχαι Fränkel 9 πι[κροτάτ]αν (sc. Kypris) ἐπεύρ[οι (sc. Charaxus) Lobel: πι[κροτέρ]αν ἔπευρ[εν Wilamowitz in Hunt: πι[cτοτάτ]αν ἔπευρ[ον (sc. the citizens) Schubart 10 μη]δὲ καυχάc[α]ι̣το Lobel: οἰ] δὲ καυχάc[α]ν̣το Wilamowitz in Hunt ἐννέ[ποιcα Lobel: ἐννέ[ποντεc Wilamowitz in Hunt 11 Δ]ω̣ρίχα Wilamowitz in Hunt 11–12 πόθε[ννον (Edmonds, πόθε[ινον Hunt) / εἰc] ἔρον Hunt: πόθε[ννοc / ἄψ]ερον Diehl: ποθέ[ccαιc / ἄψ]ερον tentatively Voigt app. crit. ad loc. 12 εἰc] ἔρον suits the space better than ἄψ]ερον

'Fragment 16'

[⨂]
[ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων cτρότον οἰ δὲ πέcδων
οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖc' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
[ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιcτον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τιc ἔραται·

[πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρεc cύνετον πόηcαι
[π]άντι τ[ο]ῦ̣τ', ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περcκέθοιcα
κ̣ά̣λλο̣c̣ [ἀνθ]ρ̣ώπων Ἐλένα [τ]ὸ̣ν ἄνδρα
τ̣ο̣ν̣ [. . . ἀρ]ι̣cτον

κ̣αλλ[ίποι]ς̣’ ἔβα ’ς Τροΐαν πλέοι̣ςα
κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκήων
π̣ά[μπαν] ἐμνάςθη, ἀλλὰ παράγ̣αγ̣’ αὔταν
[.]̣̀[. . . . . .]ςαν

[. . . . . γν]αμπτον γὰρ [. . . . .] ν̣όημμα
[. . . .] . . . κούφως τ[. . . . . .] ν̣οήςηι̣ .
[. .]μ̣ε̣ νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας] ὀνέμναι-
[ς’ οὐ] παρεοίςας,

[τᾶ]ς κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προςώπω
ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἀν ὄπλοιςι
πεςδομ]άχεντας. [⊗?]

Sources: Π^{1}, Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. i), Π^{2c}, Π^{5a} (fr. 2 col. i) 1 ο]ἰ μὲν incipit in ‘O’ 8 τ̣ὸν̣ [πανάρ]ι̣ςτον Page: τ̣όν̣ [περ ἄρ]ι̣ςτον Marzullo p. 61 (ἄρ]ι̣ςτον already Hunt in Π^{2a}): μέγ’ ἄρ]ι̣ςτον Gallavotti in Voigt comparing Hom. *Il.* 2.768, Theocr. 7.100 etc. 11 π̣ά[μπαν Theander in Π^{2c} αὔταν: α̣υταν Π^{2a} and correction in Π^{5a} by a second hand: αυτο̣ν Π^{5a} in hand of the main scribe 12]̣̀[(the grave accent alone is preserved, but nothing of the letter that it stood over) Π^{2c}: [Π^{1} Π^{2a} Π^{5a}], i.e. a ‘warning’ grave accent placed over first vowel of a dipthong, as often; perhaps κ]ῲ[υ, to be read as κωὐκ (Obbink) or κωὐδ’ ἐθέλοι]ςαν or κωὐδὲ θέλοι]ςαν (οὐδὲ θέλοι]ςαν already suggested by Martinelli Tempesta): ς]ῲ[φρον’ ἔοι]ςαν West (contrary to the accent in the papyrus) 13–14 ‘apparently contained a general reflection on the weakness of human nature’ Hunt perhaps Κύπρις· ἄγν]αμπτον (Schubart) γὰρ [ἔχει] ν̣όημμα (Di Benedetto) / [καὶ τέ]λε̣ι̣ κούφως τ[ό κέ ποι] ν̣οήςηι̣ Lidov[1] ‘but Kypris led her astray, even though she was unwilling; for she (sc. Kypris) has an unyielding mind and accomplishes easily whatever she intends’: Κύπρις· ἄγν]αμπτον γὰρ [ὔμως] ν̣όημμα / [δάμνα]τ̣α̣ι̣ κούφως τ[άκερ’ (or: τ[ὰ κάλ’ or τ[ὰ φίλ’) ὠς] ν̣οήςηι̣ ‘for she (sc. Kypris) easily overcomes even an unbending mind so that it thinks melting thoughts’ (i.e. ‘sets its thoughts on an object of desire’) West: ἴμερος· γν]αμπτὸν γὰρ [ἄγει] ν̣όημμα / [τὦμον ‘for it (ἴμερος) is overpowering my own malleable resolve’ BF, cf. N(ικάνωρ) τωμον Π^{1} in left margin next to Sappho fr. 17.1, probably annotation of an intended correction or substituted reading in a line to its left in the preceding column, corresponding to about the level of this line i.e. Sappho fr. 16.14 or 16.15; cf. also -ακ]αμπτον γᾱρ, e.g. εὔκ]αμπτον Wilamowitz in Hunt 15 τὤ]με ‘which now puts me in mind’ Lidov[1] (by private communication, and subsequently West): τό] με already Pfeijffer: κἄ]με Lobel, *Σμ* ὀν- correction by modern editors: αν- Π^{2a}: [Π^{5a}] -μναι Π^{5a}, correction in margin Π^{2a}: μνα Π^{2a} 17 κε correction by Hunt: τε Π^{2a}: [Π^{1} Π^{2a} Π^{2c} Π^{5a}]

'Fragment 16a' [*continuing Line-Numeration of Fragment 16 in Parentheses*]

[⊗?]
[ὄλβιον] μὲν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
[πάμπ]α̣ν ἄνθρωπ[ον· π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι
[ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν. ἔγω] δ̣' ἔμ' αὔται
[τοῦτο σύνοιδα.]

[2–4 stanzas missing]

.[*c.*12] . . . [γέ]ν̣εσθαι
ο . [*c.*10] . . . . β̣ας̣ ἐπ' ἄκρας
τα[*c.*11]ν χ̣ί̣ον'· ἀ̣ δ̣ὲ πόλλα
προς[

ωσδ[*c.*9] . ω̣ν ἀ̣πέλθην
τω . [*c.*10] . . [.] . α̣τ'· ὄττινας γὰρ
εὖ θ̣έω, κῆνοί με μάλιστα σίννον-
τ' ἐξ ἀδοκή[τω.] ⊗

Sources: π[1], π[2a] (fr. 1 coll. i–ii), π[5a] (fr. 2 coll. i–ii) 1–4 possibly a continuation of Sappho fr. 16 1 (21) incipit in 'ο'? e.g. ὄλβιον] (-οις] Snell) μὲν Milne (NB there is no trace of any letter before μέν) 2 (22) ἄνθρωπ[ον (-π[οις Snell)· π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι Milne 'it is not possible for a human being to be completely fortunate; but one may pray ...', cf. P. Köln 11.429 Poem 2 (= Sappho fr. 58) line 18 ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα; οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι 3 (23) ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν] '(but one may pray) to enjoy a share of joy/happiness' e.g. West 3–4 (23–24) ἔγω] δ̣' ἐμ' αὔται / [τοῦτο σύνοιδα Benelli in BFO, cf. Kypris Song 11–12 (previously Sappho fr. 26.11–12) ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται / τοῦτο σύνοιδα, Sappho fr. 31.16 φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ̣[αι 6 (26) ἔ̣β̣ας̣ BFO 10 (30) ο]ὐ̣ δ̣[ύ]ν̣α̣τ(αι) BFO:] . α̣τ' π[5a]: [π[1] π[2a]] 10 (30)-12 (32) (formerly in Sappho fr. 26.2–4) ὄττινας γὰρ εὖ θ̣έω, κῆνοί (corr. Blomfield: κειvοι MSS) με μάλιστα σίνονται Et. Gen. A (p. 363 Reitzenstein), Et. Mag. 499.37 ('Aelius Herodianus' Περὶ Παθῶν 3.2 p. 303.5 Lentz): ὄ̣τ̣τ̣ι̣να̣ς γὰ̣ρ | εὖ θ̣[*c.*9]ά̣λ̣ι̣στα σ[*c.*3]ον|τ π[5a]:]|τ π[1]:]|[.]υ̣[.]ε̣ω̣κ̣η̣[π[2a] 12 (32) ἐξ ἀδοκή[τω Hunt: ἐξ ἀδοκή[των Vitelli in PSI 123: ἐξ ἀδοκη[π[1]: ἐξ ἀ̣[π[2a]: ἐ̣ξ[π[5a] after v. 12 (32) coronis in margin π[1] π[2a] π[5a]

'Fragment 17'

⊗
πλάσιον δη μ̣[. . . . .] . . . οις α[. . . .]ω
πότνι' Ἦρα, σὰ χ[. . . . .]ς̣ . ἐορτ[ ] .
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έϊδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ησαν-
τ' οἰ βασίληες,

ἐκτελέσσαντες μ[εγά]λ̣οις ἀέθλοις̣
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ἴ̣[λιον]· ἄψερον δέ̣
τυίδ’ ἀπορμάθεν[τες, ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν γὰρ̣ εὔρη̣[ν]
οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο,]

πρὶν cὲ καὶ Δί’ ἀντ[ίαον] π̣εδέλθην̣
καί Θυώνας ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα·
νῦν δὲ κ[*c*.12] . . . πόημεν
κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον,

ἄγνα καὶ κα̣[*c*.12 ὄ]χ̣λος
παρθέ[νων *c*.12 γ]υναίκων
ἀμφις̣ .[
μέτρ’ ὀ̣λ̣[

πας[
.[.] .νιλ[
ἔμμενα̣[ι
[Ἤ]ρ’ ἀπίκε[cθαι.] ⊗

Sources: π^{1}, π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. ii), π^{2b}, π^{3} (fr. 9), π^{5a} (fr. 2 col. ii) 1–2 πλάcιον δὴ (incipit in ‘π’) μ̣[ελπο]μ̣έ̣ν̣οις’ ἀ[γέcθ]ω, / πότνι’ Ἦρα, cὰ χ[αρίε]ς̣ς̣’ ἐόρτ[α] ‘Nearby (i.e. in the context of this song/performance) let your charming festival be celebrated by (or with or for) those singing and dancing for themselves’ BFO: πλάcιον δὴ μ̣[οιcο]π̣ό̣λ̣οιc (cf. Sappho fr. 150.1) ἀ[ήcθ]ω / πότνι’ Ἦρα, cὰ χ[άριc ἐ]ς̣ τ̣’ (‘with ἐc referring to the first acc. as well’) ἐόρτ[α]ν̣ ‘Nearby let your favour blow towards the attendants of the Muses, and towards the festival that’ etc. Ferrari: πλάσιον δὴ Μ[ᾶτε]ρ̣, ἔ̣κ̣οισ’ ἀ[νάξ]ω / πότνι’ Ἦρα, σὰ⟨ν⟩ χ[άριν ἴ]ς̣θ̣’ ἐόρτ[α]ν̣ ‘nearby indeed, mother, I willingly will conduct / a festival, be certain, Lady Hera, for your sake’ (cf. Alcaeus fr. 129.7 and Alcman fr. 56.2, and for ἀν- instead of Lesbian ὀν-, see Sappho fr. 16.15 with app. crit. ad loc. above) Lidov^{2} 2 ἐόρτα̣ or ἐόρτ[α]ν̣ π^{5a}: [π^{1} π^{2a-b} π^{3}] 3 ταν αραταν π^{1} in hand of the main scribe: ταν αρατ̣[π^{2a}: ταν α[π^{5a}: ταν ερᾶταν in a second hand in π^{1} contra metrum ατρ[π^{1}: [π^{2a-b} π^{3} π^{5a}]]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηcαν π^{5a}: [π^{1} π^{2a-b} π^{3}] 3–4 τὰν (sc. ἐόρταν) ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έϊδα]ι̣ (nom.) π̣ο̣ήcαν/τ’ οἱ βαcίληεc ‘which (festival) the Atreids, the leaders, hoped (“auspicarono”) for themselves’ Neri following the articulation suggested before the new fragment by Lidov (2004) 394 (Ἀτρ[έϊδαι ποτ’ εὗρον]/τ’ οἱ βαcίληειc), although NB that τὰν sc. Ἤραν as in Hunt and editors following would still be possible, ‘whom (sc. Hera) … they established’ (see Lidov^{2}): τὰν, ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ (dat. of agent), π̣ο̣ήcαν / τοὶ βαcίληεc ‘which (festival), prayed for/vowed by the Atreid (sc. Menelaus, *Od.* 3.169–172), those kings established’ BFO: τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έϊδα]ι̣ (nom.) π̣ό̣ηcάν / τοι βαcίληεc ‘(the festival)

that the kings, Atreids, made desired by (or desirable to) you' Ferrari: 'the Atreidai … established it in fulfilment of a vow' West 4 accent as placed in Π^{5a} marks word division: τοι is 'an article or demonstrative pronoun' BFO: 'τοι is the enclitic pronoun "for you"' West: τοί is the non-enclitic 'emphatic personal pronoun' (supported by the accent as placed in Π^{5a}) Nagy: perhaps τοί should be emended to cοί (see Apollonius Dyscolus *Pron.* 124c vol. 1 p. 81.23 ff. Schneider = Sappho fr. 40)?: τόι̣ Π^{5a}: τοι Π^1 Π^{2a} 6 Ε̣ἴ̣[λιον] Π^{2a} (an iotacistic spelling common in the papyri; Ἴλιον is meant): [Π^{5a}] 11 BFO νῦν δὲ κ[ἄμμες ταῦτα π]έ̣ρ̣α̣ πόημεν 'now we continue to do this' West (νῦν δὲ κ[αὶ already BFO): νῦν δέ, κ[ύρι' ἀμμετ]έ̣ρ̣α̣, πόημεν S. Burris by private communication ('such a strong direct address would help signal the transition out of the mythical narrative back into the main discursive level of prayer')] . . . , α, ε, or ο followed by ρα or ρι or βι 12 πάλ̣[αιον Wilamowitz^2 (followed by West): πάλ̣[ἄον BFO contra metrum: πάλ̣[αι δὴ Neri 13 κά[λλιcτα· πόλυc γὰρ ὄ]χ̣λοc West (ὄ]χ̣λοc already BFO): κά[λ' (Castiglioni) ὄργια ταῦτ', ὀ δ' ὄ]χ̣λοc tentatively Ferrari: κά[λ'. εἶcι δὲ τυίδ' ὄδ' ὄ]χ̣λοc Neri 14 παρθέ[νων (Hunt) τυίδ' ἴκετο καὶ γ]υναίκων West (γ]υναίκων already BFO): παρθέ[νων τ' ἄμ' εὐχομέναν γ]υναίκων Neri 15 ἀμφὶ c̣ὸ̣[ν βῶμον δ' ὀcίωc θέλοιc' ἔμ]/μετρ' ὀ̣λ̣[ολύcδην West (16 μέτρ' ὀ̣λ̣[ολύcδην already BFO): μέτρ' ὀ̣λ̣[ολύγαc Ferrari 20 [Ἤ]ρ' ἀπίκε[cθαι Milne after v. 20 coronis in margin Π^{2a}: [Π^1 Π^{5a}]

'Fragment 18'

⨂
⟨π⟩άν κεδ[
⟨ἐ⟩ννέπην [
γλῶσσα μ[
μυθολογη̣[

κἄνδρι . [ ] ἄριcτα
μεσδον[ ] . . .
[ ] . . .αν
[ ] .

[ ] θῦμον
[ ]αρ
[ ] .ρωc
[ ]

[ ]α̣ιν
[ ] .
[ ]ω

Sources: Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. ii), Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. i) 1–2 supplemented by Lobel, Σμ 1 ⟨π⟩άν incipit in 'Π'(?) ⟨π⟩άν κε δ[εῖνον tentatively West 4 μυθολόγῃ[cαι Diehl 5 κᾶν Π^{2a} after v. 15, 4–6 stanzas missing before fr. 18a

'Fragment 18a'

.ω . . . . [

καὶ γάρ ε . [
δεύετ' ῳ̣ρ̣[
νύξ τε καῑ[
. . οc . . . . . [

. . αcω . . [
. . α . . α . . [
μυριᾳ̣c̣ . . [
π̣ῑνα . . [. .] . [. ⊗

Source: Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. ii) 1 beginning missing; probably separate poem from fr. 18 8 μύρι' ἄc̣τ̣ρ̣[α West, noting Plut. *De facie in orbe lunae* 934c οὐ cταθεροῦ φωτὸc οὐδ' ἠρεμοῦντοc ἀλλὰ μυρίοιc ἄcτροιc περιελαυνομένου after v. 9 coronis in margin Π^{5a}

'Fragment 5'

⊗
πότνιαι Νηρήιδεc ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]
τὸν καcίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεcθα[ι]
κὤττι ϝῷ̣ι θύμωι κε θέλῃ γένεcθαι
κῆνο τελέcθην,

ὄccα δὲ πρόcθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦcα[ι]
καὶ φίλοιcι ϝοῖcι χάραν γένεcθαι
κὠνίαν ἔχθροιcι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
μηδάμα μηδ' εἶc·

τὰν καcιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόηcθα̣ι
[μέ]cδονοc τίμαc, [ὀν]ίαν δὲ λύγραν
[. . . .] . [. . . .]οτοιcι π[ά]ροιθαχεύων
[– ⏑ ⏑ –] . να

[– ⏑ – ×] . ειcαΐω[ν] τὸ κέγχρω
[– ⏑ –]λ' ἐπαγ̣[ορί]αι πολίταν

ὥ̣ϲ̣ πο̣τ’ οὐ̣[κ ἄ]λλωϲ̣, [ἐϲύ]νηκε δ’ αὖτ’ οὐ-
δ̣ὲν διὰ [μά]κρω.

καὶ τιμα̣[. .]ον αἰ κ[1–2]εο[. . . . . .] .ι
γ̣νωϲθ̣[.] . .[.]ν· ϲὺ [δ]ε̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣ ϲ̣[έμ]να
ο̣υ̣κ̣ο̣ν̣ .[. . . . . . .]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [×
[.] .[.] . .[. . . . .]ι. [⊗?]

Sources: Π^3, Π^4 (fr. 6), Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. ii) 1 πότνιαι (incipit in ‘Π’) Π^{5a}: [Π^4], already proposed by Diels, Wilamowitz[1]: πόντιαι (originally restored by Jurenka) suggested as an emendation by West comparing Pind. *Pyth.* 11.2, cf. also Pind. *Nem.* 5.36 ἀβλάβη[ν Blass in Grenfell and Hunt μοι Diels, Wilamowitz[1] 11 δαίμ]ο̣[νοϲ (BFO) κ]ότοιϲι Lidov in BFO: παρλύ]ο̣[ιτ]ο τοῖϲι Ferrari: ἐκλύ]ο̣[ι μ’,] ὅτ⟨τ⟩οιϲι West π[ά]ροιθ’ ἀχεύων or π[ά]ροιθα χεύων 12 θῦμον (αὖτοϲ Ferrari) ἐδά]μ̣να West, cf. Sappho fr. 1.3–4 13 ἐν (or ϲὺν) φίλοιϲ]ν̣ εἰϲαΐων ‘hearing with friends’ BFO: Δωρίχαϲ ἄ]μ̣’ εἰϲαΐων ‘while at the same time he hearkened to (the wishes of) Doricha’ West: κῆρ ὀνείδιϲ]μ̣’ εἰϲαΐων ‘whose heart (he overpowered), hearing the blame’ Ferrari 14–15 τὸ κέγχρω / κροῦμα δὴ]λ̣’ ‘(hearing) the rhythmic beat of the (shaken) millet seed’ BFO: τό κ’ ἐγ χρῶ⟨ι⟩ (Blass) νῦν ἐτιλ]λ̣’ ‘would now be plucking me to the raw’ West 14 ἐπαγ[ορί]αι πολίταν Lobel, defended by West (‘through the citizens’ censure’) or ἐπ’ ἀγ[εϲί]αι ‘at the leadership/command of the citizens’ Lidov[1] 15 ὥ̣ϲ̣ (or ὄ̣ϲ̣ or ὦ̣ι̣ or ο̣ἴ̣), not ἤ (BFO) nor αἴ (West) both of which would be too far to the right πο̣τ’ οὐ̣[κ ἄ]λλωϲ̣ (BFO), [ἐϲύ]νηκε (Lobel) δ’ αὖτ’οὐ/δ̣ὲν διὰ [μά]κρω BFO ‘just as much as ever; but it was not long before he came to realize it’; ‘but he understood it slightly after’ Ferrari: πο̣τ’ οὐ [κ’ ἄ]λλωϲ̣, [ἐπό]νηκε Lidov[1] 17 καί τι μά[ϲϲ]ον αἰ κ[λ]έο[ϲ ἐξίῃ ϝ]ο̣ι West: καὶ τι μᾶ[λλ]ον (Hammerstaedt in BFO) αἰ κ[λ]έο[ϲ ἐν βρότοι]ϲ̣ι Ferrari 18 γ̣νώϲε̣[ται φ]έ̣ρ̣[η]ν West ‘and if he finds the repute of it going further, he will learn (what it is like) to bear it’: γ̣νώϲε̣[τ’ ἄψ] οἶ̣[ο]ν ‘and (he) will understand even more if again he realizes how much a good name counts among mortals’ Ferrari: γνῶϲ θ̣[έαν] ῎Η̣ρ̣[α]ν ‘if you recognize goddess Hera’ BFO; perhaps ϲθ̣[ένοϲ ϲὺ [δ]ε̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣ (Lobel) ϲ̣[έμ]να Milne: τ̣έ̣[ρπ]να Page—on the basis combined readings of Π^3 and Π^4 19–20 ο̣ὐ̣κ̣ ὄ̣ν̣ε̣[κτον κατ]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [ὔβ/ρ]ι̣[ν], π̣ί̣[θε’ ἄμμ]ι(ν) or μ̣έ̣[νε πάρ μο]ι̣ ‘rendering an evil offense not unendurable (or: putting a stop to an unbearable evil), be persuaded by me’ or (at end) ‘remain by my side’ Lidov in BFO: ο̣ὐ̣κ̣ ὄ̣ν̣ε̣[κτον ἐν]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [ϝοι κτλ. ‘as for you, reverend Kypris, after having (once) inflicted insupportable vice on him, [may you be merciful to us in the future]’ West

‘Fragment 9’

[⊗]
[π- (?)
[π]α̣ρ̣κάλειϲ̣ι ταϲελ̣[⏑ – ⏑ – ×

[πάμ]παν οὐκ ἔχη[cθα ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[μ]ᾶτερ, ἐόρταν ̣[

[φαιδί]μαν ὤραι τέλε[cαι; τὸ δ’ ἐcτί]
[χάρμ’ ἐ]π̣αμέρων· ἔμ[ε δ’ – ⏑ – ×
[*c*.5]ν̣ην· θ̣ᾶc ἐμ[⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[–]ο̣ν ἄκουcαι[

[*c*.6] ̣ν· οὖτοc δε̣[⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[– ⏑]η νῦν· ἀβλα[β ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[– ⏑]α̣c διδων· πα[⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[– ⏑]όηcεν· [

[*c*.6] ̣ ̣ ̣κ̣ ̣[
[*c*.5]επικ ̣[
[– ⏑ ἄ]ν̣υcτον· ο̣[– ⏑ – ×
[–]ν ̣τ̣ελέcθη ̣[

[–]δ̣’ ἔγω πάμπ̣[αν ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[–] ʹ ̣ χ̣αν̣ γλωcca[⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[– (⏑?)] ̣ταπυγνώ ̣[(–?)⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×
[–]α̣ρ ὀφέλλης̣ [

[–]ερων· ε ̣ ̣[– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×

Sources: Π^{3} (fr. 4), Π^{5a} (fr. 1 [but now to be placed after fr. 3]) incipit in ‘Π’? placement by West as the column preceding Π^{5b} is confirmed by continuities of fibers and patterns of damage; therefore the column following Sappho fr. 5 1–2 Π^{3}: [Π^{5a}] 1]α̣ρ̣καλειοιτακε ̣[Π^{3}: perhaps π]αρκάλειc̣ι ‘they call upon’ should be read (contra Lobel), cf. Alcaeus fr. 71.1–2 κάπ’ ἔριφον κάλην / καὶ χοῖρον ‘to invite for kid and pork’ 2 πάμ]παν ‘completely’ West οὐκ ἔχη[cθα πόθεν δυναίμαν ‘do you not have the means with which I might (celebrate a fine festival)?’ West 3–9 Π^{3} Π^{5a} 3 μ]ᾶτερ or μ]άτερ’ BFO ἐόρταν, cf. Sappho fr. 17.2 ̣[Π^{5a}, apparent high point (punctuation) 4 τέλε[cαι ‘celebrate’ West, cf. Sappho fr. 1.27 τέλεcον, 9.27 below τ̣ελέcθη (or perhaps τελέ[των ‘with the fine rites in season’) 4–5 τὸ δ’ ἐcτί / χάρμ’ ‘that is a joy’ supplemented by West 5 ἐ]π̣αμέρων ‘for us mortals who live for the day’ S. Margheim in BFO; ‘“Those who live for the day” (or “for a day”) must belong to a statement of a general truth, which Sappho then applies to herself’ West 5–6 ἔμ[ε δ’ εὔφρον’ εἴη / τυγχά]ν̣ην, θ̣ᾶc κτλ. ‘As for me, may I ever be cheerful, so long as’ etc. West 6 θ̣ᾶc with interlinear gloss εωc ζω[in Π^{3} ‘so long as I (or we) live’, cf. Sappho fr. 88.15 ἆc κεν ἔνηι μ’[‘as long as [breath?] is in me’,

and θᾶc with this meaning in Alcaeus αμ[π^{3}: εμ[π^{5a} (‘a scribal error by dittography from εμ[in the line above?’ BFO): ἄμ[μι θέοι δίδωcι ‘so long as the gods grant us to hear the sound of harps’ West 7 φθόγγ]ο̣ν ἄκουcαι Benelli in BFO followed by West: μέcδ]ο̣ν or νόcτ]ο̣ν ἄκουcαι BFO 8] ̣ν, ο or ε π^{5a} (πακτίδ]ω̣ν proposed by West, but]ω cannot be read) 9 ἄβλα[βεc or ἀβλά[βεc’ Lardinois (ἀβλά[β- BFO) cf. Sappho fr. 5.1, 84.7 10–20 π^{5a}: [π^{3}] 11 (ἐ)ν]όηcεν Benelli in BFO 14 ἄ]γ̣υcτον BFO 16]δ̣’ ἔγω πάμπ̣[αν BFO (‘δ’ ἔγω in the previous line shows that Sappho is speaking of herself’ West) 17 [–] ʹ . χα̣ν̣ π^{5a}: Δωρ]ί̣χα̣ν̣ (cf. Sappho fr. 15.11) or τ]ύ̣χα̣ν̣ BFO: μελλ]ί̣χα̣ν̣ γλῶccα[ν West (cf. Sappho fr. 71.6 μελλιχοφων[) after v. 20, three verses and one or two stanzas are missing before incipit of Brothers Song which continued in π^{3} and π^{5b}

‘Brothers Song’ [*older line-numeration in parentheses*]

[⨂]
[π- (?)
[*1 or 5 lines missing*]
[3–4]λα̣[
[2–3]cέμα̣[

ἀλλ’ ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
νᾶϊ cὺν πλήαι. τὰ μέν̣ οἴο̣μα̣ι Ζεῦc
οἶδε cύμπαντέc τε θέοι· cὲ δ̣’οὐ χρῆ
ταῦτα νόηcθαι,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεcθαι
πόλλα λί̣ccεcθαι βαcί̣λ̣ηαν Ἤ̣ραν
ἐξίκεcθαι τυίδε cάαν ἄγοντα
νᾶα Χάραξον

κἄμμ’ ἐπεύρην ἀρ̣τ̣έμεαc. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα
πάντα δαιμόνεccι̣ν ἐπι̣τ̣ρόπωμεν·
εὔδια̣ι̣ γὰρ̣ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣
αἶψα πέ̣λο̣νται.

τῶν κε βόλληται βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω
δαίμον’ ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μ̣άκαρεc πέλονται
καὶ πολύολβοι·

κ̣ἄμμες, αἴ κε ϝὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η
Λάρι̣χος καὶ δή ποτ' ἄνη̣ρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρ̣υθυ̣μίαν̣ κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν. ⊗

Sources: Π^{3} (fr. 5), Π^{5b} 1 incipit in 'Π'? 1–2 [⊗ πόλλα δὴ πεπόνθαμεν· ἀλλ' ἴκοιτο (or: αἴθ' ἐπέλθοι) / νῦν Χάραξος κτλ.] e.g. Lidov^{1} (cf. Sappho fr. 94.3–4) 3 [3–4]λα̣[Π^{3}: [– ⏑] Λα̣[ριχ- Obbink: πολ]λά̣[χοι Lidov^{1} comparing Athen. 10.425a (= Sappho test. 203) πολλαχοῦ ('assuming that Athenaeus's source is a paraphrase or inference from an actual statement') 3–4 [2–3]cέμ.[Π^{3}, i.e. -]cέ μ.[or] cέ μ.[or -]c ἔμ.[or -]c' ἔμ.[or] c' ἔμ.[(where metre requires .[to be a vowel): [– ⏑] cέ, μα̣̂[τερ West: [– ⏑]c(') ἔμ' α̣[ὔταν (or α̣[ὔται) or [–] cέ, μά̣[καιρα (voc.) Lidov^{1} 6 cὺν π- articulation by Henrichs and correction of spelling to πλήαι by West in Obbink: cυμπλειαι Π^{5b} 8 νόηcθαι correction by West in Obbink: νοειcθαι Π^{5b} 9 ἔμε Obbink following Π^{5b}: ἔμα 'my things', 'my clothes' emendation by Bowie 11–13 *Od.* 13.42–43 (Odysseus' wish to Alcinoos) ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν / νοστήσας εὕροιμι cὺν ἀρτεμέεcι φίλοιcιν 13–16 similarly Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.9–12, 3.29.32–34, cf. 43–45 (9 *cetera* = 13 τὰ δ' ἄλλα) 13 τὰ δ' ἄλλα Obbink following Π^{5b}: τὰ δ' αἶνα emendation by Liberman p. 7 [8] 'but for all that is torment for us, let us trust it to the divine powers' 18 ἐπάρωγον correction in Π^{5b} by a second hand (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 164 ποῖ δὴ cωθῶ; ποῦ τις θεῶν ἢ δαίμων ἐπαρωγός): ἐπάρηγον' Π^{5b} (first hand): ἐπ' ἄρηον emendation by West 'those whose fortune (sc. δαίμον') the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship for the better, they become …': ἐπ' ἄρηον' (sc. δαίμον') emendation by Liberman pp. 7–8 [9] 'deflecting them away from misfortune to a better fate' 21 ϝὰν emendation by Lardinois (see Lobel, *Αμ* § 23 pp. lxxxi–lxxxii and § 26 pp. xci–xciv, esp. xci–xcii): τὰν Obbink following Π^{5b} after v. 24 coronis in margin Π^{5b}

'Kypris Song'

⊗
πῶc κε δή τιc οὐ θαμέω̣c̣ ἄcαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέc̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [δ]ή̣ φί̣λ̣[ηcι,]
[κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣ά̣λ̣[αccαι;]
[ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα

[νῶν] c̣άλοιcί μ' ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣c̣ δ̣αΐ̣c̣δ̣[ην]
[ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}cαντι γόν' ωμ̣ε̣-[x
[. . .] .α .α . .[. .]α̣ι̣μ' ο̣ὐ̣ π̣ρ̣ο[0–3] .ερηc[
[– ⏑]ν̣ε̣ερ .[.]αι̣

[*c*.8] . . . [. .] cέ, θέλω[⏑ – ×
[– ⏑ – × τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – ×
[– ⏑ – × –] . αν, ἔγω δ’ ἐμ’ αὔται
τοῦτο cύνοιδα

[*c*.13] . [.] . τοιc[. . . .] .
[*c*.13]εναμ[
[ ] . [.] . [
[*c*.12]

Sources: Π^{2a} (fr. 16, cf. Sappho fr. 26), Π^{5b} 1 πῶc κε δή incipit in ‘Π’ θαμέω̣c̣ ἄcαιτ̣ο Benelli in Obbink 2 Κύπρι, δέc̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣’ Obbink after δέc̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣’, punctuation as question Benelli [δ]ὴ̣ Burris in Obbink, Benelli: [μ]ὴ̣ West, Ferrari φ̣ί̣λ̣[ηcι Schlesier: φ̣ί̣λ̣[ειη Burris in Obbink: φ̣ί̣λ̣[ηcθα West, Ferrari, Benelli 3 κωὐ] Prodi (anaphoric of οὐ in v. 1): κὤc] West καὶ] Obbink (2014b) or καἰ (= καὶ εἰ)] Benelli and ὠc] Ferrari are slightly too short for the space πάθα̣ν̣ (gen. pl. of Pindaric πάθα) or πάθα̣c̣ χ̣ά̣λ̣[αccαι Lidov[1], cf. Alcaeus fr. 70.10 χαλάccομεν δὲ τὰc θυμοβόρω λύαc ‘relax from spirit-gnawing strife’: πάθο̣c̣ κ̣ά̣λ̣[υπτειν West, Benelli (κ̣ά̣λ̣[υψαι Ferrari): πάθη̣ν̣ κ̣ά̣λ̣[εccαι Schlesier παθ- confirmed by multi-spectral imaging, not παλ-; end χ̣αλ̣[or κ̣αλ̣[end of v. 3, punctuation as question Obbink 4–5 ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα / [νῶν ‘what sort of intentions do you have?’ Bowie in Obbink: ὄcc]ον ἔχηcθα Lidov[1]: οὐκ] ὀνέχηcθα / [κνω]δ̣αλ’ ‘you do not hold back the mordacious pests’ West: οὐκ] ὀνέχηcθα (after which end of sentence) Benelli ‘you (sc. Kypris) do not restrain her/him’ (sc. 2 ὄττινα, = 1 τιc and subject of 3 καἰ] θέλοι) i.e. from the sufferings of love’ or ‘you do not keep under control her/his erotic drives’ end of v. 4, punctuation as question Ferrari 5 ς̣άλοιcι Hammerstaedt in Obbink (cὺν] c̣άλοιcι Ferrari): κνω]δ̣αλ’ οἶcι West: κνω]δ̣άλοιcι Benelli: καγ]χ̣άλοιcι Lidov[1] ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣c̣ Obbink δ̣αῑ̣c̣δ̣[ην Obbink (δ̣αῑ̣c̣δ̣[Hammerstaedt in Obbink): δ̣αῑ̣c̣δ̣[ηc West, Ferrari, Benelli end of v. 5, punctuation as question West 6 ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ Obbink, Ferrari: εἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ (restoration of iotacistic spelling of ἰμέρωι in accordance with space in Π^{5a}) West: κἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ Benelli: μή μ’ ἔ]ρω⟨ι⟩ West λύ{ι̣}cαντι Obbink, Ferrari, Benelli: λύc̣cαντι West γ̣όν’ Tsantsanoglou in Obbink, Ferrari: γόν̣ω̣μ̣’ (West) ἔπ̣[ελθε Lidov[1] (ἔν̣α̣[ιρε West): ὤ⟨ι⟩μ’, ἐγ̣[ω δέ Ferrari 7–8 κἀκ]λ̣άπαcδ̣’ ἄ̣μμ’· οὐ πρότερ’ ἠc[… / …]νε’ ἐρα̣[ῖc]αι̣ ‘do not despoil me with raging love and devastate us. You were not previously … to me when I was in love’ West: λαί]λ̣απ̣αc [φ]α̣ῖμ̣’ (Tsantsanoglou) οὐ προ[τόνοιc] π̣ερήc[ην ‘alas, but I believe that the gusts will not overcome the stays’ Ferrari 8 cυ]νε̣έρχ̣[θ]αι̣ Obbink: αἴ κε]ν ἔερχ[θ]αι̣ Ferrari:]νε’ ἐρα̣[ῖc]αι̣ West 10 Hunt 11–12 supplied from Apollonius Dyscolus *Pron.* 1.51.1 ff. Schneider (formerly Sappho fr. 26) where the poem ends (and the next begins) is uncertain

New Fragment (unplaced)

]πα̣ .[
] .α̣με[
]πολ̣[
]ουτ .[

Source: Π^{5a} (fr. 4)   2 possibly θ̣α̣μέ[ως, cf. Kypris Song 1 θαμέω̣ς̣ ἄσαιτο, P. Köln 11.429 Poem 2 (= Sappho fr. 58) line 7 στεναχίσδω θαμέως

Translations

'Fragment 15'

[…] blessed goddess
[…] (may he?) give atonement for previous mistakes
[…] with fair fortune (reach?) harbor
[…],

Kypris, and may (she?) find you [the cruelest],
And may she, Doricha, not boast, telling
of how he came a second time
for a longed-for desire.

'Fragment 16'

⊗
There are those who say of a host of cavalry,
some of foot-soldiers, while others say of ships
to be the fairest thing on the black earth. But I:
whatsoever someone desires.

It is altogether simple to make this clearly known
to all: Helen, by far outstanding in beauty
of mortals, who had a husband,
the best of all men,

left him behind, and, sailing, travelled to Troy
and without any thought at all for her dear child
or her parents either; but [Kypris?] led her off-course
[…]

for [she (sc. Kypris?) with un]bending mind
accomplishes?] easily [whatever she] thinks;
[which] now puts me in mind of Anaktoria
gone away though she is.

Sooner would I watch her desirable gait
and bright glow of her face
than all the chariots of Lydia and
soldiers in arms. ⨂?

'Fragment 16a'

⨂?
It is not possible for a human being
to be completely fortunate; but one may pray
to enjoy a share of happiness. This
I know for myself.

[*2–4 stanzas missing*]

...] to be
...] you walked on tip-toes
...] on the snow. But she many things
with[...]

...] being [...] to depart
...]. For whomsoever
I treat favorably, those most of all harm me
without warning. ⨂

'Fragment 17'

⨂
Near here, indeed, [... let be celebrated]
your [charming] festival, revered Hera,
which the Kings, the Atreidai, established
on a vow,

since they had accomplished heroic exploits
in the beginning at Troy, but later on
putting in just here: for they could not
find their way

before they had approached you, and Suppliant
Zeus and Thyone's soothing child.
Now we, too, [continue] to perform [these things]
just like of o[ld]

that are pure and of high[est. For a huge] throng
of unmarried women and wives [gather right here]
around [your altar, piously wishing to sing in]
measures the sacr[ed cry.]

Each [...
[...
to be [...
[He]ra, to come back. ⊗

'Fragment 18'
Every [...] would [...
to narrate [...
m[y] tongue [...
to weave wild tales [...

and a husband [...] the best things
greater yet [than ...
[*two verses missing*]

mind [...
[*three verses missing*]

[*traces of six more lines + 4–6 stanzas missing, some belonging to Fragment 18a*]

'Fragment 18a'
[...]

Since even [...
lacking the season [...
both night and [...
...

...
...
thousands of st[ars
drin[k?] ⨂

'Fragment 5'

Revered daughters of the sea god, grant that
[my] brother may arrive here unharmed
and whatsoever he should desire in his mind
let that be completed.

And as much as he has previously done wrong,
that he atone for it all; that he be a pleasure
to friends, and a harm to enemies—then may we
never have any.

And may he want to put his sister in a position
of greater honor, since before he was suffering cruel agony
at the hands of [...]
[...

[...] hearing the [...] of the millet seed
[... bu]t through the citizens' censure
as is ever the case, and on the other hand he realized it
not long after.

And [...] if f[am]e [...
know [...]. But you, hallowed Kypris,
After an unendurable evil, [give ...]
[...] ⨂?

***Fragment 9* (*P. GC inv. 105 fr. 1*)**

[⨂]
[P- ... (?)
they are inviting us over for [...]
Do you not have all [that we need,
Mother, for the festival?

[splen]didly and in season to cele[brate? It is this, which
[is a joy] for mortals who live for the day. As for m[e,
[may I ever ...], as long as to m[e it is allowed
[...] to hear.

[...]. And this [...
[...] now. Unhar[med ...
[...] while giving. [...
[she th]ought.

...]
...]
...]able ...
[...] ... to have been completed.

[...]. But I entirely [...
[...] tongue [...
[...] despair [...
[... f]or you ought. ⨂? (*or one stanza missing*)

'Brothers Song'
⨂
[P- ... (?)
[*1 or 5 lines missing*]
[...]la[...
[...] you (?), m[

But you are always chattering for Charaxos to come
with a full ship. Zeus and all the other gods,
know these things, I think. But it is not necessary
for you to think these things.

Summon me instead and commission me to beseech
Queen Hera over and over again
that Charaxos may arrive, piloting back here
a ship that is safe,

and find us safe and sound. Let us
entrust all other things to the gods:
for out of huge gales fair weather
swiftly ensues.

All of those whom the King of Olympus wishes
a divinity as helper to now turn them
from troubles, become happy
and richly blessed.

And if Larichos lifts up his head,
if only he might one day be an established man,
the deep and dreary draggings of our soul
we'd swiftly lift to joy. ⊗

'Kypris Song'

⊗
How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
Kypris, Queen, whomsoever one really loves,
and not especially want respite from suffering?
What sort of thoughts do you have

to pierce me idly with shiverings
out of desire that loosens the knees [...]
[...] not [...
[...] ...

[...] you, I wish [...
[...] to suffer this [...
[...]. This
I know for myself.

***New Fragment* (*unplaced*)**

[...]...[
[...] frequen[tly?
[...]...[
[...]...[

CHAPTER 2

Ten Poems of Sappho: Provenance, Authenticity, and Text of the New Sappho Papyri[1]

Dirk Obbink

Introducing P. Oxy. 2289, Edgar Lobel wrote in 1951 of the then 'newest' Sappho papyrus: 'It cannot be said to add much to our knowledge and in two places it brings new darkness'.[2] Little could he have foreseen that it would overlap with and identify two previously unknown poems and related fragments of Sappho published last year.[3] I begin by summarizing a published report documenting the source of the new fragments and their conservation.[4] I then show how the content and authorship of the fragments were established, and how analyzing the make-up of the papyrus roll yields a strategy for reconstructing its more fragmentary portions.

All of the fragments are written in the same bookhand and formed part of the same papyrus roll. The fragments would have been part of a critical edition of Sappho Book 1 produced at Alexandria. The bookroll would have contained in total about 45 columns, and held 330 Sapphic stanzas, based on the line-count (1,320 *stichoi*) that appears at the end of the roll containing P. Oxy. 1231, thus at least fifty-some poems—based an average of seven stanzas per poem, the maximum known for any poem of Sappho's (viz. Sappho fr. 1), although many will have had fewer. Each column would have been about the height of an octavo book and about the width of your hand. It is likely that the roll was at some point taken to the Fayum. Although papyrus rolls did not have particularly great longevity, this one lasted long enough to be damaged and repaired,[5] before eventually being recycled as some type of cartonnage—a common practice.

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1 An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Society for Classical Studies panel: 'New Fragments of Sappho', New Orleans, 9 January 2015, and posted at www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/Fragments/SCS.Sappho.2015.Obbink.paper.pdf.

2 Lobel (1951) 2.

3 Obbink (2014b); Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014).

4 Obbink (2015a).

5 See image of the back in Obbink (2015a) 1 Plate 1, with ancient vertical tear and horizontal repair strips, on which see Obbink (2014b) 33 for other surviving examples.

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Provenance and Conservation

As reported and documented by the London owner of the Brothers and Kypris Song fragment, all of the fragments were recovered from a fragment of papyrus cartonnage formerly in the collection of David M. Robinson and subsequently bequeathed to the Library of the University of Mississippi.[6] It was one of two pieces flat inside a sub-folder (sub-folder 'E3') inside a main folder (labelled 'Papyri Fragments; Gk'.), one of 59 packets of papyri fragments sold at auction at Christie's in London in November 2011. They contained texts ranging from the 2nd to the 4th century AD, probably originally from the Arsinoite nome where many of Robinson's other papyri were purchased or originated. The collection was documented by William H. Willis in a 1961 article, in which the folder labeled 'Papyri Fragments; Gk'. (and sub-folders numbered 'E1' to 'E12' within it) are part of the 'third group' of Robinson Papyri described by Willis.[7] The 'Egyptian dealer' from whom Robinson, then a professor at the University of Mississippi, acquired the papyri in 1954 is known to have been Sultan Maguid Sameda of the Art Gallery Maguid Sameda, 55 Gambhouria Street in Cairo. Other papyri, both literary and documentary are now either in or have sister pieces in several US and European collections (after having been sold by Mississippi or through original acquisition from the same dealer), among them Duke, Cologne, the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and the Bodmer Foundation, Geneva. Their dispersal has been documented in a fascinating study by James Robinson.[8]

The layers of the cartonnage fragment, a thin flat compressed mass of papyrus fragments, were separated by the owner and his staff by dissolving in a warm-water solution. The owner originally believed that he had dissolved a piece of 'mummy' cartonnage.[9] But this turned out upon closer inspection of

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6 Provenance and Conservation: Obbink (2015a) and (2015b); Willis (1961) 381–382; London sale: Christie's (2011) lot 1. Adjacent in folder 'Papyri Fragments; Gk'. to sub-folder 'E3' was P. Rob. inv. 22, a receipt for a wheat transaction, ϲυναγορ[αϲτικόν], from Bakchias (in folder '9'), and part of the extensive 2nd century Sitologoi report from Theadelphia illustrated (in part) in Christie's (2011) and designated 'P. Rob'., but without inventory number. An additional fragment of this papyrus was in folder 'Papyri Fragments; Gk'., sub-folder 'E12'. The coherence and proximity of these fragments and their labelling shows that the Sappho fragments were part of one of a number of catalogued and unpublished P. Rob. fragments.

7 Willis (1961) 381–382. Complete set of photographs and catalogue, including the fragments from the cartonnage, now in Obbink (2016). Cf. Mazza (2015) 134.

8 Robinson (2011) esp. 83 with n. 3 on Maguid Sameda, his son Sultan, and Willis's 'third group' of Robinson papyri.

9 Obbink (2014a).

the original papyri not to be the case: none of the fragments showed any trace of gesso or paint prior to dissolving or after. This is also consistent with the date of their handwriting, which is datable to the late second/early third centuries AD, comparable to that of a papyrus of Julius Africanus' *Kestoi*, which was not composed before 227 AD (and so cannot not have been written earlier, but must be before the cursive document on the back dated AD 275–276 in the reign of the emperor Tacitus).[10] The recto of latter papyrus shares with the Sappho fragments the degree of regular thickening ('shading') of horizontal strokes in what is otherwise a fairly round hand. Unlike the handwriting of the *Kestoi*, the new papyrus also exhibits an habitual hook over apex of delta, observable in Roman period hands starting only in the third century AD, and omega written in a contrastive manner, i.e. raised in the line, and thus compressed vertically while maintaining normal width, but also written in two separate lobes with a doubling of the vertical stroke in the middle—the latter sometimes identified as a feature of development of the Biblical Maiuscule in the third century AD.[11] Several other fragments were recovered, along with the Sappho fragments: one with several letters of 3rd century Greek documentary script and another fragment with a seven-line text, probably part of 3rd century accounts in a different hand. The piece of cartonnage into which the main fragment containing the Brothers and Kypris Songs was enfolded (bottom to top, along still visible horizontal fold-lines, with the written side facing outwards) was probably domestic or industrial cartonnage: it might have been employed e.g. for a book-cover or book-binding.[12] Some twenty smaller fragments removed from the exterior of this piece, being not easily identified or re-joined, were deemed insignificant and so traded independently on the London market by the owner, and made their way from the same source into the Green Collection in Oklahoma City.

The twenty-some smaller fragments, many overlapping with a number already known poems of Sappho, were re-joined with one another by Simon Burris, Jeffrey Fish, and myself (with textual suggestions from Joel Lidov) into three main ensembles: Sappho fragments 9, frs. 16–17, and frs. 18 + 5 (plus one unplaced fragment). The three ensembles fell predictably into their position in the original roll, following the consecutive sequence of overlapping poems in P. Oxy. 1231 (and, for fragment 5, P. Oxy. 7, with its lost line-beginnings, where in

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10 P. Oxy. 412, now in the British Library, inv. 2040 (P. Lond. Lit. 174). For the handwriting, see Plate V in Grenfell and Hunt (1903) 36–41; also illustrated in Roberts (1956) 22–23 (no. 23a).

11 Cavallo (1967).

12 Horizontal fold-lines: visible in Figs. 2.2 and 2.3, pp. 38–39. For other examples of Greek papyri recovered from book-covers/bindings of limp leather stiffened with waste sheets of papyrus, see Barns, Browne, and Shelton (1981).

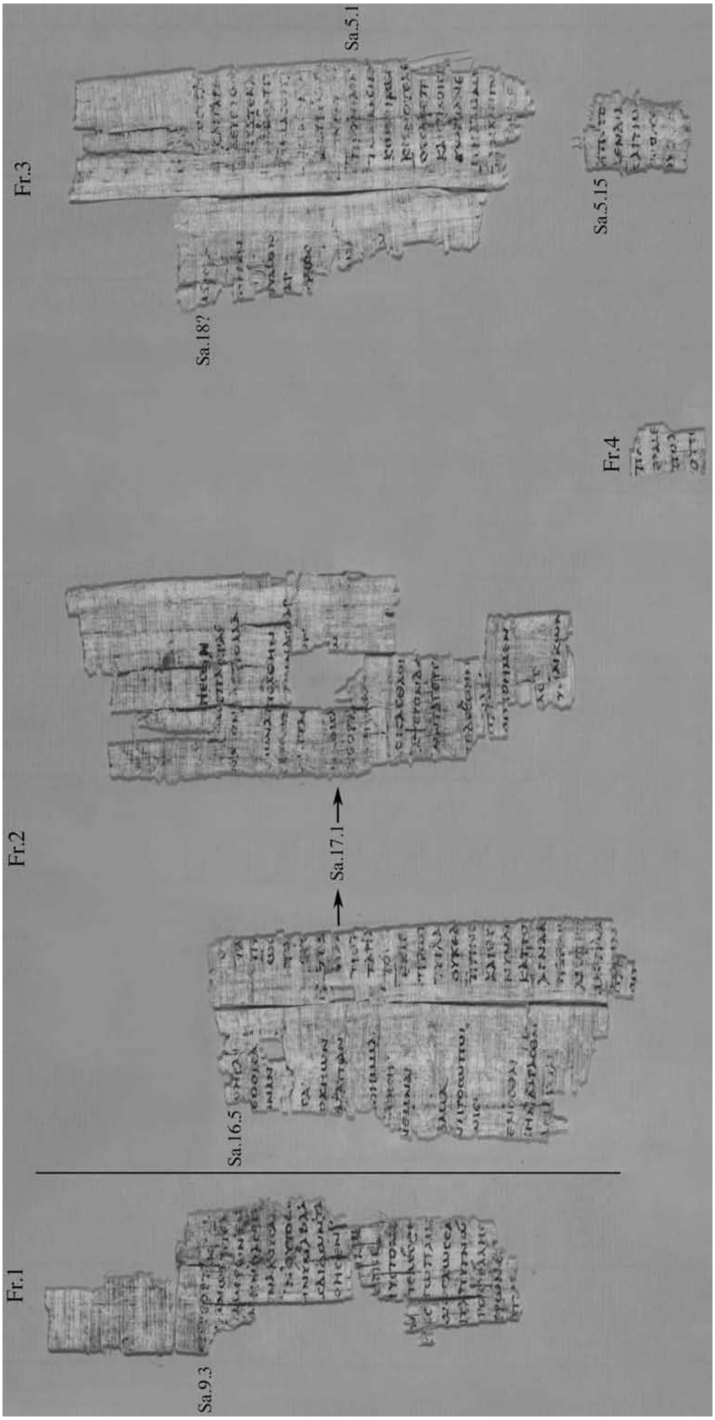

FIGURE 2.1 *P. GC Inv. 105, frs. 1–4*
IMAGE COPYRIGHT © IMAGING PAPYRI PROJECT, OXFORD—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

FIGURE 2.2 *P. Sapph. Obbink, containing lines 5–24 of the Brothers Song and parts of lines 1–8 of the Kypris Song.*
IMAGE COPYRIGHT © IMAGING PAPYRI PROJECT, OXFORD—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

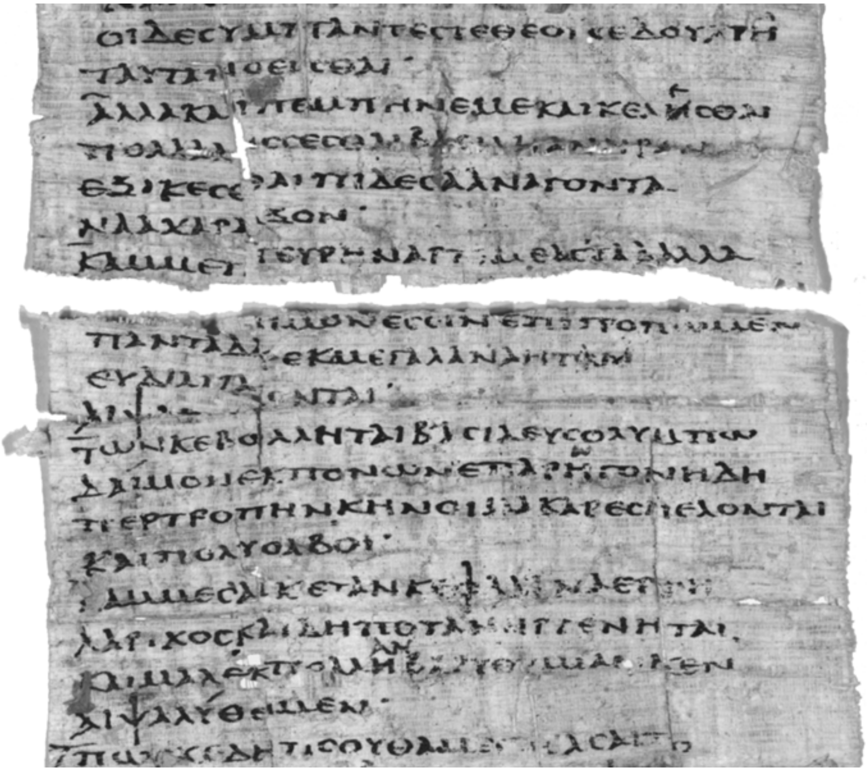

FIGURE 2.3 *Detail of P. Sapph. Obbink, showing the physical break between lines 13 and 14.*
IMAGE COPYRIGHT © IMAGING PAPYRI PROJECT, OXFORD—ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

the new papyrus, just under the paragraphus, is visible the new reading of the line beginning the poem, Πότνιαι). Matching horizontal fibers confirm the vertical join between halves of P. CG inv. 105 fr. 3 cols. i–ii, where continuities of dark horizontal fibers can be seen continuing across the vertical join. On the basis of the reconstructed length of the *kollemata* (the original sheets in the papyrus roll), we hypothesised that the larger fragment containing the Brothers and Kypris Songs (which shows the right edge of a *kollesis* i.e. sheet-join), could have followed after the column containing fragment 5, with only one column intervening—at the nearest point.[13]

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13 In Fig. 2.1, p. 37, Sappho fr. 9 (= P. GC inv. 105 fr. 1) is shown as 'unplaced', segregated at the far left. It is probably to be placed in the column after the one at far right in Fig. 2.1, p. 37 (with Brothers/Kypris Songs in the column to the right of that). For the new placement of

Only the fragments overlapping with Sappho fragment 9 did not seem to fit physically or textually into this sequence. M.L. West posited on grounds of economy that it should be placed in the missing column between fragment 5 and the Brothers Song.[14] This is certainly a possible placement according to surface quality and fiber continuities: after 9 lines there is a horizontal break at the same level on both pieces. Also, there is damage in the top margin of the Brothers Song that looks to be the same height as the top margin of fragment 9 in P. GC inv. 105 fr. 1. If this is correct, the fragments taken together preserve (in part) a run of six consecutive columns, or a little more than one eighth of the whole of Book 1 of Sappho.

For fragments 16a and 17, the new fragments supply line-ends to previously known line-beginnings, confirmed by sense and continuity of fibers (as described above). For fragment 18 a vertical join between the pieces containing fragment 18, on the one hand, and 18a + Sappho fr. 5 is proved only by continuity of fibers. Here multiple continuities of horizontal fibers appear to confirm the vertical join between these halves of P. CG inv. 105 fr. 3 (cols. i–ii), at a point where no other textual witness secures the join. However, further confirmation is found in the fact that Sappho fr. 5, following 18a on the same piece, for the first time reveals its incipit: π̲ότνιαι Νηρήιδες, 'Queen Nereïdes'—which West has proposed to emend to πόντιαι 'watery' Νηρήιδες.[15] Jurenka had already proposed πόντιαι (acknowledged by West) with reference to Pind. *Nem.* 5.36 (recorded in Voigt's apparatus). West adds the parallel of Pind. *Pyth.* 11.2. However, in neither case are these invocations/prayers, but mythological/genealogical narrations, perhaps playing off the similar sounding cult title Πότνιαι.[16] West (ibid.) writes that πότνιαι, 'a common title of individual goddesses, suggests an august status that we do not associate with the Nereids as a collectivity'. Ferrari, however, makes the case for Πότνιαι forcefully, noting that 'Elsewhere πότνιαι is said of the Eumenides (Soph. *OC* 84), Demeter and Kore (ibid. 1050, Ar. *Thesm.* 1049), the Moirae (ibid. 700), whereas the Genetyllidae of Ar. *Thesm.* 130 are also nymphs, and Thetis is indicated as πότνια μήτηρ in Hom. *Il.* 18.35'.[17]

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the fragments in their spacing in the papyrus roll, see the revised image at http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/newsappho/index.html. Still of uncertain placement is the small fragment P. GC inv. 105 fr. 4 shown at the bottom edge between fr. 2 and fr. 3 in Fig. 2.1, p. 37.

14 West (2014) 7.

15 West (2014) 5: 'Diels's πότνιαι turns out to have been right. Or does it? It remains possible that Sappho wrote πόντιαι'.

16 See Sappho fr. 17.2: πότνι' Ἥρα; Brothers Song 10: βαcίληαν Ἥραν; Kypris Song 2: Κύπρι, δέcποιν'.

17 Ferrari (2014) 7–8.

Whether πότνιαι or πόντιαι, it is significant that the placement (independently, on physical grounds of fiber-matching and the principle of economy) of this fragment at this point in the sequence—results in a continuation of the alphabetic sequence of poems by first letter of incipits in π-. This was news.

The Alphabetic Arrangement

An alphabetic arrangement of the poems in the first Book of Sappho was posited already by A.S. Hunt[18] and affirmed by E. Lobel,[19] though it was subsequently forgotten, until the appearance of P. Sapph. Obbink, where it could be seen as confirmed by the order in the sequence in which the Kypris Song comes, with its incipit in Πῶϲ, thus continuing the poems (Sappho frs. 17, 18, and 5) beginning with π-.[20] 'Its purpose was to make it easy to find a poem of which one remembered the incipit'.[21] Most Greek lyric poems, it must be remembered, had no titles: 'therefore the only way to register them, it seems, was according to the incipit, a method still applied in modern indexes of lyric poems of an author or of an anthology'.[22] Lobel argued that it was applied to the other books of Sappho,[23] though not to the Hellenistic-Roman period edition of Alcaeus.[24] The arrangement is paralleled by the alphabetic ordering of the hypotheses of Greek dramas in the papyri, insofar as this is by first letter of the title of the play, the first word in the hypothesis entry (probably following

18 Hunt (1914) 21: introduction to P. Oxy. 1231.

19 Lobel (1925) xv and 4–6, where it governed his supplement (of a letter-space left blank) at Sappho fr. 18.1 ⟨Π⟩άν.

20 Already Obbink (2014b) 35 n. 6.

21 West (2014) 1–2 with nn. 3–4.

22 Pfeiffer (1968) 130. Ovid (*Tristia* 2.261) refers to a copy of Lucretius' poem as though by title as '*Aeneidum genetrix*'.

23 Lobel (1925) xv.

24 Lobel (1925) xvi. This is because we know the first verses of the first three poems in Book 1 of the Hellenistic-Roman period edition of Alcaeus, and they are not in alphabetical order: (1) fr. 307a: ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, παῖ μεγάλω Δίοϲ; (2) fr. 308.1: χαῖρε, Κυλλάναϲ ὀ μέδειϲ, cὲ γάρ μοι; (3) fr. 343: Νύμφαι, ταὶϲ Δίοϲ ἐξ αἰγιόχω φαῖϲι τετυχμέναιϲ (Νύμφαι Edmonds: Νύμφαις codd; Voigt prints Edmonds's correction; cf. fr. 306c Campbell = P. Oxy. 2734 fr. 1 lines 21–22). See Pardini (1991); Porro (1994); Lyne (2005) esp. 547. Allowance should be made for at least the first poem being out of alphabetical sequence, as in the Hellenistic-Roman edition of Sappho (see below). Although (2) and (3) cannot be in alphabetical order either, like Sappho fr. 1, all are hymnic beginnings.

alphabetized lists of the plays).[25] It is uncertain whether an alphabetic arrangement of the poems in Sappho Book 1 could have descended from an edition as early as the Alexandrian editors.[26] (The surviving papyri comprising Sappho Book 1 are all of the Roman period, 1st–3rd centuries A.D.) But that this reflects procedures followed in the cataloguing of Hellenistic book-collections receives support from alphabetically ordered lists of books (by first letter of title) in the papyri: e.g. P. Oxy. 2462 (2nd half of second century AD list of plays by Menander) and P. Oxy. 2456 (late second century AD list of plays by Euripides), as well as other examples.[27]

Hellenistic editors seem to have made an exception for the first poem in Book 1.[28] This can be seen from the fact that Sappho fr. 1 (its initial placement in the Hellenistic edition known from the citation practice for the Archaic lyric poets of the Roman period metrician Hephaestion) begins, out of alphabetic sequence, with Ποικιλόθρον' rather than with a word beginning with A-. For this kind of exception to an otherwise standardized order, we may compare the initial placement of Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 1, a programmatic ode for an important person in the *horse-race*, i.e. outside the arrangement, which was otherwise followed in the books of Pindar's *Epinicians*, by importance of competitive event. In this case an ode for a victory in a *chariot-race* would otherwise been expected to stand at the beginning, as it does in the other books of Pindar's *Epinicians*.

25 Van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 2–4 with nn. 8 and 13.

26 Rusten (1982) 357–358, 363–364 disputes whether the alphabetic arrangement of the dramatic hypotheses could go as far back as the time the Alexandrian editors or even of Dichaearchus, but this is affirmed by van Rossum Steenbeek (1998) 3, and receives further support from the alphabetically organized lists of dramatic works in Callimachus' *Pinakes* (see below). Alphabetically arranged lists in documentary texts on papyri and inscriptions appear from the early 2nd century BC on: see Láda (2011) 27 with n. 4; Daly (1967), which confirms the existence of the practice in Hellenistic times.

27 See Otranto (2000) 89–95. A papyrus of 100–150 A.D., British Library inv. 108 + 115 (P. Lond. Lit. 132, published by A.C. Harris in 1848 and by J. Arden and C. Babington in 1853) + St John's College, Cambridge inv. Aa 5.1 Ardenianus (T. Morgan, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 75–77) is an edition of speeches of Hyperides ordered alphabetically by incipit. P. Oxy. ined. inv. 88/195(a) is a yet unpublished late second/early third century AD list of plays by Sophocles—in *reverse* alphabetical sequence!

28 For possible evidence that Sappho fr. 1 was not the first poem in at least one copy containing Sappho's poetry (P. Oxy. 2288, 2nd century A.D.) see Obbink (2011) 33–38 with Figs. 1.1–2 and further bibliography. However, it is also possible that the text on the preceding layer contained prefatory material, such as a dedicatory poem or biography. Yatromanolakis (1999) argues that some Hellenistic-Roman period editions of Sappho had differing numbers and orders of books.

Another apparent exception in Sappho Book 1 is Sappho fr. 6, known only from P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1.7, where a poem starts with sigma, Cτεῖχ[(the coronis preceding the line is clearly visible). Edgar Lobel (on P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1) read traces in the margin three lines above this incipit as a stichometric epsilon written in the margin. Now, if this were a stichometric epsilon, it would be marking line 500 of Book 1, which had in total 1320 lines (based on the entry in the colophon at P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 56, i.e. after Sappho fr. 30). Based on the calculation of 1320 (the total number of verses in Book 1) minus 500, it would be hard to believe that poems with incipits so late in the alphabet, i.e. beginning in c through ω, occupied as many as 820 of the total 1320 verses.[29] West offers two explanations: either 'that the letter is not stichometric, or that the poem was placed out of order to associate it with another of similar content'.[30] But Lobel's stichometric epsilon cannot be correct: it would mean that the line so marked at P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1.4 (a verse beginning κτα̣. [) was verse 500, and should therefore be the last line of the 125th stanza in Book 1—whereas *two more* verses follow before the coronis that marks the beginning of the new poem at line 7 of the papyrus fragment (Sappho fr. 6.1, beginning Cτεῖχ[). Of course, we might make allowance that a scribe or a *diathortes* might have perhaps miscounted the number of *stichoi*, or several verses could have been omitted or duplicated in copying. However, Lobel allows that the top and bottom pieces of P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1 might not in fact join without an interval (if the epsilon is correctly read, the arithmetic could show that they did not),[31] and there are other, contrary indications: the putative epsilon is too high relative to the line: it is actually placed evenly between Sappho fr. 6.3 and 6.4, whereas a stichometric letter would be on the same level as the line indicated. The marginal ink traces in question are possibly an intrusive epsilon from an extra-long line extending over from the preceding column originally to the left, or (assuming the top and bottom pieces do actually physically touch) part of the spirals from the very top of the coronis in the margin two lines below.

It is therefore now clear that P. Oxy. 1231 and the new fragments preserve poems from the second half of Sappho Book 1. Thus P. Oxy. 1231 (as far as we know) contains poems beginning in O-Ω, covering roughly the last 650 verses; P. GC inv. 105 + P. Sapph. Obbink had poems beginning in O-Π, covering the first 150 of these. There is no evidence that any of the poems in the O- or Π- incipit

29 Averaging based on relative frequency of words in ancient Greek beginning with these letters would lead one to expect exactly the opposite proportions.

30 West (2014) 1 n. 4.

31 Lobel (1951) 4.

series were 'placed out of order to associate it with another of similar content'.[32] It is remarkable that P. Oxy. 2289 similarly contained a cluster of overlapping fragments from the same groups of poems from Sappho Book 1, all from the second half of the alphabet, i.e. incipits in π- through c-.[33] Liberman, calling into question the quality of the two new poems, notes that these poems 'belong to the end of the book-roll, where, according to Alexandrian scholarship, the most famous pieces were not located'.[34] Although this may have been true for the Alexandrian edition of Pindar (in which 'miscellaneous', non-epinician poems or incomplete ones such as *Nemean Ode* 11 or *Isthmian Ode* 9 were placed at the ends of their respective books), there is no reason to think it was so for Sappho's first Book. Sappho fr. 31, for example, the only other poem from Book 1 for which we have the incipit, Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος, came very late in this half of Sappho Book 1—and it was notable enough to attract the attention of Catullus and his Roman readers, as well as the praise of the author of *On the Sublime*. Furthermore, there is good reason to think that the final poem in Book 1, Sappho fr. 30 (= P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 56), which contains the coronis and *subscriptio*[35]—with its references to maidens, bachelors, all-night singing, the nightingale, and the violet-robed bride—has been editorially moved there, out of alphabetical sequence, to stand as an impressive coda and conclusion to the book: Page observed that Sappho fr. 30 (end of Book 1, with colophon) and Sappho fr. 27, which preceded it[36] (P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 50) near the end of the roll and

32 Cf. West (2014) 1 n. 4. See, however, below, for a likely placement of poems out of order according to similar content as a conclusion to Book 1.

33 P. Oxy. 2289 derives from an edition of Sappho Book 1: it had poems with incipits in π-: see fr. 9 (= Sappho fr. 17.4–8), fr. 6 (= Sappho fr. 5.15–18), fr. 4 (Sappho fr. 9), fr. 5 (= Brothers Song 3–8); and in C-: see 2289 fr. 1.7 ff. (= Sappho fr. 6). Like fr. 5, Voigt did not deign to include fr. 7 in her edition; it has gone unnoticed that it apparently overlaps with Sappho fr. 3.2–4, but we do not know its incipit, as we likewise do not know the incipits of the poems from which come fr. 2 (= Sappho fr. 7), fr. 3 (= Sappho fr. 8), and fr. 8 (= Sappho fr. 12). But it is reasonable to think that all of these came in or around the same cluster of incipits in π-c (i.e. frs. 4–6 and 9). Sappho fr. 7.1 may have mentioned Doricha, and fr. 3.7 ἄcαιο has the same word as the Kypris Song 1 ἄcαιτο, which might associate them with the known poems with o- or π- incipits. Fr. 1.1–6, although edited by Voigt as part of Sappho fr. 6, contains the line-beginnings of a separate fragmentary poem by Sappho which as yet has no fragment number assigned to it.

34 Liberman (2014) 2 n. 5; see Liberman (2007) 45–47.

35 Containing title, Μέλη, (author?), and stichometric information, 1300 *stichoi*—at the end of the book-roll. For Sappho fr. 30 we have the excipit but not its incipit.

36 Hunt (1914) 43 notes that frs. 50–55 'are put together as having been found rather apart from the rest'. For obvious reasons, they cannot have come after Sappho fr. 30 (P. Oxy. 1231

may have been the penultimate poem (Page asserts that it was 'next to last'), together with Sappho fr. 44 (P. Oxy. 1232 frs. 1–2 + 2076 col. ii), which was the last poem in Sappho Book 2, were all 'Epithalamian in character'.[37] Two 'Epithalamian' poems at the end of Book 1, seems like too much of a coincidence, in a book of poems ordered otherwise alphabetically (and thus at random in regard to theme), making the conclusion almost irresistible that the final poem or poems were artificially positioned there (thus out of alphabetical sequence) at the end of the book.[38] In this way the collection (as far as we can see it from Sappho Book 1) gets a programmatic poem at the beginning,[39] and another at the end, giving some sense of symmetry, balance, and a conclusion—a beginning, middle, and end—that was one structural model for the Hellenistic poetry book. For Sappho, the first and final poems were 'signature tunes'.[40]

Ten Poems of Sappho

Alphabetization turns out to be an important innovation for the Hellenistic edition of Sappho Book 1,[41] and an instrumental indicator for reconstructing

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fr. 56, which contains the *subscriptio* of Book 1) and, while they could have come before the O- sequence of incipits, reasons of economy suggest that they came together in the gap between the O-Π sequence of incipits and the final poem (although we do not know of how many poems they contain parts). Sappho fr. 6 may have been 'epithalamian' in character, and (with its incipit in Cτεῖχ[) came late in Book 1 on alphabetical grounds, and so may have suggested the grouping of poems about weddings at the end of the book.

37 I.e. they were explicitly songs about participation in weddings, which does not necessarily mean that they were *epithalamia*.

38 Page (1955) 125–126: 'We may then conjecture that Sappho's epithalamian poems were arranged according to two different principles: those whose metres qualified them for inclusion in the metrically homogeneous books (esp. the first four books) were *added at the ends of such books*; the miscellaneous remainder were put together to form a separate book, the ninth' (my italics). Of course, fr. 30 may have begun with with Ω-, as a matter of coincidence (cf. fr. 31 incipit). But the fact that other poems late in Book 1 (Sappho frs. 6 and 27) are also 'epithalamian' makes it less likely that all began with Ω-.

39 It is tempting to ask whether there could have been more than one hymnic poem standing (regardless of alphabetic incipit) at the beginning of Sappho Book 1 (see above on the Hellenistic-Roman period edition of Alcaeus).

40 For marriage as an end and remedy for love-troubles, and explicitly associated with the end of a unit of poetic composition (placement of the coronis), see Philodemus, *Epigr*. 4 Sider (17 Gow and Page = *Anth. Pal.* 11.41).

41 See Liberman (2007); Neri (2015). The existence of such an edition, just in time for

this continuous run of Sappho's poems from Book 1. The point of beginning for Sappho fr. 16 [O]ἰ μὲν (where the margin with coronis is lacking in the papyrus) is now confirmed beyond any doubt by the alphabetic incipit in 'O-'. A poem beginning in 'O-' for the start of a new poem at Sappho fr. 16a (where the margin with coronis is likewise lacking) is highly recommended, shoring up the case for the attractive restoration of ["Ολβιον] μὲν as the beginning of a poem here. The modern editorial correction of the papyrus' incipit at Sappho fr. 18 to ⟨Π⟩άν is shown to be correct. The placement (posited independently on physical grounds) of Sappho fr. 5 (its true incipit Πότνιαι now known from the new papyrus) and of the Brothers and Kypris Songs is confirmed. What is more, we can say now with some confidence on the basis of this sequence that the poem that had Sappho fr. 15 as its end began with O- (see below). As a result we now (uniquely) know the order of ten successive poems from an Alexandrian edition of an archaic melic poet.[42]

Along with the information conveyed at the end of this book in P. Oxy. 1231 (author, title/genre, total number of lines), the alphabetization of these poems focuses attention on the incipit (ἀρχή) as a means of reference ('titling') and ordering. These categories are familiar to us, not only from papyri of other canonical authors, but from a work known to us by Callimachus, namely the *Pinakes*, an official list in 120 books of all the writings in the palace library at Alexandria (and therefore for the education of the young princes), or perhaps even of all known literary works or books (the evidence is controversial), and as far as we know the first library catalogue in the western tradition. A direct link between the Alexandrian edition of Sappho and the *Pinakes* can be seen not only in the information contained in the *subscriptio* of P. Oxy. 1231, but also in the rich ancient biographical and commentary tradition that accompanies the text of Sappho in the papyrological record and in the secondary tradition.[43] Although it is sometimes questioned, the importance of the *Pinakes*

Ptolemy II's newly founded library at Alexandria, may be documented in a contemporary epigram, by the Hellenistic scholar-poet Posidippus. He refers to Sappho's 'bright singing columns', λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι cελίδες (*Epigr*. 17.6 Gow and Page = 122.6 Austin and Bastianini) as a way of alluding to newly produced copies of the Hellenistic edition at Alexandria, 'white' or 'shining' because of her enduring fame for poetic excellence, and because new upscale and much sought-after books were treated with cedar-oil as a preservative which polished their surface to a shiny glare.

42 Four of these (Sappho frs. 15–18) were already known to be successive from the order in P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 1; an additional six successive poems (Sappho frs. 16a end, 18a end, fr. 5, fr. 9, Brothers Song, and Kypris Song) were added by the new P. GC inv. 105 + P. Sapph. Obbink.

43 Test. 213–214 Voigt; 1–7 Campbell. For the inclusion of biographical details in the Calli-

for systematization of literary collections through alphabetization cannot be overstated: 'For the first time in history, the *Pinakes* of Callimachus made the greatest treasures of literature accessible by dividing poetry and prose books into appropriate classes by listing the authors in alphabetical order'.[44]

But the alphabetization (both in Callimachus' *Pinakes* and in Sappho Book 1) was not beyond the first letter of the first word: i.e. within each series of incipits by first letter of the first word of the poem, individual poems are not arranged in alphabetical order. This is clear from the fact that fr. 17 with incipit Πλάσιον was followed on (in P. Oxy. 1231) by fr. 18 beginning with ⟨Π⟩άν (according to Lobel's accepted correction of the papyrus). That is to say, it was not what according to modern bibliographical parlance is called 'thick' or 'full and fine' alphabetization, but 'thin' or 'coarse' alphabetization, i.e. only a 'rough' grouping into clumps of poems beginning with the same letter (what ancient Greeks called κατὰ στοιχεῖον). This is also consistent with the ancient practice in the editions on papyrus and alphabetical lists of titles of plays of Aristophanes, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Menander as well as the titles in the collection of dramatic hypotheses, which as a rule do not extend beyond the first letter.[45]

Left at that, within each group of poems beginning with a certain letter of the alphabet, and with no further ordering principle imposed, poems would have been effectively placed in a more or less random order vis-à-vis each other. But in fact, the lists of the works of the Greek dramatists that have come down to us from Callimachus' *Pinakes*, in a similarly 'coarse' alphabetical arrangement (by first letter of first word of their titles only), especially the lists of titles of the plays of Aristophanes and Euripides, turn out not to be ordered at random within each group beginning with a certain letter of the alphabet, but are sub-arranged within each first-letter of their titles *chronologically*.[46] For Sappho

machean entries see frs. 430, 432, 438, and 448 Pfeiffer; Blum (1991) 153–156; Chrysanthou (2015) 35 with n. 66 with further bibliography. Presumably the inclusion in entries under e.g. 'author' of even minor details, like 'Sappho *of Lesbos*' (or Mytilene or Eresos), or the addition of an author's nickname or patronymic, soon expanded to include the fuller biographies that appear in the papyri and secondary tradition, at least some of which have a separate tradition going back to the Peripatetics (Chamaeleon?).

44 Pfeiffer (1968) 133. On the Callimachean *Pinakes* more generally, see Pfeiffer (1968) 126–133; Schmidt (1922); Witty (1973) and (1958) 132; Blum (1991) esp. 124–160, 226–239. Sider (1981) gives a complete translation of the fragments of the Callimachean *Pinakes* from Pfeiffer's edition.

45 'There is to date no firm evidence for fully alphabetized lists before the second century A.D.': Láda (2011) 26; Daly (1967) 30, 32, 34–35, 85, and 95.

46 For further parallels see Blum (1991), 190–193 at 190: 'The chronological sequence of the

Book 1, although we have only the 'titles' of poems of the o-π incipit series from which to judge, we do now have a continuous sequence of ten poems from the Hellenistic ancient edition (more than for any other lyric poet besides Pindar) to observe. And from the resulting succession, we do get something like a discernable arrangement of the ten poems:

1) Sappho fr. 15. o-(?) incipit: the letter o- not preserved (but highly likely;[47] on same piece of papyrus, and immediately preceding Sappho fr. 16 in P. Oxy. 1231). About her brother's troubles at sea, his mistress Doricha (named),[48] and the negative effect of Kypris on them; he is to 'atone for all of his previous wrongs' (same or arguably similar phraseology as in fr. 5), and hopefully reach 'harbor'.

2) Sappho fr. 16. o- incipit: [O]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων (where [O]ἰ is a certain restoration). About love; mythological exemplum about Helen and the Trojan war leads into expression of speaker's overwhelming desire for Anactoria, who is unfortunately absent.

3) Sappho fr. 16a. o- incipit(?): ["Ολβιον] μὲν οὐ (a plausible, though not certain restoration, conforming to the alphabetical sequence; on same piece of papyrus following Sappho fr. 16 and followed by fr. 17, but margin with coronis does not survive). The poem generalized about experience with the gnomic statement: 'It is not possible for a human being to be completely fortunate; but one may pray' (to enjoy a share of joy/happiness?), followed by statement of the

plays cannot have come about by chance'. This is especially true of the 'Novatic index' of the comedies of Aristophanes published from a Byzantine manuscript (but descended from the Callimachean *Pinakes*) by Novati (1879). Wilamowitz (1879) immediately pointed out that the titles beginning with the same letter appear in chronological order (according to the year of their performance, as reconstructed by Hellenistic scholars from the Athenian victory lists). At least some of the poems of Alcaeus in the Hellenistic-Roman edition were chronologically ordered (probably the 'stasiotic' poems, whose dates were known from the succession of Lesbian tyrants mentioned in them, and so used by Aristotle in his chronological researches). See Hutchinson (2008) 167.

47 Since otherwise there will have been an abnormally small number of poems beginning with o-; by comparison, poems beginning with π- in Book 1 numbered at least six (seven if one counts Sappho fr. 1, beginning with Ποικιλόθρον'), and it is unknown whether or not the Kypris Song was followed by further poem(s) beginning with π-.

48 Hunt (1914) 40: 'Not mentioned in previously extant fragments. Her reappearance here gives fresh substance to the lines of Posidippus' (referring to *Epigr.* 17 Gow and Page = 122 Austin and Bastianini).

speaker's own personal experience, concluding in bitter renunciation of those who treat her badly.[49] Possible reference to the poet's exile.[50]

4) Sappho fr. 17. π- incipit: Πλάσιον δὴ μ̣[. Hymn to Hera; mythological exemplum from the returns from the Trojan War linking Hera with Zeus and Dionysus (i.e. at Messon); reference to a tradition of dances by female groups there, for Hera.

5) Sappho fr. 18. π- incipit: ⟨Π⟩άν κεδ[. Remarkably, the poem began with three line-initial words having to do with speech. It appears to have generalized about experience,[51] and possibly about the nature of expression or discourse and 'weaving tales' or 'mythologizing'.[52]

6) Sappho fr. 18a. π- incipit(?): not preserved (but on same piece of papyrus immediately preceding Sappho fr. 5 in P. GC inv. 105). The poem contained references to 'night', and to 'stars' as innumerable sources of light.

7) Sappho fr. 5. π- incipit: Πότνιαι Νηρήιδες. Hymn for safe return of the brother as admonished by his sister; his need for atonement, reconciliation with citizens; probably contained an address to Kypris at the end (but apparently no mention of erotics).

8) Sappho fr. 9. π- incipit(?): not preserved (but arguably on same piece of papyrus preceding Brothers/Kypris Songs, beginning with π). The poem contained an address to her mother, or a goddess (Hera?) addressed as 'Mother', apparently about an impending religious celebration (or the right time for it) and the materials necessary for celebrating it, while reflecting on this (?) as a source of simple pleasure.[53]

49 West (2014) 3: 'The poem, then, was one of complaint, and the opening stanza is to be interpreted in this light. Sappho does not aspire to permanent good fortune, but thinks it reasonable to hope for a ration of happiness. This is the expectation that is currently being disapointed by behaviour of a person of whom she deserves better'.

50 In line 9 (29) ἀ̣πέλθην 'conceivably a reference to Sappho's leaving Mytilene' (West [2014] 3), possibly concerning her exile: see Parian Marble *FGrHist* 239 A 36: εἰc Cικελίαν ἔπευcε φυγοῦcα (= test. 5 Campbell), datable around 605/04–591/90 based on the surrounding dates in the chronicle, i.e. reflecting an event that could have occurred later in her career.

51 West (2014) 5: 'Another poem that began with a general proposition'.

52 West (2014) 5: 'The first stanza referred to (false?) speech'.

53 West (2014) 7: 'We have the impression that Sappho, whose love of festivals is attested in other poems (fr. 17, … 94.24ff.), is remonstrating with her mother Kleïs … The issue

9) Brothers Song. π- incipit(?): not preserved (but followed on same piece of papyrus by Kypris Song). Concern for older brother's whereabouts attributed to interlocutor (perhaps mother), but approach to Hera, leaving it to the gods recommended by speaker; well-wishing for younger brother.

10) Kypris Song. π- incipit: Πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ: Complaint about (and rationale for) the repeated onset of intense passion and physical symptoms experienced by the speaker due to Kypris.

Although much is uncertain (frs. 18–18a in particular leave us with little text to go on), and although we have only the series of incipits in ο-π on which to judge, there seems to be in each case a discernable succession from poems: first (a) those involving the family and close family relations, then (b) those involving participation in cult of family groups, and finally moving on to (c) poems about love and personal desire, and especially the experience of recurrent or unrequited desire or disappointment. Within each letter of incipit these are arranged a-b-c, although when there is more than one of each type within a given letter of incipit, these are collated aa, bb, cc. Although poems without any mention of family *or* passion may have been placed first, it is noteworthy that Sappho fr. 17, which came first (or, much less likely, second) in the π- series, does deal in an important way with the 'nostos' theme that recurs, specifically about a family member, in fr. 5 and again in the Brothers Song.[54]

It is especially remarkable that in both sequences, poems about the (negative) effects of Kypris on a family member precede any poem about the effects of Kypris on the speaker. In the continuous sequence of Sappho fr. 5, fr. 9, and Brothers Song we get mentions of a (i) a brother and sister, (ii) a mother, and (iii) a female (who may be the mother) addressed about two brothers, respectively. This is then followed by a poem about unrequited love as a occupational hazard for the speaker when dealing with Kypris. At the same time, no poem about the emotional effects of Kypris on the speaker precedes any of the poems about family members in the ο- series (Sappho fr. 15) or in the π- series (Sappho fr. 5, fr. 9, and Brothers Song) of incipits. Although it is true that it is not certain that we have the complete ο-π series of incipits, we nevertheless do have the

is some lack or shortage in connection with a due celebration for which certain persons have issued a call or invitation. Perhaps Kleïs has said she cannot afford an expense that Sappho regards as appropriate. The motif is parallelled in fr. 98, where Sappho herself is the mother, telling her daughter that she cannot buy her a fashionable Lydian μιτράνα'. Lardinois, this volume, argues that the poem probably spoke of Charaxos as well.

54 For this point, see esp. Neri (2014); also Caciagli, this volume.

end of the ο- sequence, and we do have the beginning and what must be the better part of the π- sequence; the chronological arrangement of topics in this latter sequence would be almost impossible to explain as mere coincidence, in a run of poems ordered not thematically but only alphabetically, even if we did not have the parallel sequence from the end of the ο- series of incipits (Sappho fr. 15, fr. 16, and fr. 16a) for corroboration of a similar ordering.

The organization within the incipit sequences, then, for the ten poems seems to have been roughly chronological, according to the presumed time of the setting or subject matter in the poet's life.[55] We cannot say for sure whether this was a pattern that ran throughout the rest of the incipit sequences (in Book 1 or any other book), only that it is consistent with the evidence we do have for the poems in each incipit sequence beginning ο- and π-: a loosely chronological order ranging from early family life and cult through and beyond the first experience of desire to the psychological effects of recurrent desire, disappointment, and coming to terms with it. The opening poem of the collection, Sappho fr. 1, also on recurrent distressing desire and how to deal with it, will have set a theme and tone for the entire Book 1, but was itself out of alphabetic sequence. An alphabetical arrangement of incipits, sub-ordered chronologically,[56] will have resulted in a set of vignettes,[57] recurring throughout each book, from the life-course of the persona of the poems from girlhood and early family experience, through cultic initiation into the civic group, through to the mature desiring (and sometimes disappointed) adult.[58]

55 It may seem a naïve biographical assumption that the time of composition should have been thought to be the same time as the setting or events in the speaker's life as narrated in the poems—as though Sappho could not have reflected on and remembered earlier events in her life as a more mature speaker, or could not have fallen in love early or late in her life. But to ancient editors and readers it would have seemed a natural conclusion that Sappho would not have complained about her old age, for example, or about being experienced in love, at an early age, or that she would have worried about her brother growing up in the voice of a mature woman.

56 One may wonder whether the present arrangement resulted from the alphabetical ordering of a previously ordered chronological arrangement, or from sub-ordering chronologically each letter-group in an originally alphabetical arrangement—but that is another question. See Blum (1991) 190–193 for the debate over the same question with regard to the alphabetical lists of titles of Aristophanes and Euripides.

57 For age-grouped poems within each grouping by letter of incipit compare the observation by Lardinois, this volume, that nobody in each type of these songs ever does grow up. The situation repeats itself.

58 Unlike the poems of Alcaeus, for which there was some historical underpinning in dates for the succession of tyrants at Mytilene and the accompanying aristocratic factionalism,

In the Brothers Song, the speaker is still young enough to express her concern that her younger brother may 'become a man'. At least one poem (in the fourth Book) was prominently about the experience of old age by the speaker (Sappho fr. 58). In another, the speaker seems (on one reading) to have been old enough to have addressed her own child. And Books 1 and 2 ended with marriage.

Of course, it may be rightly observed that Sappho will not have constituted her own text, ordering her poems in an edition like a Hellenistic or Roman poet. So we are not speaking about the order in which she intended the poems to be encountered, let alone their original order of composition. But the new information about the arrangement in the Hellenistic edition does tell us something about the content of the poems (and some of the content will have had chronological implications). Besides suggesting how the reception of her edition structured later editorial and even compositional practice, the observed sequence reveals something of the way in which Sappho's poems were read and understood by a Hellenistic readership, and what kinds of information and connections the Hellenistic editors who ordered them (and who could read many more of them than we now have) found them to contain.

Authenticity and Quality

Neither the larger piece containing the Brothers and Kypris Songs, nor the group of smaller fragments in the Green Collection, had to be authenticated as such by the editors, since they were already authenticated as part of an existing collection once in the public domain. The content and text of the new fragments, however, did have to be authenticated as deriving from an ancient edition of poems of Sappho, through the overlap with previously known fragments and the process of reconstruction of the ten poems of Sappho discussed above. The Brothers and Kypris Songs proved more elusive. Identification as Sapphic was made on the basis of the meter, dialect, poetic language, and the names of Charaxos and Larichos. But early reactions from even some erudite scholars publicly condemned the texts as 'a playful modern exercise' or as 'frigid juvenilia'. Mary Beard wrote to Martin West for confirmation before the *TLS*

battle of Sigeum, exile, etc., the schema will have been largely imposed on the poetry by Hellenistic scholars who read most of Archaic lyric biographically, and who will have assumed that care for the immediate family preceded impassioned expression of desire for members of social circles outside the immediate family. Such assumptions and inferences, often unfounded, are frequent in the ancient biographical accounts found in the papyri and which may have accompanied the entries in Callimachus' *Pinakes*.

article (Obbink 2014a) appeared. Here is what he replied: 'My initial impression was that it was very poor stuff, and linguistically problematic. But the more I look at it, the more OK it seems. It's certainly not one of her best, but it has her DNA all over it'.[59]

Further confirmation came from the overlap between two separate Oxyrhynchus papyri of Sappho (P. Oxy. 2289 and 1231) and the beginning and end of the Brothers and Kypris Songs (extending them by 8 more lines), and from an important intertext in Horace's 'Soracte ode' (*Odes* 1.9.9–12).[60] Because of the overlap of P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 at the beginning of the Brothers Song, the number of lines of the text of the Brothers Song subsequently had to be increased by *four*. Line-numbering of the Brothers Song should have begun with the first known fragmentary verse, so that verses of the opening stanza stand in continuing lineation with the rest.[61] At least one stanza preceded in the Brothers Song before P. Sapph. Obbink begins,[62] of which we have the remains of the last two lines in P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5. An additional stanza could have also preceded: this would bring the number of stanzas up to the maximum (seven) attested for any poem in Sappho Book 1 (Sappho fr. 1). According to the placement argued for above, Sappho fr. 9 will have occupied at least the first 21 lines of the column (which had 29–32 lines in total) preceding P. Sapph. Obbink, comprising six stanzas. This allows space for c. 8 more lines in the same column, and thus two stanzas. But we do not know where the poem containing Sappho fr. 9 ended.

As a result, the first lines of the first stanza of the Brothers Song are not entirely unknown to us—we at least know that its first word began with the letter π. Thus we have a skeleton outline of the poem's opening stanza, as follows:

1 1 ⊗ [π-
2 2 [*1 or 5 lines missing*]
3 3 [3–4]λα̣[
4 4 [2–3]ϲέ, μα̣[
[–]

59 M.L. West, 'Sappho', e-mail message to Mary Beard, 3 February 2014.

60 Obbink (2014a) and (2014b) 43, Phillips (2014), Hutchinson (2014). See also Morgan, this volume.

61 A concordance of the old and new numerations is given in Obbink (2015a) 1–2. In this volume the Brothers Song is cited by the new '+ 4' line-numbers; equivalences are given in parentheses in the text. Note that this does not affect the line-numbers of the Kypris Song, since its opening line is preserved in the papyrus.

62 Obbink (2014b) 34, West (2014) 7–8.

ἀλλ’ ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
κτλ.

In lines 5 and following, the speaker (presumably Sappho) addresses someone, and criticizes this person for ‘always chattering about Charaxos’ coming’, and not trusting in what Zeus and the other gods know. She states her duty to undertake to pray to queen Hera for a safe return for Charaxos, piloting his boat, to find ‘us’ safe and sound. ‘Everything else may be left to the gods: fair weather comes of a sudden out of a great storm’ (taken up by Horace at *Odes* 1.9.9–12). Those favored by Zeus get a special helping *daimon* to release them from their troubles and so become completely happy and blessed. The poem closes with well-wishing for brother Larichos to ‘raise up his head and become an ἄνηρ’, and so ‘release us from heavy despondency’. The Brothers Song is then followed in the papyrus by another poem addressed to ‘Kypris’ on recurrent symptoms of suffering in love.[63]

In conclusion, no other textual witness to a Greek lyric poet shows so extensive a continuous sequence of short lyric poems. The new fragments consequently open up new possibilities for understanding the connections between these poems, as they were encountered by Hellenistic and Roman readers—and new possibilities for interpretation, led by corrected readings and reconstructions, for modern ones.

63 A number of these symptoms are paralleled in other fragments of Sappho and later allusions: see Neri and Citti (2005). These include nausea (Sappho fr. 1.3) and trembling (Sappho fr. 31.13).

CHAPTER 3

Songs for Sailors and Lovers

Joel Lidov

We know about as much, or as little, about Sappho's own life as we do about other archaic and early classical poets, indeed maybe more if we believe the later ancient gossip about her, but we do not have so clear an idea about the nature of her work: what types of songs the fragments represent, whom she wrote for, on what occasions. Even if these questions cannot be fully answered, at least the newly published fragments that add to our knowledge of Book One of Sappho also add to our ability to understand the internal structures of many of her poems and give us a chance to study the similarities and differences among a large group of them.[1] We are in a better position than before to interpret them, both in their own terms—Σαπφῶ ἐκ Σαπφοῦς σαφηνίζειν—and through comparisons with other ancient poetry, and so to form hypotheses about the nature of her poetic work *before* we try to give an account of small fragments, out-of-context quotations, and questionable evidence from their ancient reception.[2] Here I will focus on the structure of individual poems in

1 I am deeply indebted to Dirk Obbink for providing the opportunity to study these new fragments and for his correspondence, comments and assistance throughout. André Lardinois has been, as always, a wise advisor at all stages of the development of this paper and its predecessors, and I am grateful too to Toni Bierl for his comments on the first draft. The second section of this article originated in a paper for the conference "Song Regained" (UCL, London 2014, organized by M. Alexandrou, C. Cary, and G. D'Allesio) and the others are expanded from the panel "New Fragments of Sappho" (SCS, New Orleans, 2015, organized by A. Lardinois); I owe thanks to the organizers and to members of the audiences, and particularly to follow-up discussions and correspondence with E. Cingano, J. Danielewicz, and E. Stehle. Where I discuss matters that are properly paleographical or papyrological, I have relied on the published editions and the text in this volume, and on the guidance of their editors, but I may not have always sought (or understood) the latter when I should, and bear sole responsibility for any mistakes, as well as for other errors.

2 Even before these discoveries, arguments from both internal and comparative evidence had put in doubt some of the old notions of monodic and of personal lyric in favor of recognizing choral and public features in Sappho's work generally. See Lardinois (1996) and Calame (2012a) for different approaches to the same conclusion; there is a useful general discussion, with bibliography in Cingano (2003) 17–25. I do not put these aside, especially given the apparent confirmation of them in the recent additions to Sappho fr. 58 and now

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order to draw some broad conclusions, and to justify some speculations, about the type or types of poetry in Book One.[3] I will begin by drawing attention to a grammatical point in what has been called the 'Brothers' poem: the subject of πέμπην in line 5(9). It has been widely misconstrued ever since the poem's first prepublication, and I think that the misconstruction involves our conception of the speaker and is symptomatic of our difficulties in making sense of the whole group. To be consistent with my intentions of working from internal evidence, I will call this song the Charaxos poem, since 'brother' never occurs in it. I will then examine, first, the songs—including the Charaxos poem—which, I propose, constitute a group of prayers for safe return, and, second, a group of songs about love. My concern in the first group will be with what they have in common, and in the second with how Sappho creates individual voices on a common theme. At the end I will return to the Charaxos poem, to suggest—'demonstrate' would go beyond the limits of our knowledge—that the appreciation of the individual voices within a common group points both to a performance context and to a way of thinking about Sappho in the poems.

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in the new addition of a first person plural in Sappho fr. 17.11, though I try not to rely on too many assumptions about archaic society. For background on the tradition of interpretation, see Parker (1993), Lefkowitz (1996), and the highly critical overview of modern theories in Schlesier (2014a) 74–95.

3 I confine my remarks to Book One because I see no reason to assume, *a priori*, that its contents form a unity with the poems in other books. I regard it as possible that the metrical arrangement is not just an arbitrary device of the Hellenistic editors. In Sappho's work some meters may have been particularly suited for some topics or occasions, and these groupings may have formed the basis of the compilation. Most notable is the minimal presence of Aphrodite / Kypris as an addressee or character and of the singing *persona*'s experience of passion outside of Book One (Aphrodite is often mentioned elsewhere to enhance a focus on e.g. marriage or Adonis; see the discussion by Schlesier, this volume), and, especially, the absence of the Muses, who are frequent in the scraps of Books Three and Four (see Lidov [2009]). Similarly, I do not assume an essential Sappho whose concerns and psychology can automatically be transferred from one book, or poem, to another. (Bierl [2003], though devoted to only one poem, shows in detail the ways in which various essentialist presuppositions about the character of the poet or of lyric have dominated interpretation.) For formal features of structure, dialect or vocabulary (when function is taken into account), of course, we can look at the whole corpus, and there is no denying a distinctive excellence of poetic style, often achieved through similar means.

You or Me?

In the first line of the second full stanza, the pronoun ἔμε has almost universally been taken to be the object of the verb, leading to the supposition that the persona of the singer is instructing the chatterer, σὲ, the addressee, to send her to conduct a prayer. So, the sentence

…. ϲὲ δ̣’οὐ χρῆ
ταῦτα νόηϲθαι,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεϲθαι
πόλλα λ̣ίϲϲεσθαι̣ βαϲί̣λ̣ηαν Ἤ̣ραν

is understood as ‘It is necessary that you not think these things but (it is necessary that you) send and order me …’. The *persona* of the first person is generally taken to be identical or similar to the *persona* who does in fact pray in the other poems. The spelling ἔμε is an emphatic pronoun, just like σὲ, which we know must be the emphatic (or accented or orthotone) form because it begins the sentence and therefore cannot be the enclitic.

Χρή is an emphatic word and in most χρή constructions the emphasis on the obligation includes an emphasis on the action in a dependent infinitive (often inferred from the previous clause). An accompanying pronoun typically takes the unemphatic form, as in the frequent Homeric idiom, (οὐδέ) τί σε χρή: e.g. *Iliad* 16.721 Ἕκτορ τίπτε μάχης ἀποπαύεαι; οὐδέ τί σε χρή, ‘Hector, why are you holding off from the fight? You must not’, or (with a slight variant) *Odyssey* 17.417, to Antinoos: τῶ σε χρὴ δόμεναι καὶ λώϊον ἠέ περ ἄλλοι / σίτου, ‘(you are a superior man,) therefore you must give bread even better than the others’. In both these examples the speaker emphasizes that it is particularly appropriate for the addressee to do the action, but the addressee is presupposed by the context or the previous second-person form, and the emphasis is on the obligation to act.[4] This is even clearer when ‘you’ is indefinite and not even presupposed, as in Pindar, *Pythian* 4.1 Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ’ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ / στᾶμεν.

The order of χρή, the infinitive, and its noun or pronoun subject can be varied. So we find, with an accented but essentially indefinite word, the subject following the infinitive in Xenophanes fr. 1.13: χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν

4 Strictly, of course, we can’t know that the pronoun σε in these two examples was not accented, but the run of the word order in the phrase, which always places it after another word, is against the accent. Even more so is the parallel phrase τί (ὅττεό) με χρή, which is found four times (*Il.* 9.67; *Od.* 19.118, 21.110, 23.337).

εὔφρονας ἄνδρας 'It is necessary first that gracious men sing the god, …' (apart from the guidance offered by the meaning, participles in line 15 make clear which accusative is the subject). An enclitic pronoun may also follow the infinitive for which it provides the subject, as, for example, in Alcaeus fr. 332: νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καί τινα πὲρ βίαν / πώνην, 'now one must get drunk and drink with strength', where τινα follows one infinitive and precedes another. Such a positioning may be normal when there are two infinitives; it is also found with words that are not enclitics, as in *Theognidea* 555: Χρὴ τολμᾶν … ἄνδρα πρός τε θεῶν αἰτεῖν, 'a man must endure and ask the gods …' (tr. Gerber). From the examples we have, we can see that the position of ἔμε in line 9 of the Charaxos song would be entirely normal for a subject of the infinitives, but we cannot conclude simply on the basis of the order of the infinitives and ἔμε whether σέ or ἔμε is the likely subject. We do see in these examples that when the infinitive phrase is extended, the subject-pronoun does follow χρή; as far as I can find, this is a tendency but not a rule (see *Iliad* 9.100). At the same time, we can see that its position in the sentence does not explain why an emphatic form would be used if the unemphatic would carry the same meaning. So we must look to the uses of the emphatic pronouns in χρή constructions.

The optional oblique cases of emphatic pronouns are not used lightly or often with χρή. In such sentences the emphasis is on the agent rather than the action. There are two instance of ἐμὲ χρή in Homer. In *Iliad* 23.644, Nestor compares his current state, bound to old age, to his younger self; the emphasis is on the contrast. In *Odyssey* 23.250, Odysseus tells Penelope of the *ponos* that still hangs over him, τὸν ἐμὲ χρὴ πάντα τελέσσαι, 'which I must accomplish completely'; here, the infinitive phrase τὸν…τελέσσαι is a placeholder for the action to be described and the emphasis is on the fact that it is he who is not yet free of obligations. In *Pythian* 4.141: ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρὴ καὶ σὲ… / ὑφαίνειν λοιπὸν ὄλβον, Jason, making a contrast of persons, is insisting to his antagonist Pelias that the two of them must act together: '(there are mortals who ignore consequences, but) you and I … must weave our future good fortune'. In all other examples in Pindar when ἔμε is used with χρή, it is the first word (or first after the conjunction) in the clause and is used in a statement of the poet's task, the χρέος motif.[5] In such passages the position and the emphatic form agree in making the poet the topic.

In Sappho's passage, σέ refers back to the subject of a previous verb, and could be presupposed, but the immediately previous sentence had the gods as subject, so σέ is a contrastive topic, reestablishing "you" as the agent under

5 There are no other uses of either form of σε with χρή in Pindar.

discussion after the transitional gnome: 'The *gods* know what will happen; *you* must not think about such things'. The pronoun is then incorporated into a 'not A but B' construction. This construction does contrast 'think' and 'send', but if that were the main contrast intended ('you must not think but send'), it would be a typical χρή construction with a primary emphasis on the action and there would be no call for the second pronoun to be emphatic. To explain ἔμε we must understand it in contrast to σέ. Because subjects and objects are not parallel, they cannot be in contrast in a 'do not do A but B' construction. There are no grounds (other than an interpretive presupposition) in our text or in comparable texts for taking this as a compression of two separate statements: 'but you must send someone, and I am the person you must send'. It is a consequence of the normal Greek semantics, or pragmatics, of pronouns in a χρή sentence that ἔμε be understood as a contrastive subject with the second infinitive, πέμπην: '*you* must not think these things, but *I* must send …'.[6]

Who is this *persona cantans*, who makes no specific reference to her own participation as a performer of song or prayer, but only to herself as the initiator or organizer? What is the construction of the second infinitive, κελεύην? What happens to the person signified by σέ? These are questions of interpretation, and it will be helpful first to explore what kind of prayer this is, and how Sappho represents the *persona* singing in her poems, before I offer my answers to them.

Prayers for Safety

Prayer Form

We now know that Sappho 5, addressed to the Nereids, begins with πότνιαι (as proposed by Diels; see *app. crit.* in Voigt's edition), rather than with the widely

6 I take the first καί not as correlative, but to emphasize the following phrase (see Denniston [1954] 316–317 s.v. καί II.c) or to indicate that taking positive action is closely connected to the prohibition of vain speech (Denniston [1954] 3, s.v. ἀλλά I.(iii)(a), on the omission of μόνον after a preceding negative; see Obbink [2014b] 43 ad loc.): 'but (it is) also (necessary) for me to send …'. The use of καί, however, is not relevant to the construction of ἔμε. The fact that the activities are different does not alter the primary contrast in subjects; when Pindar uses ἔμε χρή in the χρέος-motif, for example, he is defining a role for himself that is different from the victor's. Finally, in insisting that the emphatic form cannot be ignored, I assume that Sappho does not make her word choice merely *metri gratia* but follows the norms of her language. In contemporary, spoken English 'myself' often drives out 'I' or 'me,' but there is no evidence of that in Early Greek—freely inserted statements of self-importance, not justified by the expressive structure, are not found. (I am grateful to Prof. Cingano for a discussion of this problem; see further his examination of χρή-statements in Cingano [2003] 30–33.)

accepted Κύπρις, and that, in consequence, the address to Kypris at the end is not the closing of a ring but is a new topic. This confirms that the poem did not follow the standard model of prayer that has been much discussed in the last century.[7] In that model a prayer has three parts. First, and most importantly, the god is invoked by name and this invocation is elaborated. The elaboration may include other names and cult-titles, associated deities, descriptive appellations, genealogy, locations and favorite haunts. The invocation may also include a foreshadowing of the contents of prayer, though that is not necessary. The god's name comes at the very top, at most preceded by an exhortation to the prayer or announcement of it—'let us sing of', or 'I beseech you'. This invocation makes the god the most prominent figure, formally the object of attention (even if the choice of language dramatizes the petitioner's emotional state). In Fr. 5, however, the Nereids are addressed only with a simple title that recognizes their authority.

The second part goes by various names among scholars—*sanctio* or argument or *omphalos* or *hypomnêsis*. Here something is said which establishes a rapport between the supplicant and the god; it can aim to please the god with a recitation of his powers or it can be a reminder of other occasions of worship or request, or of the god's past or habitual activity (typically beginning with a relative pronoun, 'if ever', or a second-person pronoun). The material for this part might give an indication of why the god is the appropriate deity at the moment, in which case it may hint at what the petitioner is seeking. In the prayer to the Nereids, nothing is said about them.

The request is made explicit in the third part, which may be a prayer for a result, brought about by the god directly or—in a cletic prayer—by the god's arrival. This final prayer is, of course, directed to the god who was invoked in the beginning. In the Nereids poem, they were prayed to at the start, but they have been long forgotten by the end, and the final prayer is made to Kypris.

There are several examples of this form in Sappho and Alcaeus. Alcaeus offers a clear, well-elaborated example of an invocation in a cletic hymn to the Dioscuri (fr. 34); he includes genealogy, name, place of origin, and a sketch of their typical appearance, followed by a description of their powers in action. He has another sapphic stanza, fr. 308, that calls on Hermes by his location and a glorified genealogy. The one surviving line that opens his Hymn to Apollo (fr. 307), Ὦναχ Ἄπολλον, παῖ μεγάλω Δίος, contains a name, title, and expanded patronymic. Sappho has a single line invoking the Graces (fr. 53), Βροδοπάχεες

7 The original study is Norden (1956) 143–176, 391–393. See also Bremer (1981); Danielewicz (1974); Furley and Bremer (2001); Race (1982a).

ἄγναι Χάριτες, δεῦτε Δίος κόραι, that manages to include the name, a descriptive epithet ('with rosy hands'), a cult term ('holy'), the parentage ('maidens of Zeus'), and a brief summons ('hither'). Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite is one of the best known examples—it begins with a fulsome invitation to 'ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite, wile-weaving daughter of Zeus', and proceeds to a recollection of her past appearance before the final prayer. It also (as I will discuss below) illustrates how the form can be artfully complicated.

Prayers for Safety

The prayer to the Nereids is not the only one lacking the expected elaborate invocation. In Sappho, Book One, such poems are about the return of a traveller at sea. The obvious ones are the Nereid song (fr. 5), the Charaxos poem, and probably the prayer to Hera (fr. 17). There are also other fragments with vocabulary suggestive of the travel theme, although we cannot know their structures. In the case of the Nereid song and the prayer to Hera, the lack of conformity with the pattern has been observed, or brushed aside, by previous scholarship, which mostly focussed on the question of whether or not these and some other fragments were propemptica, a formal type of prayer for sea travel. These studies largely came to nothing, because it proved impossible to identify the propempticon as a specific genre before the Hellenistic era. They also mostly ignored the difference between good wishes for a traveller leaving and one returning.[8] Certainly some of them, especially the prayer to the Nereids, contain propemptic motifs, such as can be seen in *Theognidea* 691–692, which joins the wish for happiness and success in the voyage out with one for a happy return:

> Χαίρων εὖ τελέσειας ὁδὸν μεγάλου διὰ πόντου,
> καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοισ' ἀγάγοι.

> May you rejoice in the success of your journey over the great sea,
> and may Poseidon bring you as a joy to your friends.

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8 On the vocabulary of fragments 15 and 20, suggesting a sea-faring theme that overlap with these, see Obbink (2014b) 35 with note 7; Ferrari (2014) 12; and, in addition, Theander (1943) 146–147, and Treu (1963) 184–185, who discuss the question of the propempticon. Francis Cairns's analysis of the propempticon ([2007] 226–230) is based on the rhetorical standards of the Roman period; although he understands the instances in Sappho as analyzed by Page, he does make the distinction between the directions of travel (p. 116). Wachsmuth (1977) argues persuasively that early prayers for a voyage should be thought of as a collection of motifs rather than as a determined form.

Here τελέσειας corresponds to 5.4, τελέσθην, χάρμα φίλοισ' to 5.6, φίλοιϲι ϝοῖϲι χάραν and the mention of Poseidon reflects the awareness of dependence on the gods, corresponding to the prayer to the Nereids itself.[9]

I suggest that at the formal level the propemptic motifs in Sappho's poems make them a special case of a more general type of song, one which expresses the anxieties surrounding the desire for a safe return from danger. We can see a set of overlapping characteristics in a group that includes these three songs of Sappho and Alcaeus fr. 129, which expresses a prayer for return not from the sea but from exile, probably the internal exile on Lesbos that Alcaeus describes in frag. 130b. In all of these, the poet invokes deities, but only minimally or after the song begins. What the structure of these prayers makes prominent is not a god, but the situation, that is, the danger that threatens the speaker, and the procedure by which he or she seeks release from it. A god is introduced, mid-way, to provide a solution, but the end of the poem is not a prayer for that god's help (with the probable exception of Sappho fr. 17), and, in so far as we can tell, it looks beyond the immediate crisis. The order of these main items is fixed: emphasis on danger, request for immediate salvation, imagination of a better future. We can see the basic elements of such a prayer in a narrative episode in Simonides fr. 543, where Danae, after describing to her son the danger implicit in the story, makes a transition to prayer in lines 18–27:

εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,
καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων
λεπτὸν ὑπεῖχες οὖας.
κέλομαι δ', εὗδε βρέφος,
εὑδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὑδέτω δ' ἄμετρον κακόν·
μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·
ὅττι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὔχομαι

9 West (1974) 158 (followed by Gerber) recommends Sitzler's interpretation of Χαίρων as a proper name, to avoid redundancy with the following adverb. But there is no redundancy and the word-play is important to the round-trip. However, I can find no way to incorporate in one translation both the meaning 'rejoice in success' (as above) and the use of χαίρων as the participle of χαῖρε: 'good-by and good luck'. An even more reduced form of the propemptic motif can be found in the typical formulas of the inscriptions at Prote, such as: εὐτυχῆ, Θεόδο[τε] / Λε[β]έδιε, ὁ θεὸς / εὔπλοιάν σοι δοί[η] / διὰ παντός (IG V 1, 1538); these are often even much simpler, with only εὔπλοια + dative—a reminder that a good voyage comes before success.

ἢ νόσφι δίκας,
σύγγνωθί μοι

'and if to you what is frightful were frightful,/ you would bend to my words your tender ear./ I bid you, sleep infant,/ and let the sea sleep, and let our measureless evil sleep./ And may some change of will appear, Father Zeus, from you./ And if I make a prayer that is overbold / or without justice, / forgive me.'

Lines 18–20 make the distress prominent, lines 21–22 call for a cessation of the immediate evil, lines 23–24 call for a complete change in fortune. The god is minimally invoked with an epithet indicating his divine role (although coming from Perseus' mother here it implies a more specific interest). The prayer ends with a routine hope that the god may take no offense at being addressed (here, the negative form of a closing wish for mutual *charis*).

The songs expressing a wish for safe return that we see in the Lesbian poets are more fully developed versions of these prayers and show three other characteristics. Since these do not appear in the poems in a necessary order, and are given different degrees of emphasis, we can think of them as typical motifs rather than parts of a formal structure. First, and most curiously, although these songs do not adhere to the pattern of cult prayer, they seem to make a reference to prayer or cult practice—past, future, or contemporaneous. Second, they involve helper gods. Prayers to helper gods are common in the Lesbians, but in this group they seem to enjoy a special emphasis. And third, the poems' conclusions, looking to a better future beyond the immediate crisis, appear to incorporate public or civic concerns.

These motifs will be illustrated in a brief analysis of each poem, but the concept of helper gods requires more definition. There are a number of mentions in the Lesbian poets of the general class of *daimones*—some, children of Zeus; some, lesser divinities—who act in the human realm, generally for mortals' benefit. Their significance may be related to the fact that, apart from his love affairs, Zeus keeps a thunderbolt's distance from humanity. Notice that Danaë does not actually ask Zeus to do anything in the earthly realm, however much that seems to be implied. If a deed must be done, Zeus sends an agent, and these agents are divinities who can also act on their own. As a group, we can refer to them as helper gods, although all gods can help or harm. They are often invoked in formal prayer. The most obvious example of attention to them is Alcaeus' Hymn to the Dioscuri (fr. 34), cited above. His hymn to Hermes also invokes a god who visits humans (fr. 308) and possibly so does his reported Hymn to Hephaestus (Page [1959] 258–261). There is also the opening of a hymn to the

Hebrus (fr. 45), adapting the elements of the formal invocation to fit an actual river and addressing it as a local deity. Dionysus too can be counted a helper, as in fr. 346.3–4: οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἶος λαθικάδεον / ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ' ('The son of Semele and Zeus gave mankind wine as forgetfulness from care').

There are fewer instances of hymns to helpers in the fragments of Sappho, though she apparently has a hymn to Hesperus (fr. 104a), and perhaps to Dawn (fr. 157). The small fragments contain notice of Hermes as wine-pourer (fr. 141.3) and certainly much mention of Eros, Graces, and Muses.[10] I am not trying to make a case that Lesbian practice is in some way unique, but do want to emphasize that—especially given the sparseness of our fragments—Lesbian song appears to exhibit a strong awareness of the helper gods. They are essential figures in prayers for safety.

Alcaeus fr. 129

Alcaeus fr. 129 illustrates the form and motifs. The first surviving stanza may or may not be the first of the prayer.[11] This stanza recalls that in the past the Lesbians established a shrine with altars and gave titles to the gods of the shrine.[12] The epithets, given in the following stanza, are relevant to the context: Hera, directly addressed by the *persona* of the singer as 'you', was called

10 See the 'Index Nominum Propriorum' in Voigt's edition. Note in particular Sappho test. 198c, a testimonium from Pausanias, 9.27.3, in a discussion of the genealogies of Eros: Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ Λεσβια πολλά τε καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ἔρωτα ᾖδε 'Sappho sang many songs to Love that are inconsistent'.

11 Furley and Bremer (2001) rely on a parallel to Sappho fr. 17 to accept Gallavotti's vocative Ἤρα (*sic*) in line 1, and then use that circularly to demonstrate the parallel; the emphasis on the festival in the new fragments does support the supposition, but the supplement is not well supported by the papyrus (see app. crit. in Voigt) and is not mentioned by Liberman in his edition (1999). (Liberman has a blank line before 17.1 V, LP, and starts the numbering with line 2. In the absence of the left margin here, nothing can be said about whether or not this is the initial stanza.) By introducing Hera and not clarifying that the verbs in lines 9–12 are plural, the translation in Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.171 gives the incorrect impression that the poem is addressed to her alone.

12 For a discussion of Hera and the precinct see the fundamental article by L. Robert (1960a). More recent bibliography is in the notes on this and the subsequent poems by Liberman (1999) I: XXVI–XXVII, 61–64, and the discussion in Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.172–176, II: 122, who also note the relevance of the epithet. I will assume that one precinct, at the site called Messon in the Roman period and Ta Mesa in the modern period (see Fig. 8.1, p. 199), is referred to in these poems and in Sappho's. See further Nagy (2007b) and Caciagli (2010). Liberman argues that Alc. fr. 129 was actually performed as a prayer but that Alc. fr. 130b was a reenactment.

the Aeolian mother of all, or the mother of all Aeolians; Zeus the receiver of supplication; and Dionysus, the third god of the Lesbian trinity or triad (we meet them again in Sappho fr. 17), the eater of raw flesh—a title which becomes all too appropriate when we ultimately discover, later on, Alcaeus' interest in vengeance. By length, vehemence, and position the greatest emphasis falls on Dionysus (lines 5–9):

κἀπωνύμαϲϲαν ἀντίαον Δία
ϲὲ δ'Αἰολήιαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θέον
πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τέρτον
    τόνδε κεμήλιον ὠνύμαϲϲ[α]ν

Ζόννυϲϲον ὠμήϲταν.

> and they called on Zeus as god of suppliants, / and on you, the glorious Aeolian goddess, / as mother of all, and this third one / they named Dionysus Kemêlios, / eater of raw flesh.

Nothing relevant to Hera appears in the rest of the ode. This stanza sounds like an invocation but is in fact part of the historical narrative that describes the founding of the cult. However, it is the *de facto* invocation for Alcaeus' prayer, because the recitation functions here like the missing formal invocation of the gods that we would expect before the following imperatives asking for their help. The switch from past to present in line 9 without νῦν, relying only on ἄ[γι]τ(ε), is remarkable. It enhances the formal confusion of the narrated prayer and the performed one. The immediate prayer is for return, the release of Alcaeus and his party from μόχθων ἀργαλέας τε φύγας. I take it that this is a hendiadys in which the copulative τε is epexegetic, so that the μόχθοι are specified as the 'pains of harsh exile'. In the narrative that takes up the next four surviving stanzas, no formal mention is made of any relation of the suppliant to the gods or of the gods' past or characteristic interest in the matter at hand. Because the narrative involves oath-breaking, we can infer Zeus' interest, but formally that is only an inference—there is no *sanctio* or *hypomnesis*. Without further mention of these gods, Alcaeus then looks past his suffering, and prays that an Erinnys (perhaps in the role of a helper god here) will bring vengeance on Pittacus, who is then expansively accused not only of failing his friends but of destroying the *polis*. In sum, the structure of the song itself does not have the initial invocation typical of hymnic prayer. Although the body of the poem contains such a prayer implicitly, the basic prayer itself is for a safe return to the city, and the poem moves beyond that to pray for political change.

Sappho fr. 17

Sappho fr. 17 has the closest relationship to Alcaeus' poem, but since we lack crucial sections we cannot be sure of its whole structure. Even with the new evidence the restoration—especially of the beginning—remains a thorny problem. (Rather than provide individual notes, I have discussed the textual difficulties of this fragment, and their significance for the interpretation, in a separate chapter in this volume. The following overview relies on that discussion.) Both Sappho's and Alcaeus' poems refer to a cult worship of the Lesbian trinity—Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus—and both call on Hera more directly than on the other two gods. In Sappho fr. 17 she is addressed by name in the second line, and the second person is used for her in a possessive adjective. This initial address is accompanied by *potnia*, but a full invocation involving genealogy (parents or descendents), haunts or attributes seems improbable. The invocation appears to be minimal, or almost minimal if μᾶτερ is supplied in line 1.

In the newly expanded text of Sappho fr. 17 it looks more certain that the poem's emphasis falls on the festival or ritual belonging to the precinct, rather than on the god, even if the relative pronoun in line 3 refers to Hera rather than ἐόρτα(ν). Like Alcaeus fr. 129, Sappho's prayer to Hera features a recounting of a past event, in this case either the founding of the *temenos* or significant performance of the ritual belonging to it, and Hera plays no special role in the story. The turn away from her is more marked than in Alcaeus' prayer. In a historical narrative that begins with the relative pronoun, Hera is again the addressee, but reduced to 'you', without any expansion, Zeus follows with one brief epithet—ἀντ[ίαον fits well—and pride of place goes to the unnamed 'desirable child of Thyone' (no name, but a descriptive epithet and a genealogy)—a supplement that was probable before but is now virtually certain:

> πρὶν cὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ίαον] πεδέλθηṇ
> καὶ Θυώνας ἰμẹ[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα.

> before they approached you, and Zeus of Suppliants,
> and the desire-arousing child of Thyone.

The ability to be both savage (in Alcaeus) and desirable is of course a characteristic of Dionysus, but the implication here is that he is called on as a welcome god.[13]

13 On the epithets and on the name Thyone, see Caciagli (2010) 229.

In the sequel, the return to the here-and-now starting in line 11, the performance of a contemporary version of a ritual appears to be described, and at best there is room for a feminine addressee in the gap. The first person plural verb apparently has neuter plural objects, describing the rite, but the activity takes place in a context that also includes a gathering of women:

νῦν δὲ κ[*c*.12] . . .πόημεν
12 κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον,

ἄγνα καὶ κα̣[*c*.12 ὄ]χ̣λος
παρθέ[νων *c*.12 γ]υναίκων

> and now .... we perform, in the ancient way, / things holy and .... Throng / of maidens ... of women

So in this poem, there is both past and contemporaneous cult (with a very possible connection to the one in Alcaeus fr. 130b, where he hears the sound of the women's festival).[14] Of all the poems this one comes closest to the traditional hymn format, but the absence of fullness in the invocation and the minimal role of Hera in what would be the *hypomnesis* are telling. Hera is closely associated with storms at sea, and the mythic narrative is concerned with difficulty of travelling by sea, so the song could fit the pattern of a concern for a safe return.[15] We cannot know what the poem emphasized at its end. Although Hera is (probably) once again addressed in line 20 (the closing line), the emphasis throughout is on the performance of an effective ritual in which she has significant part. It is improbable that this is a cletic prayer, asking for Hera's arrival, because final prayers are usually imperative. It is much more likely that it asks her to insure someone else's safe arrival. Such a safe return may imply, as we shall see below, an erotic theme.[16]

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14 The first person plural πόημεν strongly suggests the presence of a performing chorus. But we do not expect a chorus to be composed of women of differing ages or status, and ὄχλος would be a strange word to use for a chorus. It would not be out of place for describing the multitude at a festival; in Sappho fr. 44.14, which supplies the model for the supplements here, it refers to the crowd who look on at the procession of Hector and Andromache into the city.

15 For the literary evidence and the relevant literature on Hera and sea travel, see Lidov (2004), and for more valuable archeological evidence see de Polignac (1997) (I am grateful to Prof. Boedeker for bringing this to my attention), and Boedeker, this volume.

16 I do not mean to deprecate the importance of Hera to Sappho or to the ceremony for which

Sappho fr. 5

I have already outlined the differences between fr. 5 and the standard prayer form. ἀβλάβη[ν in the first line, and the fact of a prayer to the Nereids—a simple δότε with a series of infinitives: 2 ἴκεσθα[ι, 4 τελέσθην, 5 λῦσα[ι, 6 γένεσθαι—make clear the danger of sea-travel and the desire for the 'brother' to be free of it. Since the Nereids can be considered helper gods, and are not presented as having any other function here but to help, the emphasis on the danger and the request for safety overlap. The language for his happy arrival, as I noted above, belongs to the motifs of propemptica. Here it is expanded in a familiar way: his friends will be glad to see him, his enemies will not. After the imperative prayer, the mood shifts to an optative of wish, and the conventional topics signal the desired state of affairs once the brother figure arrives, as the *persona* of the singer hopes that 'we' have no ἐχθρός, and goes on to hope that the 'sister' will have greater honor.[17]

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she composed the poem, only to point out that formally the poem does not conform to the hymnic tradition that foregrounds the god. Furley and Bremmer (2001), despite their insistence on the importance of naming (1:52) and of the imperative (1:61), write of this fragment that 'all the elements of a typical cletic hymn are there' (1:165). Their analysis, which relies on significant supplements to the previously published texts, includes the imperative translation 'come to my aid' as interpretation of the final traces, where only the infinitive is possible. The subject of the infinitive is more likely to be in the previous line (e.g., αὔτον or Χάραξον), together with the imperative requesting the god's assistance, or (as in Danaë's prayer) a third or second person optative addressed to the god. Pindar, *Ol.* 6 and *Pyth.* 8 conclude with imperative prayers for a safe voyage; *Nem.* 9 has an εὔχομαι + infinitive construction, but the prayer, to Zeus, is for the poet's own future success and not for any direct action on the god's part.

17 For a wish for one person's greater honor as an ordinary part of prayer for success, cf. Athena's prayer to Poseidon at *Od.* 3.55–57: μηδὲ μέγηρῃς ἡμῖν…τελευτῆσαι τάδε ἔργα. Νέστορι…κῦδος ὄπαζε. It may of course apply to something in the immediate occasion, but it need not. West (2014) 5 with n. 11 cites the interpretation of lines 7–8 given above from the *editio princeps* without accepting it. The readings he allows either understand εἶς to refer to the feminine ονία or take it as an indefinite ('anyone') with 'brother' as the subject of γένοιτο. Liberman (2014) 6 n. 14 treats the two negatives as independent, 'never … no one'—as if μηδέ were a simple negative; cf. Smyth (1984) 628 §§ 2760–2761—and also expects 'brother' to be the subject. But what West calls a 'series of wishes' is in fact articulated into two series by the change of mood in this clause, so that this verb should be read as the start of the second. The clause-initial position of γένοιτο breaks the continuity of the 'brother' as topic, and, together with the general expectation that initial verbs of being have the sense of 'there is', indicates that the new sequence begins with an impersonal construction. In the next stanza the initial, specifying article of line 9, repeating the structure of line 2, reintroduces the personal constructions.

Recent comments on this poem, perhaps under the influence of Page's commentary, have taken for granted that it reflects Herodotus' story about Charaxos' improvident dealings with a notorious prostitute, identified by Athenaeus (test. 15 Campbell) with a Doricha whose name must have been found in Sappho's poems. Previous scholarship had also seen that the content might be political. Attempts to supplement and interpret the gaps followed from whichever assumption was made.[18] But such a method disguises the motifs and structure, and any decision about reference should be postponed as long as we can clarify the poem without one. For example, we know the poem has 'brother' and 'sister' (my warning in Lidov 2004 has become pointless), but in view of the Charaxos poem, in which two people (whoever they are) discuss two others (or one other if we take Larichos to be the addressee), we should not assume that the *persona* of this song is identifying herself as the 'sister'. (Indeed, the most natural interpretation of two third-person references is that neither is the speaker.) The *persona* here could be that of a parent or another brother, even without relinquishing the traditional biography.

Haste has particularly affected the interpretation of ἄμβροτε in line 5. Generally, when someone prays to a god, he or she fears that the god's displeasure may be or may have been incurred, and asks to be released from any inadvertent offense. This is how Danaë, quoted above, ends her prayer. It is unlikely that someone petitioning on another's behalf would concern the god with the offense the other has done to him- or herself. In *Iliad* 24.68, the word for failing in one's duties to a god is ἁμαρτάνω: Zeus says he is fond of Hector, ἐπεὶ οὔ τι φίλων ἡμάρτανε δώρων. The normal form of releasing yourself from retribution by a god whom you may have offended, or would offend by not giving thanks, is sacrifice. The Nereids in particular are gods to whom travellers sacrifice, and this may have a particular resonance on Lesbos. Although modern commentaries state that there was a cult of Nereids on Lesbos, there is no special evidence for a contemporaneous cult (Pausanias 2.1.8 suggests that the worship was widespread on the shores and islands of the Aegean). The evidence specific to Lesbos is a legend that the original founders were instructed on arrival to make a sacrifice to Poseidon and to Amphitrite and the Nereids; the latter sacrifice was to be of a maiden, who, in one version, becomes a Nereid.[19] So

18 Ferrari (2014) 4–9 makes clear that he assumes Herodotus' story as a basis and his textual and interpretive commentary illustrate the consequences; West (2014) is not different. The alternate tradition goes back to Wilamowitz; there is a summary of the theories in Saake (1972) 104–107. For an example of the consequences of starting from the assumption of a political reading, see Schubart (1948) 313–314.

19 *FGrH* 477 F 14 and (for the Nereid) *FGrH* 140 F 4; the story mostly concerns the lovelorn

there may well be an allusion here to historical cult practice, and there is good reason why it should be only an allusion. This portion of the prayer, ὄσσα…λῦσαι, within the imperative sentence, may reflect a desire that the brother be able to perform the rituals that are part of the conditions of a happy return.

In the gaps after line 10 it is impossible to know precisely what is going on, but reference to some kind of local worship would not be out of place. We have already seen it in fr. 17, the prayer to Hera. But before I discuss this further, it will be useful to bring in another text which offers possible parallels to several motifs in this poem. In Euripides *Helen*, 1451–1511, the chorus wish good speed to Helen as she returns home (a clear instance of a propemptic prayer for a traveller leaving for home). They begin with a wish that the Nereid Galateia (here the daughter of Pontus, but elsewhere of Nereus, the son of Pontos [Gantz (1993) 16–17]) ease her journey (strophe A), and then they imagine her arrival, when she will join ongoing festivals and find her daughter still unwed (antistrophe A). After wishing they could follow her like birds (strophe B), the chorus end the ode with prayer that when she has arrived, her divine brothers will free her from the δύσκλεια of adultery caused by her absence (antistrophe B).[20]

In fr. 5, a description of a return home to the welcome of a ritual may occupy lines 10–14:

… ὀν]ίαν δὲ λύγραν
[. . . .] . [. . . .]οτοιϲι π[ά]ροιθαχεύων
12 [– ⏑ ⏑ –] ̣να
[– ⏑ – ×] ̣ειϲαΐω[ν] τὸ κέγχρω
[– ⏑ –]λ’ ἐπαγ̣[ορί]αι πολίταν (or ἐπ’ ἀγ̣[εσί]αι πολίταν)

youth who dived in after her. The fullest narrative is in Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.*, 20. On Nereids see Barringer (1995) 55 with n. 7 *et passim*; Csapo (2003). Shields (1917) reports no evidence of cult.

20 For a discussion of the propemptic motives, see Kannicht (1968) 374 with n. 1. For an analysis of Dionysiac motives, as part of the structure of the whole, see Steiner (2011) 301–303. Steiner also draws attention to the choral character of Helen's imagined escorts, with the implicit self-reference to the chorus's own performance as well as to imputed past performances. The parallel would continue to hold if the appeal to the Nereids here is understood as belonging to the same kind of ceremony that is implicit in fr. 17 and the Charaxos poem (I thank Professor Bierl for bringing this to my attention); we might also consider whether there was a chorus for this song who mimed the mythical chorus of Nereids encircling a boat, so that the appeal was enacted in the performance itself.

The masculine participles (α)χεύων and εἰσαΐω[ν must refer to the 'brother'. The most likely division in line 11 is π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων, 'previously suffering a cruel agony'.[21] The preceding dative would most likely be a dative of cause or of means (with ὀνίαν): since one typically suffers at the hands of the god, [δαιμ]ο̣[νος κ]ότοισι (BFO) satisfies the sense. Then the papyrus offers 'hearing the [...] of the millet seed' so 'sound' needs to be supplied somewhere: κροῦμα would fit at the start of both lines 13 or 14, but since a verbal structure to govern the dative in 14 is needed, the former seems preferable. There is nothing to indicate whether the two participles are each attached to separate finite verbs or are parts of a compound phrase. As the editors point out (Burris, Fish, and Obbink [2014] ad loc.) the sound of the millet seed figures in a paradox of Zeno, and so it must have become in some way proverbial. The instrument in question would have been some kind of manufactured rattle, or perhaps just the seed noisily poured back and forth between two containers. West points out that non-musical noise makers, such as rattles, were used to create excitement, and were particularly used in 'orgiastic' cults ([1992] 122, 126). This leads us to the question of a Dionysian ambience in these poems, to which I will return; the supplement δαίμονος κότοισι would also fit that possibility. The textual difficulties are real, but are probably made more difficult by a predetermination that the poem must verify Herodotus' and Athenaeus' stories of Charaxos' misbehavior.[22]

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21 The stem χεύ-, "pour" (without a sigma), is found only for the epic future and aorist in archaic and classical Greek. It is aorist in Alc. fr. 362.3, and can be aorist in Sappho fr. 96.27. It takes an internal object, which makes it hard to construe with ὀνίαν. The active ἀχεύω does not take an object (except in the forms that have a causative sense), but ὀνίαν here can be construed as an internal accusative (as translated by Obbink, ch. 1, this volume).

22 The switch to a past tense in line 15 interrupts the progression from the optative verbs in lines 7 and 9 to the final wish and has to be accommodated by some complication. However, West is wrong, in his commentary on these lines ([2014] 9–7), to label the interpretation of millet seed given above 'bizarre fantasies'. Given that the word is adjacent to a verb of hearing and that millet seed is associated with sound in the later parodox, something to do with noise is in fact the default reading. Rattles containing seeds need no comment (by chance I noticed from a much earlier date two large bronze Hittite pins, essentially rattle shaped, with poppy-flower shaped heads containing rattling 'seeds' [New York, Metropolitan Museum, accession number 1989.281.14 and 1989.281.15]). The alternative reading, κ' ἐγ χρῶ⟨ι⟩, supposing both an elision and an omitted letter, which West and Ferrari prefer, requires a metaphorical or figurative use of injury from a razor that is out of keeping with the diction of the poem, which has been quite plain, and that has the further disadvantage of not being well established until later (and rarely without some actual reference to either a razor or a scraping motion; if the singing persona is

The innocence of Helen is, of course, what the *Helen* is about, and so the concern for her reputation cannot be taken as a pointer to erotic themes in fr. 5, although it also does not speak against them. φίλος and τιμή (the opposite of αἰδώς) can have meanings in the spheres of both private and public life. The contrast of φίλος and ἐχθρός speaks more to the public sphere, so does the 'censure (*or* 'leadership') of the citizens'.[23] It is notable that the only two uses of πολίτης in the Lesbian poets describe the citizen body as politically contentious or incompetent: this one, ἐπαγορίαι (*or* ἐπ' ἀγεσίαι) πολίταν and τῶν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίτ̣αν in Alc. 130b.7, the other poem describing his exile. They no doubt exhibited such behavior over a number of issues, so reference to it does not dictate one or another particular circumstance here, but the vocabulary certainly indicates that the turn toward the public sphere, which I suggested is part of the form, does occur. For anyone looking for a reading that reflects the biographical tradition, a reference to a return from the Sicilian exile is as likely as one to Charaxos' activities in Egypt.

Line 15 is especially obscure. For the difficult traces at the beginning neither West's (1914, 6) reading of αι—a conjunction or the feminine plural nomina-

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female, that might seem out of place here). Although the supplement κότοισι, proposed in Burris, Fish, and Obbink, is an unexampled plural (as West notes), as a type of plural it is quite normal, the manifestations of the idea expressed by the singular (cf. Smyth §1000 (3)). To provide an alternative to κέγκρω and to a unique use of the plural of κότος, West suggests emendations of the text, a unique use of the participle ἀχεύων in the causative sense (that meaning is normally found with other stems from the same root), the supplement of a tell-tale first person pronoun and a proper name, and a particularly complex and obscure contrary-to-fact syntax to accommodate the thought sequence: 'And may he see fit to treat his sister with greater respect; may he [release me] from the grim pains with which in the past he grieved and [overcame my heart,] hearkening [the while to Doricha,] which would now be p[lucking me] to the raw through the censure of the townsfolk, just as much as ever; but it was not long before he came to realize it'. This has the advantage of connecting the poem to Ovid[?]'s elaboration of Herodotus' story and Athenaeus' correction of it.

23 Lobel's suggested supplement ἐπαγ[ορί]αι (the accent survives, guaranteeing the dative singular) is widely accepted, but in fact not printed in either Lobel-Page or Voigt. Voigt considers it doubtful. The word is conjectured as a correction to the text of Pindar fr. 22.6, and otherwise is not known until it is used by late Imperial historians. A related verb form, ἐπηγορε(ύ)ω occurs once in Herodotus (1.90.2), when Croesus seeks permission to challenge Apollo for betraying his friend, and Cyrus asks with what he will charge the god. On the other hand ἡγεσία occurs only in Christian writers (see LSJ Suppl.). So neither conjecture is well founded, but the first may be slightly more probable. Prudish readers have imputed a censure of sexual irregularity to the word in the Pindar fragment, but it would be prudent not to transfer an inference based on a conjecture to the text of Sappho.

tive relative pronoun (the dative would have a tau)—nor η (Burris, Fish, and Obbink), however interpreted and probably too narrow, are especially convincing. The best reading appears now to be:

> ὡ̣ς πο̣τ’ οὐ̣[κα]λλως, [...]νηκε δ’αὖτ’ οὐ-
> δ̣εν διὰ [μά]κρω

Although the sequence -λλως could be an elided third person verb (singular indicative of the Aeolic -ωμι type or plural subjunctive of any type), no convincing possibilities present themselves. It is most likely to be the adverb ἄλλως in the letter sequence ου[κα]λλως. This allows three different articulations: οὐκ ἄλλως, οὐ κ(ε) ἄλλως, and, by crasis with καὶ, οὐ κἄλλως. In the second half of the line the sequence -νηκε invites a verb as supplement: an imperative, a perfect or aorist active third person singular indicative ending in -ηκε, or an imperfect of an Aeolic -ημι verb with κε. Editors focussing on a supposed failure and subsequent regret on the part of the subject have adopted Lobel's ἐσύνηκε, 'recognized'.[24] A verb appropriate to the context without any suppositions would be ἐπανήκω, 'have come back, return, be back'.[25] The simple verb may occur in Sappho fr. 114.2 (the quotation is apparently corrupt) and occurs twice in Homer; this compound does not appear before the end of the fifth century and it is not very common after that. Nonetheless, there are indirect indications that it may be an appropriate word for this passage.

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24 The position of the augment is justified by a gloss, Alc. fr. 408. The words συνίημι and ἄλλως (unless ἀλλ' ὡς) are in successive lines in Alc. fr. 58, but the context emphasizes drinking and nothing indicates that they are part of the same construction (confusion with ἄλλως = ἠλεῶς is also always possible; see app. crit. to Inc. Auct. 5). The interpretation with συνίημι offers no gain in simplicity, and leaves me wondering what the (errant?) brother realized, and where and when he realized it (reading αὖτ' as an elided neuter singular or plural accusative makes it no clearer). Sappho can refer to people without being specific (as in fr. 1) or may refer to what the audience had prior knowledge of (as in fr. 17), or may allude to a literary or religious tradition (as in the opening of fr. 16, or the possible reference to the sacrifice to the Nereids here), but she is not reticent or evasive (we need to know that Anactoria is absent, and she tells us; the surviving text of both fr. 5 and the Charaxos poem make explicit that someone is away at sea), nor does Herodotus' κατεκερτόμησε—if that passage is to be taken as a guide—suggest any such restraint in her supposed discussion of her brother's misbehavior.

25 Obbink, in his discussion of the Charaxos poem (ch. 9, this volume), points to the frequency with which words for 'come, go' are associated with him (i.e., with the brother figure). One could add to his list the possible ἐπανήκω here and the probable ἐπίκεσθαι in fr. 17.20.

In the last sentence of the transmitted text of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, lines 1627–1629 (the editors, since Porson, consider the passage part of a late addition to a damaged or incomplete text), the chorus addresses Agamemnon with a propemptic wish for his voyage out and back:

> χαίρων, Ἀτρείδη, γῆν ἱκοῦ
> Φρυγίαν, χαίρων δ' ἐπάνηκε,
> κάλλιστα μοι σκῦλ' ἀπὸ Τροίας ἑλών.
>
> Go rejoicing, son of Atreus, to the land
> of the Phrygians and return rejoicing,
> having taken fair spoils from Troy.
> tr. KOVACKS

These lines contain motifs similar to those of *Theognidea* 691–692, quoted above. The word also occurs in a passage attributed to Hellanicus of Lesbos (Pausanias 2.16.6 = FGrH 4F155): τάφος δέ ἐστι μὲν Ἀτρέως (sc. ἐν Μυκήναις), εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσους σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπανήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίσας κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος ('the tomb of Atreus is there, and of all those whom Aegisthus killed at a dinner when they returned from Ilium with Agamemnon'). However mediocre the composer of the close of the *IA* was as a poet, there is no reason to suppose that he was ignorant of the literary tradition into which he meant to insert these lines, and the coincidence of the context for the two uses—although they are sufficiently dissimilar to preclude a direct borrowing—points to an earlier poetic tradition which made the verb ἐπανήκω available as a key term for a *nostos*, especially Agamemnon's.[26] In particular, the sense of a return from a distant journey with cargo (not excluding a bride figure) is appropriate here, and reference to the much-delayed Achaean *nostoi* would give a special point to the emphatic οὐδὲν διὰ [μά]κρω and connect this song to fr. 17 (and

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26 West (2011) 325 with n. 29, concludes that evidence in the text shows that the composer was a 'student of Euripides who possessed some familiarity with tragic language,' shows knowledge of Sophocles, and had studied works of the metricians. The only other poetic uses of ἐπανήκω are in Plato Comicus, *Lakones*, fr. 70 K.-A. (as emended), to refer to the soul of Aesop coming back from the dead—a *nostos* of sorts, but there is no context and Aesop does not appear to have been part of the play—and in Menander *Dys*. 214–215: τὸν Γέταν λαβὼν / ἐπάνηκ(ε); 'get Getas and come back' (note the return 'with' someone). In prose authors, mostly post-classical, the verb is used for 'come back, come home'. There is a rhetorical metaphor in Pl. *Phdr*. 246a4, πάλιν…οὐκ ἐπανῆκε to describe a speaker who does not turn back from a topic until he has properly exhausted it.

less directly, to the allusions to Odysseus' *nostos* in the Charaxos poem).[27] The evidence for such a tradition balances the argument against supplementing even a compound that is only found in later Greek.[28]

In Alcaeus fr. 129.18 ὤς ποτ' followed by a past indicative verb introduces a narrative explanation of the reasons for his prayer; the context is different here but a single clause of explanation or expansion, using the one verb, would be in a parallel position. At first glance that could produce a line referring to the conditions of the brother's return (adjusting for the Aeolic spelling of -αν-):

> ᾠ̣ς πο̣τ' οὐ̣ [κ' ἄ]λλωϲ [ἐπό]νηκε δ' αὖτ' οὐ-
> δ̣ὲν διὰ [μά]κρω
>
> Since he would not ever in another way have come back again at all
> after a long time (*or* soon[29])

But there is probably an insuperable obstacle in δ' αὖτε. The elided delta (which is in the papyrus) would have to represent δή and that combination is uniformly spelled δηυτε in the papyri of the Lesbians (the secondary tradition is less consistent). In addition, both δέ and δηὖτε follow the first constituent in Sappho, and the Homeric uses of ἄλλως (which is not found elsewhere in Sappho)

27 There is a different possible allusion to the myths of the Atreids in the brother who returns 'to give his [unmarried] sister greater honor'; the story of Orestes and Electra also involves the stopping of an 'unendurable evil' and at least in Euripides it ends in a marriage. One need not decide whether the 'brother' here is being compared to Agamemnon or Orestes; these are allusions, or what L. Kurke in this volume calls 'mythic models', not narrative, mythic analogues, and they give a color of significance to the occasion. The role of brother-sister relationships in these poems is discussed particularly by A. Peponi (with reference to Orestes and Electra) and G. Nagy in this volume, and Kurke draws attention to a possible allusion to the Dioscuri in the Charaxos poem on the basis of the same ode from the *Helen* that I have discussed above in connection to fr. 5.

28 There remains the possibility of reading the Aeolic imperfect of πονέω, and combining a potential optative, asserting the inevitability of a triumphal homecoming, in the first clause with a past potential assertion of success in the second: ᾠ̣ς πο̣τ' οὐ̣ [κ' ἄ]λλως, ἐπόνη κε δ'αὖτ' οὐ-/δ̣ὲν διὰ μακρω, the brother arriving home to the sound of celebration, on the one hand overcame the objection (or assumed the leadership) of the citizens, 'as could not ever be otherwise. And after all (= on the other hand, even if he were suffering now), he would be suffering nothing in the long run'. But the sequence κε δέ is doubtful (as Prof. Lardinois has pointed out to me) and the syntax is strained.

29 Or, with οὐκ ἄλλως, 'since he did not ever come back again in vain after any long time'. For the litotes οὐδ̣ὲν διὰ [μά]κρω, see West (2014) 6.

scarcely allow even the option that it is part of a quasi-prepositive adverbial string included in that constituent (see the separate discussion of fr. 17.4). So there must be two clauses here, the second with δ(έ) (there is a comparable structure in lines 7–8). The first part of the line would belong to the previous sentence, and its verb would be inferred from the previous clause. But the sense of that is unknown, and, in addition, the idioms of ἄλλως are too varied to provide any direction. Among possibilities as diverse as 'as once not in vain' and 'as could never be otherwise,' I find it difficult to make a specific suggestion.

The next clause, with ἐπόνηκε as an imperative, would close the preceding wish with a restatement directly addressed to the (absent) brother: 'come back again after no long time'. Such an imperative could also be, in transition, the foil to a new, capping crescendo, introduced by the vocative and particle cὺ [δ]ὲ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣, and concluded by an imperative prayer in the next stanza. With ἐπόνηκε as an imperfect,[30] it could look backwards from the imagined future return in triumph: 'but he had come back again after no long time' or—what seems to me more likely—could compare the present occasion to other occasions for such songs, or other performances of the same ritual. Just as fr. 1 recalls a prior prayer to Aphrodite (such as the Kypris song), and the Charaxos poem implies the performance of a prayer to Hera such as is found in fr. 17, so this could refer to another song about the safe return of a 'brother' (perhaps fr. 15 would be an example of the type; note that these examples are all within the short, surviving segment of the alphabetic sequence and are unlikely to be unique cross-references). Then δ'αὖτ'(ε) would function much like δηὖτε in fr. 1, but without the tone of impatience. This gives the approximate sense, '… to/by the censure/leadership of the citizens, as once no differently. And he was home again after no long time'. Such attention to repetition, a form of generic self-reference, could serve to enhance the present performance by drawing attention to its participation in the community's history of performance.[31]

The invocation to Kypris in the final surviving stanza, which may or may not be the last of the poem, can belong to different general interpretations. A reference to marriage as a public event is as likely as a reference to private sexual attraction. Reference to marriage or to a marriageable person, direct or oblique, seems to be a typical motif of a return. We see it in the *Odyssey*, of

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30 An accent before an augment is found in the papyrus text of Sappho fr. 44.17. I am grateful to Prof. Lardinois for a discussion of the possible meanings of an historic tense here.

31 On the implied reference to other poems in fr. 1 and within the corpus generally, see Obbink (2011) 33–38 and ch. 9, this volume. Note in particular that "always" in line 5(1) of the Brothers song could suggest other songs of complaint or (if taken with the infinitive) other occasions of return, rather than just be a dramatic fiction.

course, in the person of Telemachus, the ruse after the suitors are slain, and the reunion; it also occurs explicitly (πρὸ γάμων) in the reference to Hermione in the *Helen* stasimon (lines 1476–1477); and it looks probable in the Charaxos poem. (Alcaeus' poem has other concerns.) As a practical matter, marriage could be part of a reconciliation that ends exile.[32] Apparently Kypris' intervention includes taking action,]θεμ[έν]α, in regard to some evil. The participle needs an object, and because the new addition of ọụḳọṇ . [at the start of line 19 reduces the available space, it would be difficult to have in addition a separate object for the verb of the sentence; so the latter is most likely to be a request for favor. To illustrate this I suggested in Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014):

ọὐḳ ὄ̣ṇẹ[κτον κατ]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [ὔβ-
ρ]ι[ν], π̣ί̣[θε' ἄμμ[ι(ν) or μ̣ἐ̣[νε πάρ μο]ι

Putting a halt to an unendurable outrage, give us your assistance.[33]

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32 Cf. Hdt. 1.60–61, on Pisistratus.

33 This is, of course, speculative. Perhaps Kypris is being asked to impose some evil (I have not seen any such supplement proposed, but it would conform to the common reading of fr. 15 as an attack on Doricha!). In my suggested supplement, ọὐκ ὀ̣ṇẹ[κτον κατ]θεμ[έν]α the adjective can be attributive ("halting an unendurable evil offense") or predicative ("rendering an evil offense not unendurable"). The supplements recorded by Voigt, offered when there was no knowledge of the start of line 19, assumed that κάκαν introduced the object of the verb that would be in line 20, rather than of the participle. My own suggestion, ὔβ-/ριν, is a variant of Milne's ἔριν, intended to bring out the potential of personal, erotic and the public implications in the earlier vocabulary, as well as to provide a term forceful enough to justify the enjambment of an uncompounded single lexical word. West (2014) 7 points to the possibility of avoiding enjambment by placing an enclitic ϝοι at the end of the line, but the postponement of an enclitic to a position after two or three constituents in the same phonological phrase is unlikely (see my separate discussion of fr. 17.4 in ch. 19 in this volume in regard to the placement of enclitic pronouns). And although as a general rule it is preferable to normalize the rhythm (such overruns are a small minority), this line is already rhythmically unusual, because it contains the only disyllable in the ninth and tenth positions: that is, κάκαν, for which there is no alternative, contravenes the rule that the rhythm … ⏑ – / ⏑ – / – is avoided at the end of all three hendecasyllables in the stanza. (Perhaps the rule arises from a desire to avoid reinforcing a misperception of a blunt cadence. I do not count Sappho fr. 39.1, which relies on one possible emendation of a prose quotation; it may belong to a different meter [see Lidov (2004) 396 with nn. 14–15; I add that the line would likely be preceded by a dative + δὲ but withdraw the suggestion of ἀκάκαν for this line]). The middle participle is also unusual, since it is the only certain example of one outside of fr. 2 (the use in fr. 2 is discussed below).

The important point is that the poem as we have it appears to exhibit the form of a prayer for safe return, and that such a prayer can suit more than one occasion. Although there is room for a case of the proper names either Doricha or Larichos in line 13 (but not for Charaxos anywhere), the sensible course is probably to respect the poem's initial use of family signifiers—'brother' and 'sister'—rather than proper names, and not try to specify the occasion that justified the form.

Sappho fr. 15

The mention of Kypris connects the Nereid song to Sappho fr. 15. Although the new fragments do not contribute to it, some account of the possible parallel is required (the fragment is part of POxy 1231, which also contains previously known portions of fragments 16, 16a, and 17). Two papyrus pieces are assigned to the poem, one including a final stanza, lines 9–12, addressing Kypris. In this case the totally new subject in 16.1, following directly on the papyrus, makes it very likely that this is the last stanza of the song.[34] The preceding lines contain letters that could be supplemented to make a close parallel with the Nereid poem, as in Ferrari's reconstruction ([2014] 10), following Fränkel, of the stanza immediately preceding the naming of Kypris:

ὄϲϲα δὲ πρ]όϲθ' [ἄμ]βροτε κῆ[να λῦϲαι
–⏑ ναυβ]άταιϲ' [ἄ]ν̣εμ̣[οϲ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ ϲὺν] τ̣ύχαι̣ λίμ̣ε̣νοϲ κλ[⏑ – –
]

those things that he got wrong, … release / … sailors(?) wind … / with good fortune (or: attainment of) harbor …

This parallel is very speculative, both in terms of the readings and the placement of the papyrus fragments. It reflects the expectation that the invocation of Kypris in the following stanza is a manifestation of the same type of prayer as the Nereid poem, because it too can be made to refer to Athenaeus' correction of Herodotus' narrative by reading Doricha in the stanza's third line:

Κύ]πρι κα[ί ϲ]ε πι[……]α̣ν ἐπεύρ[
. .]δὲ καυχάϲ[α] . το τόδ' ἐννέ[π – ×

34 In general, Voigt's texts do not always make clear when a coronis is in the papyrus or is an editorial supplement.

.].ρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὠς πόθε[ννον
–]ἔρον ἦλθε.

Kypris, and … find you […] / and … claim *or* boast this say … / …richa second (time?) that desirable … came.

Modern commentaries take the reference for granted, so I have provided a largely unsupplemented version here to illustrate how much the text does not speak for itself. The first line could be a wish or a narrative (the only certain verb ending in the stanza, the last word, is an aorist indicative), since the verb could be any number of the singular or the third plural in the indicative, or second or third singular in the optative; the second line could begin with the negative οὐ]δὲ or with the relatives οἴ] or αἴ], and the verb could be third singular optative or third plural indicative (the two missing syllables of the final participle can be adjusted to anything except a masculine singular). For the adjective in the first line, the comparatives or superlatives of πιστός 'faithful' (Schubart, reported by Voigt) or of πικρός 'sharp' are equally likely. The verb καυχάομαι can mean brag (obnoxiously) or boast (proudly and legitimately). The ending of the first word of the third line is most probably a name in the nominative (and not a third declension accusative singular), but Δ]ωρίχα fits the trace very badly (if at all).[35] If δεύτερον is negated, it can be a litotes: 'not second' is first, emphasizing the immediate occurrence, i.e., 'May -richa boast saying this just once, that …' with the negative, as usual, attaching itself to the main verb.[36] We can reconstruct very little, but if this is a prayer for safe return, it seems as likely that both poems end with a wish for success in the marital sphere of civic life, as that one or the other ends with a particularly vicious imprecation of someone who loves or

35 I have discussed the 'Doricha' story at length in Lidov (2002). The essential point has to do not with whether or not Doricha can be read here, but whether the post-Herodotean prose authors are independently consulting the text of Sappho or are working with the text of Herodotus and, especially, the (sometimes hostile) commentaries and secondary material based on it that incorporate an inventive Hellenistic biographical tradition. *Pace* Dale (2011) 67 n. 73, it is clear from a full review of the contexts that Athenaeus consistently derives his information about Sappho's brothers from such other sources and not from a reading of a text of her poems (which, moreover, contrary to his normal practice, he never quotes on this subject).

36 Compare West's interpretation ([2014] ad loc.) of οὐδὲν δία μάκρω as equivalent to 'soon' in 5.15–16, and Aesch. fr. 366.1–2, λουτρὸν οὐ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀλλ' ἐκ μεγίστων. In Hom. *Il.* 23.46–47, when Achilles says οὔ μ' ἔτι δεύτερον ὧδε / ἵξετ' ἄχος κραδίην, 'a sorrow will not come to me in this way a second time', he is not really thinking about the future.

is loved. Whatever the goal, Kypris may be described as taking an active role. Other poems may clarify Sappho's conception of her, but this fragment itself offers no further evidence.[37]

The Charaxos Song

I will discuss the language and structure of the Charaxos poem as a composition further below. For now I want only to show that it conforms to the pattern of prayers for safe return that I have proposed.

We lack the actual beginning but it must have been an introduction to what we do have, a dialogic situation featuring an 'I' and a 'you'.[38] It is clear that the problem is the travel of Charaxos at sea, and the uncertainties that attend his absence. The dialogue turns to offering a prayer to Hera; there is no specific reference to cult, but πέμπην implies a ceremonial movement, and Hera is addressed as βασίλεια, which looks like a cult title (Zeus is βασίλευς below, and a reference to a τεῖχος βασιλήϊον at Alc. 130a.15 is explained by a scholion as the one 'of Hera').[39] No additional reason is specified for making Hera the object of the prayer. As a prayer, it is much like the one in the stanza addressing the Nereids in fr. 5: a bare address to a power to assist in the arrival of the traveller. We are made aware that a disaster is feared, and hear the hope that it will be averted. The identification of the prayer here marks it as a general cult type. The absence of article or possessive adjective with νᾶα in line 12 (8) means that it is 'a ship', not grammatically a reference to the ship of line 6 (2). The addition κἄμμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτεμέας is otiose in this context (unless this is a prayer for a very distant future—their own current state is known to them); it corresponds to the addition of μηδάμα μηδ' εἶς fr. 5.8. Apparently, a standard prayer was being identified by its key words: we could paraphrase, 'address to Hera the prayer to bring the traveller home safely and find his family safe'.[40] But this prayer will

37 The possibility that ἦλθε here may refer to the experience of the traveller and have erotic connotations is another reason not to assume that the end of fr. 17, the prayer to Hera, must refer to a divine arrival.

38 From the context neither seems to be a god, but characters in Sappho's poetry do talk to gods, and apparently even chide Aphrodite (fr. 22.15–16). Quoted speech can be signaled by an introductory verb (fr. 1.16), but change of speaker also by no more than the change of person in a verb phrase (fr. 1.18, 25). The few letters admit many different supplements, and can be accommodated to different suppositions (I discuss this further, below).

39 See further Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014).

40 I am grateful to Dirk Obbink for pointing out to me that the comments on the definite article in Lobel (1925), cited in the app. crit. in this volume for line 21 of this fragment, also apply in line 12: in this case, Lobel's observation that a noun with a specific reference

be made in the future: the full cult prayer enjoined is not in this song. Yet, as in Alcaeus 129, the reference to a cult prayer that takes place at a different time (in that case, the past) somehow comes to be the prayer of the song itself; although this song is not a prayer, it seems to perform one indirectly.

But what is Hera being asked to do? Normally, with λίσσομαι one calls on a god, not a third party, to do or not do something, as in fr. 1. We could understand a missing imperative, 'grant,' such as we do find in the prayer to the Nereids, governing the infinitive phrase Χάραξον ἐξίκεσθαι, or, more simply, we can take the infinitive phrase following λίσσεσθαι as an object (dynamic) infinitive with Χάραξον as subject, taking the form of indirect discourse: someone is to pray to Hera that Charaxos return, a third-person imperative, or that Charaxos may return, an optative of wish. However we take it, without an expressed request for action on her part, Hera seems remote; at this stage of the poem, it is the ritual, not the god, that is emphasized, just as in Sappho fr. 17 and Alcaeus fr. 129—at least as long as the immediate goal is safe return. And since we have the rest of the song, we know for certain that Hera disappears entirely at this point. Her role is subordinated in a capping gnomic statement and generalization that uses the contrast between divine and human spheres of knowledge and power (cited briefly just before the injunction to pray) to place the achievement of more than safety outside the scope of immediate prayer.

The shift away from the request that is proper to humans to the assertion that humans must acknowledge their dependence on divine favor—expressed as the sudden clearing of a storm—is marked by a shift to gods in the plural, as well as by the end of the string of infinitives. Then the poem takes a new turn; the capping gnome is really a transitional gnome. Now the song emphasizes, optimistically, the full and continuing extent of divine power. In the fifth stanza, the gods are particularized in the single person of Zeus—here identified as the king of Olympus—who takes over the action from Hera. If he wishes, he can bring about not just safety but extraordinary good fortune. Here, however, the problem of agency is raised explicitly. Zeus, as I noted earlier, sends other gods when he acts. His agent here is described as a *daimon*, sent as a helper, ἐπάρωγον (the correction of ἐπαρήγον' by a second hand), and his entrance into the song invites us to imagine the happiness—μάκαρες πέλονται καὶ πολύολβοι—that

modified by a predicate adjective always has the article (p. xcii). Its absence therefore marks νᾶα as nonspecific. Pointing to the relative rarity of ἀρτεμής, René Nünlist (2014) 13 notes the typological similarity of the prayer here to Odysseus' prayer for his own return, *Od.* 13.42–43, where the word also occurs.

lies beyond a safe return. The address to Hera in a ritual setting, followed by a mention of Zeus, taken with its two close parallels, Sappho fr. 17, a prayer to Hera that includes Zeus and Dionysus, and Alcaeus fr. 129, a prayer to the Lesbian trinity, strongly suggests that the helper god involved would be Dionysus. The terms μάκαρ and ὄλβιος connect the mortals to the gods or to a state beyond ordinary human happiness (cf. Sappho fr. 44A.8, Pindar fr. 137).[41] Thus the transitional gnome of the god's control of human fortune gives way, in the next-to-last stanza, to a new and higher crescendo, a vivid vision of the divine blessedness that Dionysus can bring in the wake of a successful journey.[42]

At the most literal level it would be appropriate for the traveller to return with a full ship and be rich. No instances of μάκαρ or ὄλβιος in Sappho or Alcaeus indicate that they used these words in that sense. And there is little reason to think that wealth itself is a major problem.[43] All the readable instances of μάκαρ in Voigt's index, starting with the vocative in Sappho fr. 1, the prayer to Aphrodite, describe, or appear to describe, the gods. There are only two

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41 The words are discussed further by Bierl, ch. 14, this volume. In Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.1–2, ὀλβία Λακεδαίμων and μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία are celebrated for the connection their rulers have with Heracles.

42 West's emendation of επαρηγον, the text of the first hand, to ἐπ' ἄρηον (understanding δαίμον' to mean 'fortune'), is unnecessary. The basic idea in that reading—that those whom Zeus turns to better fortune become fortunate—risks banality, at best putting emphasis on the caprice of the gods, a topic already covered in the previous stanza. The text as written puts the emphasis on the hope that divine intervention take a specific form in the appearance of a third divinity who brings his characteristic joys. (I have not been able to find ἐπ' ἄρειον as an idiom, 'to / for the better' in the TLG, but Liberman's modification ([2014] 4), ἀρήον(α) solves that problem without changing West's meaning.) For a discussion and justification of the papyrus reading, see Obbink (2014b) 44 and Obbink (2015b) 6 with nn. 21–25 (including further acknowledgements to A. Henrichs and R. Schlesier). The syntax of the clause has caused much comment; I address it below.

43 Actual financial ruin is not likely to be contemplated in these poems. Even Herodotus reports only that the extent of Charaxos' extravagance was worthy of mockery. (For bankruptcy we have to go to Ovid.) The evidence for archaic economies is mixed, and difficult to interpret, but it seems that trade in the early sixth century was still no more than a marginal activity for the elite in a mostly agricultural economy, not a means of supporting socially well-placed families. The economic significance of their travels more probably involved the extra profits and status of selling and acquiring luxury goods. That does not, of course, mean that shifts in standing within the elite were unimportant to the participants. See Cartledge (1983); Foxhall (1998); Reed (2003) and Raaflaub, this volume. Liberman (2014) 5 compares the worries expressed in the Charaxos poem with the concern about a headband from Sardis in Sappho fr. 98.

readable instances of ὄλβιος. One, in Alcaeus (fr. 42.14), describes Achilles—obviously not to mark his wealth, but perhaps his heroic status. The other, in Sappho, describes a happy bridegroom (fr. 112.1).[44] πολύολβος occurs only once in the previously known Lesbian poems, to describe Aphrodite (Sappho fr. 133.2); I assume that the adjective is used actively in that instance, passively in this line to indicate the giver and recipient of a happiness relevant to Aphrodite. However, it is hard not to infer wealth as an aspect of the meaning here, since it is common from Homer on (and we shall see that there are grounds for thinking that language may be used atypically in this poem). The world of Dionysian (and perhaps material) blessedness seems to merge with the gifts and status conferred by Aphrodite (the man enjoying the company of the woman in Sappho fr. 31, groom or not, is 'equal to the gods'). A turn toward Aphrodite would be consistent with fr. 5 and 15.

In the last stanza, with a prominently fronted pronoun, separated from its clause, the song returns to the particular circumstances of the moment, a concern about Larichos.[45] This is also where we find the turn to a public or civic sphere. The key word here for both turns is ἄνηρ. As noted in Obbink (2014b) 35, it is rare in Sappho and refers to a groom or husband figure (fr. 16.7, 31.1; the 'workmen' of Sappho fr. 111.3 are contrast figures for the Ares-like 'man' of line 7). It is also a status term: Alcaeus uses it frequently to refer to any member of the sympotic society. The basic notion of line 22 (18) is that he should become a husband and take his place as a full member of his social class; δή ποτε indicates that this would bring about an end to one episode, just as the safe arrival does. Although the idiom of line 21 (17), κεφάλαν ἀέρρη is not familiar in Greek, it can be understood in this light. Upon getting married he has to behave according to the ideals of the elite. The notion of holding up one's head has the connotation of manly, combative behavior. It is a boxer's stance, and a noble one.[46] There

44 Nagy (2007a) 31–36 proposes that Achilles is the ideal bridegroom in Lesbian song.

45 After a digression (in this case about divine action) we expect a return to the specific here and now. Such a return is emphatic, and in Sappho (and everywhere else, I think) typically involves a 'pronominal cap' and—usually but not always—νῦν. E.g.: Sappho fr. 1.25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν. When the scene at hand is not temporally separated from the previous section, νῦν can be used but it is not needed; cf. Sappho fr. 2.13, ἔνθα δὴ σύ, …

46 So Pindar has Apollo say about Cyrene, wrestling a lion in *Pyth.* 9.31: οἷον ἀταρβεῖ νεῖκος ἄγει κεφαλᾷ. Compare the comment of Gildersleeve (1965) ad loc.: 'A steady head is a compliment as well as ἀταρβεῖ καρδίᾳ, which Schneidewin reads. Note the serenity of the heads of the combatants in Greek plastic art'. The use here corresponds to a call to military bravery, ἀνέρες ἔστε, familiar in Homer (see Martin's contribution to this volume). Much of the immediate commentary on this poem interpreted the if-clause to mean that Larichos

remains a Dionysian element, in the notions both of the symposium itself and in the use of boxing as erotic language in a sympotic setting (Obbink [2015b] 8, 14 n. 34–35), and this would not be inconsistent with the hint of a Bacchic festival in the Nereid poem, or in other apparent conflations of Dionysus and Aphrodite, such as we find in fr. 2.14–16 (where Kypris, νέκταρ οἰνοχόεισα, mixes nectar, like wine, in golden cups). In the last line an optative, as in the Danaë fragment, the Nereid prayer, and possibly fr. 15 (but in the apodosis of a mixed condition rather than as a wish), underlines the change in emphasis from the safe return to the happiness that will follow.

The Type and the Performance

The pattern of a prayer for safety—one which does not begin with an elaborate invocation, in which the occasion and the accompanying ritual occupy the prime rhetorical focus, and in which cult, helpers, and the public good are all mentioned—can be seen outside of Lesbian lyric. In Pindar's Ninth Paean, for example, there is what looks like an invocation of Aktis, the ray of the sun, and, in a genealogical expansion, the mother of eyesight; further on in the stanza Aktis is addressed as Potnia. However, as the question in line 1 of the Paian shows, this is less a prayer to Mother Aktis, as if she were a deity, than a dramatic description of the eclipse which is the occasion of the poem. The remainder of the triad emphasizes a list of the possible disasters this portent might be foretelling, and not until the strophe of the second triad do we appear to get around to a prayer to an effective god, Apollo: these lines are the start of an extremely elaborate invocation. We assume there will be a prayer for Apollo's protection.[47] The Ninth Paean appears to be closely connected with a cult ritual, a performance at the temple of Apollo Ismenios near Thebes, with special attention to the local hero Teneros and to the public sphere.

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is immature, and looks down at his feet a lot, but we have no reason to suppose that he has not acted in a manner appropriate to a not-yet-married member of society, nor do any parallels suggest 'raise his head' as a metaphorical expression to indicate maturity. For Horatian uses of the idiom to suggest eminence, see Obbink (2015a) 4, with references to the commentary of Nisbet and Hubbard and contributions of Thomas Nelson. The implications of his social status are further discussed by Obbink, ch. 9, this volume. The image of an adult man hanging his head in remorse appears in Alc. fr. 358, but no context opposes the one idea to the other.

47 Rutherford (2001) 193 suggests that there may have been a prayer in a (lost) paeanic refrain. In a hymnic structure, the narrative myth that elaborates the invocation may have been in turn followed by a prayer.

More significantly for our purposes, Horace uses this form in *Carmina* 1.2.[48] The prominence he gives the prayer as his first foray in Sapphic stanzas suggests a recognition of the pattern as a Lesbian type. The poem is rich in Horatian variation and in embellishment from other sources, but the sequence is clear. He begins with an extended description of disasters, which turn out to be stand-ins for civil war (lines 1–24). He than makes reference to cult prayer to a goddess who protects households, with Vesta taking the place of Sappho's Hera (25–28); then the failure of such prayer motivates a shift, in the eighth stanza, to Jupiter as the god to receive the prayer (no motivation for appealing to Zeus was necessary in the Lesbian conception of a trinity). Horace does not ask Jupiter to do something himself, but to send a helper god (29–30), who, after a long priamel, turns out to be Mercury, standing in for Octavian (30–44). After finding this solution to the current evil, the poem looks ahead to hoped-for prosperity and further triumphs (45–53). With its emphasis on vengeance as the ultimate civic good—a form of *ultor* occurs three times (18, 44, 51)—the poem looks to Alcaeus rather than Sappho, who caps her prayers with an emphasis on marriage.

Pindar's Paean performs a kind of fiction. By the time the song is written, the chorus trained, and the assembly gathered, it should have become fairly clear that the Sun had not left his accustomed track, even if the audience could not be certain that the end of the world was not near. No doubt there had been a recent eclipse, but the attention to Apollo and Teneros suggests something more regular, and less of an emergency. So too Horace *Carmina*.1.2 reflects the anxiety that had preceded the Battle of Actium, but its hopes for the future belong to later expectations that followed Octavian's success.[49] Likewise, in the Lesbian poems, the extended emphasis on what is desired *after* the present danger ceases suggests that the opening scene is a reenactment, a presentation of a past anxiety as dark foil to the present hopes.

In the case of Sappho's poems, we can ask whether the numerous poems about a returning traveller belong to an actual historical incident in the life of a particular sister named Sappho who is forever obsessed with her older brother's behavior and bemoaning the distress he causes her, or whether they represent the poems of a society whose households, formed by marriage, were dependent for their social and economic status on leading aristocrats who frequently

48 The similarity of Horace's poem and Pindar's paean has been discussed by Syndikus (2001) 41 (following Cairns [1971]). In general, for the possibility of a direct link (not just a common heritage) from Lesbian lyric to Pindar see Trümpy (2004).

49 For a discussion of the dating see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 17–18, and Syndikus (2001) 38–40.

undertook the dangers of going to sea, and which developed, in consequence, regular rituals to reenact the uncertainty and celebrate the joy of their safe return. In such a case, the 'brother' figures would be types, not actual persons.[50] If Herodotus' insertion of Charaxos into the tradition of stories about Rhodopis and other prostitutes has a basis in Sappho's poetry (something which the texts we have do not support, but which, experience shows, they can be made to accommodate), this too would be a typical feature of dangers faced by travellers (cf. Alcaeus fr. 117b.26–31).[51]

The notion of a ritual performance context for these poems leaves two questions unanswered: why, if they have a common formal base, are they so different, and what is the conception of Kypris that figures in them? For answers

50 For stock stories in the early archaic tradition, see West (1974) 1–39. There have been various suggestions about the possible significance of the names in Sappho's poems as 'speaking names,' supporting various theories of performance or ritual function. Rudolf Wachter (2014) notes that the names Charaxos and Larichos are hypocoristics; he derives the former from the compound χαραξί-ποντος 'ploughing the sea'; and attaches the latter to λῆρος, 'babbling,' remarking that -ιχος is a common name suffix. Dale (2011) 70 derives Charaxos from χαράσσω, 'irritate' but also suggests χάραξ, 'vine-pole,' as a source. I prefer the last, because it would establish a connection with Dionysus and wine-growing (as well as allow for the word-plays on χαρά). Such a connection would be maintained in the name of Larichos, whom Hellenistic commentaries (gathered in Sappho test. 203) explicitly connect to wine, by understanding it from λαρός, 'sweet', used by Homer of wine. It would represent the joy of the symposium or festival. (See also Bierl, ch. 14, this volume.) With the feminine of the same suffix, Doricha represents, simply, "gifts"—an appropriate name for a woman in any case, and in particular for the stock character of the bride, since brides and marriages are widely associated with gifts (so Sappho fr. 44). G. Nagy, this volume, connects "Sappho" to a root for "sister," reinforcing the family relationships in the poems. I prefer to derive "Sappho / Psappho" from the root that also furnishes ψάμμος and Lat. *sab-lum* (see Chantraine [1999] s.v. ψάμμος), and, indirectly, the Nereid Psamatheia (Pindar, *Nem.* 5.13), as an indication of the importance of the sea to the family of wine-producers, whether stock or real. But proposals vary widely. Schlesier (2013) argues that all the female names are nicknames for prostitutes. The evidence of the new discovery does not settle the question of whether 'Charaxos' instantiates the absent figure in one poem, or should be understood as the stock name for all brothers at sea.

51 Evidence for the role of prostitution in early trade is gathered in Aloni (1983). His discussion remains valuable even without his theory of conflict between landed aristocrats and traders. A key text in this discussion is Alc. fr. 117b (from P.Oxy. 1788). On the question of whether the fragment is rightly assigned to Alcaeus, see the review of evidence and arguments in Liberman (1999) LXXXVII–XCI. I do not find his doubts persuasive, but whoever composed the song must be reflecting available Lesbian points of view.

to these questions, it will be helpful to consider another group of poems, which center on love and are radically dissimilar to one another.

Love Songs

We have five poems explicitly about the power of love. The manuscripts of the rhetorical tradition have preserved two extended sequences about love (Sappho fr. 1, apparently complete, and fr. 31), to which we can add an ostracon that appears to be a school text (fr. 2). Papyri yielded fr. 16, and now new additions to that poem and the start of a new one (the new prayer to Kypris). These poems display the power of Aphrodite and of erotic desire, and the inability of humans, unaided, to transcend or control that power. They are illustrations and avowals of human dependence on the gods. They all describe the *praxeis* of Aphrodite. But their unity stops there. Rather, we can observe in them very different types of rhetoric, and differences in tone—different voices.

Sappho frs. 1, 2, and 31

The opening prayer to Aphrodite, Sappho fr. 1, exemplifies the form of cult prayer I mentioned above. It also illustrates how the form is capable of literary development. There is an extended invocation. The central part, the *hypomnêsis*, deftly fits the god's own reminder of her help to Sappho into Sappho's own recollection of the god's responsiveness. The inset section closely adheres to the template of scenes of epiphany, such as Apollo's visit to the wounded Hector in *Iliad* 15.236–251: He arrives like a bird, chides his favorite, reminds him of his past protection, and encourages him to go on. Sappho ends the poem with a prayer to Aphrodite to come and be her military ally. The tone of the poem is notoriously hard to pin down: a desperate voice of the petitioner in pain is followed by the voice of a god both laughing and consoling, and in the end the petitioner seems to show new confidence and determination.

Fragment 2 is a cletic prayer summoning Aphrodite to a sacred grove; it contains an extended ecphrasis of a natural scene, something very rare in early Greek literature; the tone of lulling enchantment details the sounds, scents, and sights of the precinct.[52] It illustrates how Sappho uses style and sentence structure for expressive effect. In comparison to other poems it abounds in

52 There are hints of ecphrasis in Alc. fr. 115—one reason that P.Oxy. 1788 is sometimes ascribed to Sappho—and Alc. fr. 45, the hymn to Hebros, shows that descriptions of nature are not foreign to Lesbian poetry.

sonorous long words and phrases—particularly three sonorous pentasyllabic middle participles, a verb form she uses nowhere else, θυμιάμε-νοι (3–4), αἰθυσ-σομένων (7), ⟨ὀ⟩μ⟨με⟩μείχμενον (15)—and minimizes the separation of lines by frequent run-over phrases and enjambment.[53] Uniquely among this group of poems, Aphrodite's presence is taken to be wholly beneficent.

The tone of fragment 31, the famous pathography, could not be more different. After a traditional comparison motif in which the speaker contrasts her own lack of self-control in front of the beloved with the composure of a hypothetical man 'equal to the gods' (whether in strength or happiness), it lists the disabling symptoms of love. No word for 'love' or 'desire' is actually used—her intensity and lack of distance from her suffering is reinforced by the avoidance of abstract terms—but καρδίαν…ἐπτόαισεν is a descriptive paraphrase that leaves no doubt (cf. Alcaeus fr. 283). A symptom list also occurs in Sappho's poem on old age (fr. 58, the Tithonus poem) and in Anacreon's (fr. 395), but by its length, careful patterning, and application to love here, it emphasizes a tone of exceptional distress. In what appear to be a few words of a following stanza—'all things can be borne'—there are indications that after the mention of death the *persona* of this song would have stepped back and concluded by drawing attention to the limits of the human condition.

Sappho, fr. 16

Fragment 16 famously illustrates the priamel; Sappho ostentatiously demonstrates the application of a universal principle to explain her own experience. After a list of foils there is a pronominal cap marking a general or gnomic cap: 'I say that (the general rule is that) anyone finds most beautiful whatever (s)he loves'. This is illustrated by a mythic exemplum chosen because it also provides an *a fortiori* argument—the person most universally regarded as beautiful still found, because of love, someone she thought most beautiful. We know this from the action of the story: her love led her to violate the most universal norms of good behavior by ignoring her parents, child, and excellent husband. The myth ends in a break-off passage (about which we now have more knowledge), and the priamel concludes with the expected 'concrete' cap, marked by νῦν, the repeated pronoun and a proper name. At this point the singer returns to the here-and-now of the circumstances which are the (possible or fictive) occasion. The poem's structural formality is the guide to its distinctive tone. Here,

53 In fr. 2.7 the division ἐσκίαται, θυσσομένων is also possible. I can think of no rhythmic rationale for Sappho's avoidance of the middle participle; perhaps it simply represented an inefficient ratio of sound and sense. There may be a partial exception in Sappho fr. 5.19, where the root aorist,]θεμ[έν]α, is a more compact form.

especially, readings that reject the presence of the gnomic or universal in this poem because of an *a priori* conception of the personal character of Sappho's style, mishear the voice.[54]

Before the new discoveries it was possible to speculate that the climax to the myth appeared in the continuation of the action into the fourth stanza (cf. the end of the myth in the Tithonus poem, Sappho fr. 58.12, final line in the Cologne papyrus). In that case κούφως would have been part of a narrative describing Helen entering Troy or Aphrodite's appearance to Helen. Another hypothesis was that the myth ended with a generalization on women or on the power of love. But the new text has (most likely) ν̣όημμα at the end of line 12, and ν̣οήϲηι̣ at the end of line 13:

... ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὔταν
12 .] ῾[. . . . . .]ϲαν [

[. . . . .γν]αμπτον γὰρ [. . . . .] ν̣όημμα
[. . . .] . . . κούφωϲ τ[. . . . . . .] ν̣οήϲηι̣.

The focus, therefore, is on mental activity. The mind is not likely to be Sappho's (as suggested in Burris and Fish [2014], see below), because—in fulfillment of the formal structure—she should not reappear until, in line 15, she explicitly applies the exemplum to herself and the present situation with a typical capping statement. It is not likely to be a generalization based on Helen's flexible, γν]άμπτον, mind, since she is not the formal topic of the myth. The myth illustrates the power of love or desire, and within the constraints of the remaining space, only a generalization about that power looks possible. Such a generalization would bring the myth to a close and prepare the transition to the final cap, with its specification of the preference of the *persona cantans*. This is what we would expect from the exacting strictness of form in this ode, both before and after this point. Break-offs from the narrative signal a climax and an end, and they typically contain a general statement about

54 See especially Stern (1970). On the priamel form here see Bundy (1986) 5–6; Race (1982b) 7–17, 63–64. Page (1959) 55–57 cites clarifying parallels, but it is misleading to say 'the audience will be alert to catch the name of the favorite. Sappho keeps them in suspense' (58). The audience knows the form and will be equally alert to hear an exemplum of the principle. There is a good overview, with bibliography, of all the complexities of the structure of this poem in Pfeijffer (2000), although I think his conclusions depend too much on searching for analogies between characters inside and outside the myth and too little on the formal demonstration of a principle of action.

the power of the gods and the ease with which they exert it—what is sometimes called the *thauma* motif (Bundy [1986] 2–3; see also Race [1980]). The god, in one form or another, is Aphrodite. The question is whether the νόημμα belongs to Aphrodite or her victim—whether Aphrodite has, [ἔχει], an unbending, ἄγν]αμπτον, mind or exercises control, [ἄγει], over one. The latter would require some kind of concessive: she controls *even* an unbending mind.[55] Either thought would generalize from the end of line 11 in the previous stanza, where παράγαγ' αὔταν (Helen), in the narrative, indicates the force of *eros*. At the end of the adonean]σαν looks like a feminine accusative modifying Helen. Since the point of the story is that she had no control over whom she found most beautiful, the adonean should indicate that her error was forced on her: κοὐκ ἐθέλοισαν gives the idea and accommodates the accent in the previously published papyrus.[56] The opening word of the fourth stanza would supply the subject: Κύπρις looks most likely for the space.[57] I prefer next a reading that focuses solely on the gods' power to fulfill their (to us incomprehensible) intentions; for example:

..... ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὔταν
12 κοὐκ ἐθέλοι]cαν

55 This is West's preferred understanding ([2014] 2–3); he illustrates the possibility by putting the concessive adverb in the gap in line 13 and the verb in the next line, with a result clause following: ἄγν]αμπτον γὰρ [ὔμωc] νόημμα / [δάμναται] κούφωc, τ[άκερ' ὠc] νοήcη(ι)· (see his comment on the verb choice). I am not sure of any result clauses with ὡς + subjunctive in Sappho.

56 See Obbink's app. crit., ch. 1, this volume. His supplement κοὐκ ἐθ- is a variation of M. Tempesta's suggestion, οὐδὲ θ- (cited in Burris, Fish, and Obbink [2014] 17 ad loc.). The change accounts for the position of the "warning" grave accent as the second letter of the line and the first of the diphthong (κοὐδε θ- would achieve the same purpose, but has an otiose conjunction).

57 I was wrong to suggest (Burris and Fish [2014] 16 ad loc.) κάλλος as a possible subject, since that undoes the logic; if it said that she loved him, therefore found him beautiful, and his beauty then led her astray, the poem would be about the effect of beauty and only indirectly about love, and the next sentence would then have to be about the power of beauty. The scribe's confusion of 'him' and 'her' at the end of line 11 would arise from the common expectation that Kypris led Paris to Helen, not the other way around. (If γνάμπτον is positive, it leaves a three-syllable gap, for which I suggested ἴμερος). The position of γάρ all but guarantees that the first word concludes the previous sentence; no one has suggested a suitable four- or five-syllable word that ends in]αμπτον to begin the sentence. Sappho is strict about not postponing γάρ and she does not separate καὶ γάρ. And if the subject were in the adonean, it would be hard to find a word suitable for the run-over.

> Κύπριϲ· ἄγν]αμπτον γὰρ [ἔχει] ν̣όημμα
> καὶ τέ]λ̣ε̣ι̣ κούφωϲ τ[ό κέ ποι] ν̣οήϲη̣ι̣·[58]

> But Kypris led her astray, / even though she did not even wish it; / for (Kypris) has an unyielding intention / and accomplishes lightly whatever she intends.

A gap at the start of line 15 leaves open the question of what or who reminds Sappho of the absent Anactoria. The pronoun 'she' would have to mean Aphrodite (ἄ attributed to Fraccaroli by Voigt). This is possible because her ability to affect the mind has just been reported. It would make the parallel between the *persona cantans* and Helen closer, but it would also imply a parallel between Anactoria and Paris, which is particularly distracting at the point when the subtext suggests that the "I" of the poem thinks that Anactoria shares Helen's beauty. I suggest instead that it is the whole thought—the principle of the gnome and the example—that reminds her. This would sustain the poem's illusion of spontaneity ('Unlike others, I believe that …, and this makes me think of my desire for Anactoria'). So of all the possibilities, τό, the word she uses for a similar back reference to a whole situation in fr. 31.5, is most appropriate here. Because the re-introduction of herself as the topic calls for the emphatic pronoun, as Lobel saw when he suggested κἄμε, the crasis can provide the necessary long vowel:[59]

> τῷ]μ̣ε̣ νῦν Ἀνακτορί[αϲ] ὀνέμναι-
> 16 ϲ’ οὐ] παρεοίϲαϲ,

The crasis ο+ε > ω is known (Hamm [1958] 39 § 80.g)) but not common. This is what led Burris and Fish (2014) to suspect that the annotation τωμον, with an attribution to Nicanor or Nicander, in the *left* margin of Sappho fr. 17 in PSI 123 should be thought of as being in the *right* margin of the preceding column, lost in that papyrus, at line 14 of this, the preceding poem, and so supply a possessor for νοήμμα. In that case, the lost text in PSI 123 would have had the Attic form τοὖμον, prompting the annotation. Because the exact placement

58 ποι (= Attic που) corrects an error in my earlier suggestion of κέ πω, reported in Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 17 ad loc. In general, compare Alc. fr. 361, αἰ δὲ κ' ἄμμι Ζεῦς τελέσῃ νόημα, 'if Zeus fulfills our plan' (Campbell), or 'fulfills for us his plan'. For the relative + κε and the subjunctive instead of ὅττι here, compare Alc. fr. 358.6–7.

59 Pfeijffer (2000) 4 n. 15 recognized that τὸ was preferable but did not see the possibility of using it.

of the annotation in relation to the text is uncertain, and because the return from the myth to the *hic et nunc* in με νῦν strongly suggests that there should be no earlier self-reference (or even precludes one), most commentators have put aside their suggestion. My proposed supplement in line 15 provides an alternative explanation for the annotation: the annotator mistook the letter sequence τωμεν and meant to correct it with a variant that he knew occurred in Sappho. If Burris and Fish are correct in pointing to a monograph on crasis by Nicanor, it could have provided the evidence for the alternative reading but without making clear exactly where it belonged.[60]

The *persona* of the singer here has persevered with a cool rhetoric, displacing any strong emotion to the mythical past. With the mention of Anactoria, the priamel is formally complete. The assumed mask appears to drop slightly in the adonean supplement, οὐ παρέοισας, which both explains why Anactoria would be on her mind and adds a suggestion of longing. But the expression of emotion remains restrained, with a softened wish to confirm her choice in the optative in line 17, τᾶ]ς ⟨κ⟩ε βολλοίμαν, and, in the remainder of the stanza, a rhetorically self-conscious application of the original foils, supposedly discarded, to the qualities of Anactoria's appearance.

It is not clear whether the poem continued after this stanza. On the one hand the formal structure is complete; on the other, there has so far been no statement that the *persona* of the singer accepts her loss or her dependence on divine power, such as seems to appear in the all-but-lost last stanza of Sappho fr. 31 and which is implicit in the prayer forms of Sappho fr. 1 and fr. 2. At line 20 we are left with an open-ended sense of her dissatisfaction. It now seems all but certain that there were enough stanzas for another poem between this one and Sappho fr. 17. The published text tentatively starts the next poem, fr. 16a with line 21, giving fr. 16 itself five stanzas, but there is potentially enough room for a complete new poem to start with fr. 16a.25, leaving a possible sixth stanza for

60 According to McNamee (2007) 355 with 356 n. 23, the annotation is in the form associated with variants, not a confirmation of a reading (she is following Turner's system). As Burris and Fish show, the range of lines to which the annotation could apply is not great; so it is wishful thinking to ignore it completely. By my hypothesis the annotator would have thought that a second νοήμμα should be mentally supplied from above, which would yield the minimally acceptable sense, 'mine (*sc.* my thought) now takes note of Anactoria'. He would not have noticed either that he was using one nu twice, or that an additional nu would make the line unmetrical. There is another, unmetrical miscorrection in the same papyrus, placed interlineally in fr. 17 line 3 (see app. crit. in Voigt; a photograph is available at http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;2;123). I am grateful for additional correspondence on my speculations from Professors Fish and Obbink.

Sappho fr. 16 (The text of new finds confirms but does not add to what was in the already published Oxyrhynchus fragments for lines 21–22; the end of line 23 is new; there is no trace of the adonean.):

21 . . . . .] .μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεϲθαι
. . . . .].ν ἀνθρωπ[. .(.) π]εδέχην δ' ἄραϲθαι
. . . .]δ̣ ἔμ αὖται

The potential optative wish of line 17 implies 'if I could'. The suppressed protasis is usually ignored in that idiom, but 'not be possible' in 21 could respond to the thought. The correlated structure suggests that something as a whole is not possible for humans, but one can pray to share in it (for the expression cf. Sappho fr. 63.5–6). Such a generalization could begin a poem as well as end one, but it seems less suitable to what we now know is the end of the next poem (Sappho fr. 16a.30–32):

… ὄττιναϲ γὰρ
εὖ θέω κῆνοί με μάλιϲτα ϲίννον-
32 τ' ἐξ ἀδοκήτω

for whomever / I treat well, they especially harm me / unexpectedly.

It seems to me harder to connect an introductory stanza (16a.21–24) on the limits of attainment to this final generalization on the inability to know one's friends (a theme of the limits of knowledge or the uncertainty of fate) than to connect an initial statement about desire (16.1–4) to a generalization on the limits of obtaining what one wants. And as the end of fr. 16, a stanza on the recognition and acceptance of limited happiness would continue the tone of restraint without contradicting a possible underlying sense of regret.[61]

61 'One's whole sense of the poem would be affected by whether the narrator touched fairly briefly on her own experience at the close, and ended both neatly and wistfully at 20; or whether she moved to dwell on her own suffering at greater length, and to incorporate it into a further large context' (Hutchinson [2001] 167). The uncertainty about the last stanza mirrors the problem of Sappho fr. 31, in which line 16 closes a ring, but the poem does appear to continue with a generalization, and of Sappho fr. 58—the newly expanded Tithonus poem—which is apparently complete at line 12 in one version, but continues with a four-line comment in the other (these three poems were discussed together by Lardinois [2009] 42–51; the new additions to fr. 16–16a confirm the relevance of his comparison). Although we now know that at most only one further stanza was

Sappho, Kypris Song

No such emotional restraint characterizes the new prayer to Kypris. Although we have at best readable remnants of six lines, the tone is difficult to mistake. The anguish is similar to Sappho fr. 31, but it is achieved very differently. Unlike the others, it does not appear to be constructed from a traditional rhetorical type. Elsewhere rhetorical questions are introduced as pretexts or hypotheticals in an argument (so Alc. 119.1, apparently), but I can find no other early examples of a purely exclamatory rhetorical question as an opening gambit:

> πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄσαιτ̣ο,
> Κύπρι δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣',
>
> How can someone not again and again feel distress, / Kypris, my mistress, …

Strained word order reflects the singing *persona*'s emotional strain. Instead of the normal οὔ κε δή the negative is moved forward, apparently to form a quasi-compound with θαμέως and accentuate the anguish (Obbink [2014b] 46). In line 2, Κύπρι, δέσ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', is not an invocation of the god by title. *Despoina* in early Greek can readily be used of humans in authority—typically the Lady of the house. When used for gods it has a defining genitive, such as Anacreon 348.3 δέσποινα…θηρῶν. Later, as a divine title, *despoina* can be used by itself, but everywhere, when used with a name, δέσποινα comes first.[62] Here we have not Lady Kypris, but something much more emphatic, such as 'Kypris, my queen'.

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likely, various solutions previously suggested for fr. 16.21–22 and found in Voigt's app. crit. still have value. Some variant of Milne's ὄλβιον…. / πάμπαν ἄνθρωπον (see Obbink, ch. 1, this volume), 'it is not possible for a mortal to be completely blessed' also has the advantage of fitting the alphabetical order as an incipit, and therefore allowing the question to remain unresolved. As a continuation, it would be extremely general, since there has been no indication of *olbia* as topic. Sitzler's ἀλλ' ἄραν…./ παῖσαν suggests that there has been actual prayer—ἄρα is usually concrete. (Hutchinson finds the former too short, the latter too long.) The asyndeton, which Sitzler's supplement avoids, would not necessarily be a marker of a first line. No such rule should be imposed as an editorial requirement, since asyndeton can also occur at the start of a generalization within a poem. There may be something very similar at Sappho fr. 96.21 (where some scholars have wished to apply the rule) and there are numerous examples in Pindar (e.g. *Pyth.* 2.49).

62 For the use of the title, see Henrichs (1976). My observations on the word order are based on his thorough collection of instances.

Note that here the use of generalizing indefinite pronouns does not disguise the actual particularity of the experience; τις and ὄττινα make us guess at or imagine the particular individuals whom the *persona cantans* cannot bring herself to name, including (at least) herself.

The exact grammar and meaning of the second line is not clear, because we do not know the person of the verb in the clause ὄττινα [.]ή φ̣ι̣λ̣[– ×. The choice is between a second person indicative, φίλ[ησθα, and a third person, indicative or optative, φίλ[ησι or φιλ[είη. The choice of construction also influences the choice between [δ]ή and [μ]ή. Neither construction is without problem. If second person, 'whomever you (do not?) love,' the indefinite relative specifies the class of an indefinite antecedent in the first line. But all other examples with τις as the antecedent of ὅστις belong to the type 'is there someone who?' or 'there is no one who' (see Kühner and Gerth [1904] sect. 544(.3) anmerk. 7), and indeed one hardly expects an indefinite to define an indefinite: one of them is otiose. In the case of the third person—'if (s)he loves someone'—we would have an example of what Smyth calls a parenthetical or appended general conditional relative clause ([1984] 579, sect. 2570), which uses the indicative. But in all examples I have found there is some noun in the sentence which can function as the antecedent, a hook from which the appended clause hangs (see also Kühner and Gerth [1904] sect. 558.6; another good, archaic example is Semonides fr. 7.69–70). So the construction would be noticeably loose. Given this choice, this second, loose construction seems to me preferable. It does not violate the inherent logic of the indefinite pronouns, and it conforms to the general style of the passage as an abrupt burst of thought. In that case, only δή makes sense as the particle.[63] The clause describes the circumstances of the initial exclamation.

In the next line the optative θέλοι establishes a construction parallel to the optative in the first line, resuming that construction after the grammatically parenthetical clause. A conjunction is needed, the space is slightly too wide for καί, and a negative would continue the parallel, so κωὐ seems to be the best choice.[64] At the end of the line, an aorist infinitive, πάθην would require,

63 The repeated δή is not a problem; see Obbink (2014b) 47 ad loc. With the second person, μή would indicate that the suffering belongs to those whom Aphrodite does not love: presumably, she causes them to fall into a love that is not requited, as an expression of her displeasure. More generally, however, as in fr. 1 and fr. 2, she is called on to create love, and it is her absence which is deplored. Aphrodite's favor brings a passion that can cause the experience of pain as well as of pleasure. (See also Benelli [2015] 10.) There is an extensive discussion of this stanza by Schlesier, this volume.

64 Benelli (2015) suggests a new clause with initial crasis of καὶ + αἰ ('if') here; he also proposes

for the next word, either an object beginning κα- or χα-, or another infinitive. None of the choices for a noun give good sense. An infinitive would have to govern πάθην and the resulting expression 'wish to (…) to suffer' is likely to be unnecessarily awkward or redundant. It seems more likely that there is a noun here, governed by an infinitive at line-end, and also more likely that Sappho shares Pindar's form for the noun of the παθ- stem, πάθα, than that she uses πάθος, which is found in Attic in the fifth-century and later. Although one can 'suffer' evils or 'experience' goods with the same verb in Greek, the unmodified word normally means 'suffer,' and in Pindar the forms of πάθα usually refer to evils. In addition, the parallel of the optative phrase here with ἄσαιτο in line 1 suggests that the paramount idea is 'suffering'. The noun here could be, with a final nu, accusative singular or genitive plural (or, with a final sigma, accusative plural or genitive singular). West has suggested καλύπτειν with an accusative, but there is no parallel for anyone wishing to hide the experience of love in Sappho rather than speak to the beloved. The supplement χάλ[ασσαι with the genitive follows the pattern of Alcaeus, fr. 70 (see app. crit. in this volume), where Alcaeus urges his comrades to seek respite but with a view to future fighting and victory.[65] This may be a military commonplace; in Homer, *Iliad* 19.221 Odysseus, arguing with Achilles, declares that κόρος comes to fighting men (compare ἄσαιτο), and they must then have a respite in order to resume fighting again. For the full opening question, therefore, I follow the reading:

πῶς κε δή τις οὐ θαμεως̣ ἄςαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέςπ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηςι
κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιςτα πάθα̣ν̣ χάλ̣[αςςαι;

How would someone not be continually overwhelmed,
Kypris, my queen, if (s)he indeed loves someone,
and (how could someone) not most of all wish to get respite from
sufferings?

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the crasis κἰ- in line 6. But notwithstanding the frequency of καὶ εἰ in Greek generally, Hamm ([1958] 38–39, sect. 80–81) records no instances of crasis of α(ι)+αι (and it is difficult to suppose that καὶ and καί would differ in pronunciation), no instances of crasis of any vowel with an initial iota, and no examples of elision of καί that could not be interpreted as crasis with a following alpha.

65 So too Liberman (1999) ad loc.; the question of whether Alcaeus is using a subjunctive or future is not relevant here.

Another unusual feature of the stanza is the syntax of the adonean. Because of the change to second person in line 4, we can be fairly certain that the opening question ends at line 3: the adonean has to start a new sentence. This never happens elsewhere in Sappho. The adoneans either end, usually with a climax, the previous clause (as in the first stanza of fr. 1), or they form a prominent transition to its conclusion in the next stanza (as in the second stanza of fr. 1).[66] Alcaeus begins a sentence in the adonean once, in fr. 42.12, but that may be the exception that demonstrates the rule; the sentence is closely connected in thought to the previous one:

> φιλό[τας δ' ἔθαλε
> Πήλεος καὶ Νηρεΐδων ἀρίστ[ας.
> 12 ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον
> παῖδα γέννατ' αἰμιθέων [φέριστον
>
> The love thrived / of Peleus and the most excellent of the Nereïds, / and in a year // she gave birth to a demigod'.
>
> supplemented text from PAGE [1959]

The sentence that begins in line 4 connects the second person description of Kypris with a battlefield metaphor, δ̣αΐ̣σ̣δ̣[εις or δ̣αΐ̣σ̣δ̣[ην and so increases the intensity of the complaint. If the sentence is a new question, it would furnish a similar continuity of thought, and excuse the asyndeton. Although

66 A reading that ended a sentence in line 4 would provide a normal stanza structure. It would require that the ὄττινα-clause be the object of the verb (ὀν)έχησθα, and this would have the advantage of providing a clearer attachment of that clause to the sentence structure (See Benelli [2015]). However, there is no meaning for the verb that would provide an acceptable sense (see LSJ; (ὀν)εχησθα cannot be construed with an infinitive in line 3, because an infinitive there would be dependent on θέλοι). Since the verb is indicative, it describes the goddess's action; the *persona cantans* is apparently addressing to Kypris, in the exclamatory question of line 1, a complaint about her experience in love, either holding her responsible or looking to her for relief. Such a question would not readily lead to a description of how the goddess does or does not restrain or physically hold high (or metaphorically exalt) her or anyone else. Because of the implied complaint, it is tempting to look for a reading that brings the poem closer in sentiment to Horace, *Carm.*4.1, complaining to Aphrodite that whomever she loves who wishes to give up these activities, she goads instead (by litotes here, for 'does not restrain'). But precision of vocabulary, available syntax, and the absence of parallels within what we have of Sappho resist such a reading.

Holford-Streven's πῶς] ὀνέχησθα, 'how do you keep on …' (reported in Obbink [2014b] 48 ad loc.), with the repetition of the poem's opening word is very attractive, the verb requires a supplementary participle, a form not possible at the end of line 5, never an infinitive. The printed version, ποῖ]ον ἔχησθα / νῶν], (E.L. Bowie) 'what intention do you have', recreates an idiom also supplemented in Sappho fr. 96.2, but it lacks dramatic intensity and is dialectically suspect.[67] West offers οὐκ] ὀνέχησθα / κνω]δ̣αλ' οἶσι, 'you do not hold back the mordacious pests with which …' (2014, 12) as part of a version which begins the main clause in line 3. The sense is difficult, but the relative clause has the advantage of unambiguously placing the enclitic pronoun in second position. In other versions, the pronoun is second within a dependent infinitive clause. That placement is likely to be acceptable, but there are not enough instances for certainty.[68] Hesitantly, nonetheless, I prefer a version with the infinitive that also adds a new word to the lexicon, κάγχαλος. The form would be related to καγχαλάω, 'laugh in exultation, jeer,' just as the Aeolic thematic stem γέλος exists alongside of γελάω (see Chantraine [1999], s.v.). There is also a later verb form καγχαλίζω, which would be a regular formation from the thematic stem.[69] I would incorporate this, as a dative of manner (not means), in a progression from the exclamatory question to a normal exclamatory declarative sentence:

4 ὄϲϲ]ον ἔχηϲθα
καγ]χ̣άλοιϲί μ' ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣]ην

How much you are able,
in bursts of laughter, to pierce me heedlessly …

Here καγχάλοισι expresses pejoratively what μειδιαίσαισα does positively in fr. 1.14, just as ἀλέματως, emphasizing the gods' disregard for human conse-

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67 The Lesbians use οἷος or ὄος a few times, but Voigt considers the former form epic; ποῖος does not occur. On νῶν, see Hamm (1958) 29–30, sect. 58.2.

68 See the separate note on fr. 17.4 in this volume. Although Taylor (1990) 65 finds it only 'marginally' possible in Homer for an enclitic in an embedded non-finite clause to take second position in that clause, the position of μέν in *Il.* 7.331, τῶ σε χρὴ πόλεμον μὲν ἅμ' ἠοῖ παῦσαι Ἀχαιῶν, where it coordinates the whole of line 331 with δέ in line 332, shows that it is certainly possible. (Sappho fr. 94.5 and 1.17 show that it is not necessary).

69 Hesychius (see LSJ Suppl.) reports the noun as a Sicilian word for a (bolt-?) ring or hole (κρίκος) on a door. Perhaps onomatopoeia is at play in that usage.

quences, puts the worst interpretation on the ease of divine action described by κούφως (as in Sappho fr. 16.14; compare Pindar, *Pythian* 9.11).

In the next line ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}cαντι̣ could be a dative of means with δαΐσδην, finally supplying a word to specify the problem; the following γον- could provide the familiar, idiomatic 'loosening the knees', although the sentence would become drawn out. I suggest starting a new clause with γον-, so that the *persona* now, in an abrupt response to her own distress, switches from exclamation to an appeal to the god who can bring her relief: 'I beseech you, come' γόνωμ', ἔπ̣ε̣[λθε. The song would be substantively but not formally cletic. This would give the same train of thought as in Sappho fr. 1, the prayer to Aphrodite, but maintain this song's very different voice. West offers a version that begins a new sentence at the start of line 6 with a negative command structure: μή μ'ἔ]ρω⟨ι⟩ … ἔν̣α̣[ιρε and prolongs the complaint, as in the opening stanza of fr. 1.[70] Without any evidence for the end of the line or for how the song continues, the choice of structures must remain open, but the tone is clear.

70 West (2014) 11, part of an extended discussion of some of the possibilities. γόνωμαι is not found in Sappho but would be the Aeolic form of a verb found in Homer and Anacreon (so too West). West also reads λύσσαντι as a correction for λυιcαντι, still modifying ἔρω⟨ι⟩. While the participle, perhaps 'maddening', 'rabid', is attractive as an easy correction and in sympathy with the sentiment, the aorist is hard to explain and both the parallels he cites for the combination involve very patent personifications, not compatible with a dative of instrument. For a different, very speculative approach I would take a cue from Eur. *Med.* 633–635, cited by Obbink (2014b) 47 as an invocation of Kypris, with δέcποινα: μήποτ', ὦ δέcποιν', ἐπ' ἐμοὶ χρυcέων τόξων ἀφείηc / ἱμέρωι χρίcαc' ἄφυκτον οἰcτόν, 'Do not, mistress, let loose upon me from your golden bow an inescapable arrow anointed with desire'. The chorus there seem to wish to avoid the fate suffered in this poem. Although οἰστός should be three-syllables outside Attic, Hamm (1958) 32 § 63 indicates the slight possibility of contracting -οϊ-, which would allow: οἴστ]ον ἔχησθα / καγ]χάλοισι μ' ἀλεμάτως δαΐσδ[ην—'do you have an arrow … to pierce me' (but note that the position of the enclitic casts doubt on an epexegetic infinitive). Going further afield, we might consider starting from the assumption that the genitive ending, ἰμέ]ρω is correct, and then looking for an even greater corruption behind the one word that is certainly corrupt, λυιcαντι. To achieve something parallel to Euripides' χρίσασα we could correct this to whatever might be the Aeolic stem for the Attic λούθεντα—an arrow washed in desire (the genitive is normal). For possible verb forms, see LSJ; the word is not documented in Aeolic, and there are several versions of the root, so I would have to assume that the unfamiliarity of the form (perhaps λωθ-) led to the original corruption.

Performance Occasions

The five love poems, then, differ in tone and in rhetoric. They give very little information about themselves. Only fragment 2, the cletic prayer, has even the pretense of a performance occasion, and given that it suggests the actual presence of a god pouring out nectar for her worshipers, it can only be taken as figurative. In fragment 31 the indistinct "you" to whom the poem is addressed is not necessarily present. The songs must have external audiences, but it would be a methodological mistake to infer the character of the external audience from the rhetoric. Taking each voice in isolation would suggest a different occasion for each, but still lead to no coherent picture of activity. In fr. 16 the *persona* sounds didactic but that does not mean that Sappho is teaching. The *persona* in fr. 31 expresses her distance from what she sees, but that does not mean Sappho is alone. If we were to infer the occasions from the poem, they would belong to very different worlds. So in the absence of clues to an occasion, the poems provide no explanation of the differences in voice.

We could attribute the variety in these poems to a typical Greek aesthetic that relishes *poikilia* and imagine Sappho trying out a number of attitudes, as would be characteristic of the modern notion of lyric, as she explores diverse psychological phenomena and demonstrates them to an undefined audience. It is hard to imagine this as a primarily literary exercise, but perhaps it has a venue in the symposium, and so is a body of work comparable in its variety to that of Archilochus, Hipponax or Anacreon. Certainly it appears to have been received that way in later Athens. But in the end it is hard to conceive of an occasion for a women's symposium, or a collection of women as an audience, unconnected with any other ritual, and it is hard to square an independent body of sympotic love poems with the public responsibilities to family and the celebration of marriage seen elsewhere in the sapphic stanzas of Book One and with the at-least-partially public concern with the Muses seen in the stichic choriambic meters of Books Three and Four.[71]

Perhaps all the poems are just the collected works of a poet for hire, ready to meet any demand, high or low. I suspect that would be anachronistic. However,

71 Stehle (1997) 288–294, 311–318 argued that only written, literary expression provides an explanation. Schlesier (2013; 2014a) has argued for a purely sympotic venue, with Sappho as a participant. Bowie (this volume) suggests that Sappho performed as a professional entertainer in mixed symposia; that does not explain well the exclusion of all but egocentric homoerotic love poems. Parker (1993) 341–346 concludes that Sappho's poems were written for the same variety of cultic, ritual, or social occasions as those of male poets. On dramatic voices in Archilochus and Hipponax, see again West (1974) 1–39. On the role of Anacreon and the Athenian reception, see Nagy (2009c).

it alerts us to the possibility of songs designed to fit within an occasion. Pindaric epinician offers a kind of parallel: we speak of epinicians as a genre, but just like the erotic poems, they are not a genre in the sense of strictly following a regularized form, as prayers do. There are a number of topics that they must cover and to do so the poet deploys a large number of rhetorical devices and commonplaces. Some are proper especially to the epinician occasion, others are drawn from various sources. He adopts a number of poetic stances and points of view (though without variation as extreme as we see here). And Pindar describes the songs as compliments or adornments to a festival (e.g., *Nem.* 4.1–5). I suggest that this is the best way to think of the many voices of the erotic poems, that they provide an individual character to the repetitions of a performance in which the assertion of the power of a divinity is required. Since the divinity expresses her power in these poems in a way particular to one social group—women, whether as girls, wives, or potential wives—they could well be the audience, but if the performances are part of a more extensive dramatization, they could also be part of what is represented.

Voices

But who are the individuals represented by the singing *ego*? How distinct are they? Are they different poses or different people? To pursue this we can look at the different ways Sappho distinguishes voices; it brings us back to the poem about Charaxos.

Metrical Style

All the poems we are discussing are, of course, in the Sapphic stanza, but Sappho adapts it to create significant differences. I am looking particularly at her handling of words within the verse line. The patterns for this are mostly the same for Alcaeus and Sappho, but Sappho makes use of variation, and her structures are less rigid and repetitive. Both authors avoid word-end after the fourth syllable but Alcaeus does so more strictly than Sappho. Both prefer word-end after the fifth position—Alcaeus is particularly regular in the second line of the stanza—but Sappho uses the fifth or sixth as alternatives. Because her composition is normally varying, she can mark a poem or passage as a whole by avoiding variation, so that she violates or exaggerates the patterns. For example, in the pathography of fr. 31 she places word-end after the fourth syllable of the lines in unbroken succession until the last surviving line. Conversely, to set out Aphrodite's speech in fr. 1, she starts direct speech after the fifth syllable of the stanza's second line—Alcaeus' most typical break point—and then, restrain-

ing her normal style of variation, she instead maintains word end in that same position for the whole of Aphrodite's speech.[72] Metrical style can differentiate voices.

In the Charaxos poem the adonean stands out. Alcaeus' favorite form of the clausula is to put word end after the third syllable; he does this in half of the sixteen surviving examples—e.g., 42.4 Ἴλιον ἴραν, 42.16 καὶ πόλις αὔτων, 45.8 θήϊον ὔδωρ—and most of these begin with a single three-syllable word. Sappho, on the other hand, has only three initial trisyllabic words, all in Sappho 1 and none in Aphrodite's speech there. She is also fond of using a single word or word-group for climactic, dramatic effect: 1.24 κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα, 2.13 οἰνοχόαισον, 22.12 ἀμφιπόταται. Her favorite type is an adonean with an initial two-syllable word. But above all, what she does *not* do is repeat the same structure in stanza after stanza. Yet in this song the first three stanzas all end with the 2+3 pattern: ταῦτα νόησθαι, νᾶα Χάραξον, αἶψα πέ̣λ̣ονται; the fourth breaks this with a climactic pentasyllabic word-group, καὶ πολύολβοι, leaving Charaxos to turn to Larichos. In context the emphasis is particularly heightened, for the poem ends by reverting to the 2+3 pattern, αἶψα λύθειμεν. There is no series of clausulas so monotonous in the rest of Book 1.

Linguistic Style

These adoneans are the most objective but hardly the only characterizing feature of the poem. It has peculiar uses of language. The verb θρυλέω in line 1 takes some kind of accusative object plus infinitive construction—but θρυλέω is not normally construed with a dependent verb. Once it is found with ὅτι in Plato (*Phd.* 65b), but it usually takes a neuter direct object.[73] The construction here does not belong to the poetic language. In the first stanza we also find a χρή construction; this is the only use of χρή in the surviving corpus of Sappho, although Alcaeus uses it several times. Perhaps that is a clue

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72 I am summarizing my own counts, not including the new texts, without details. The degree of variation depends on whether the count includes only appositive groups or all separate words (both methods have a scholarly history). Since the third hendecasyllabic sequence does not show more differences from either of the previous two than they do from each other, I am ignoring any theories of colometry in this count. No word-ends dependent on conjecture or emendation were included.

73 This conclusion is based on a search of the stems θρυλ-, εθρυλ- and τεθρυλ; the citation of the Plato example in LSJ leaves the misimpression that it is typical. There is also an instance with ὡς in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16.7.4 (if correctly supplemented), and once, in Strabo *Geog.* 8.6.12.3–4, the perfect passive is used impersonally (like λέγεται), with εἶναι as a subject infinitive.

to the kind of tone we find here. In all the rest of Sappho, I count at most ten subjunctives. The only future looking subjunctives are one or two with ὡς; another appears to be deliberative in an indirect question, and the majority are in present general constructions.[74] But the Charaxos poem alone has four subjunctives in its five stanzas. In line 14 (10) τρέπωμεν is the only example of a hortatory subjunctive in Sappho (Alcaeus has several). In the last stanza, the two subjunctives belong to the only future anticipatory (future more vivid) condition in Sappho.

This collection of unusual constructions has a context, for it has been widely noted that the grammar of the song in some places is, to put it bluntly, strange. The unique χρή introduces a compound construction with three infinitives, the last of which has a dependent object infinitive that in turn has two dependent object infinitives. In the fourth stanza the conditional relative clause with τῶν has produced much comment. I think that it is not as far-fetched as some have taken it to be, and certainly does not call for us to substitute a *lectio facilior* in our copies. The initial genitive is subjective with πόνων and also represents the omitted accusative object of περτρόπην. In English we can say 'those whom Zeus wishes a helper daimon to turn from their troubles,' but it is not idiomatic to say 'those from whose troubles Zeus wishes a helper daimon to turn them,' even though the meaning would be identical.[75] But it is still a complex construction, not made easier by the postponed antecedent. It would fit more comfortably in prose.

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74 Present general: 5.3, 16.3–4, 16a.30–31 (previously 26.3), 60.6, 98.3, and now, apparently, 16.14; purpose with ὡς 6.8, purpose or result with ⟨ὡς⟩ 30.7–9 (both with ἴδωμεν); indirect deliberative 51; possible anticipatory in 88.16 but Voigt suspects the form. I do not include 31.7, where the reading ὡς…ἴδω as another present general construction depends on how the line is supplemented and is unlikely (Lidov [1993]). In Alcaeus, I count 15 subjunctives, most of which do refer to time subsequent to that of the leading verb.

75 My understanding of the construction begins with a straightforward expression of the apparent meaning (I use Attic, for simplicity), ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς Ζεὺς βούληται δαίμονα περιτρόπειν ἐκ τῶν πόνων. A subjective or possessive genitive, referring back to ἐκεῖνοι, is implied with πόνων. It is expressed in Attic with the definite article; it would not be expressed in Aeolic. The relative pronoun, whose antecedent is likewise ἐκεῖνοι, and which is in the accusative case as object of περιτρόπειν, is then assimilated to that genitive. At that point it may seem that the relative expresses the subjective or possessive genitive with πόνων and that the accusative object of περιτρόπειν is implied, not expressed. Since they are the same people, it makes no difference. Obbink (2014b) 44 notes the use of the relative with κε in the sense of the indefinite; this usage is confirmed in Alc. fr. 358.6–7.

The Voices of the Charaxos Song

The singer of these awkward lines is the person I identified at the beginning as the subject of πέμπην. The ritual involved at this point has a clear literary parallel, in *Il* 6.269–278, 293–310, where Hector sends Hecuba to order the priestess Theaino to pray to Athena, and such processions are well-represented in art. But the phrase the Singer uses, πέμπην...καὶ κέλεσθαι πόλλα λί̣σσεcθαι is curious (however ἔμε is construed). It is not an established poetic expression with this meaning. I have found no example for the conjunction of πέμπειν and κελέσθαι. The combination of πέμπειν with the more common form κελεύειν is found four times in the *Odyssey*, in a different sense. There, it always means 'urge to send (Odysseus) on his/my way' (e.g, 7.226). It is found once in Pindar in the sense close to ours, using the participle: 'sending the attendants, she ordered them to ...' (*Ol.* 6. 32–33). But it does become much more frequent in later Greek prose, for sending one person (not always specified) to urge another to do something, or sending someone someplace with orders to do something. Thucydides typically uses it with the participle. The two verbs joined by καί, as in line 9, are found in Xenophon, both with and without the person sent being specified.[76]

We would not normally look to later prose to explain an early poetic idiom, but here, as with θρυλέω, it is precisely the fact that the expression might not be poetic that is the significant point. It also helps clarify that for this speaker the object of πέμπειν need not be important. We can supply, as presupposed, the 'you' of the previous sentence; if the song is performed by or in front of the chorus, the performance context would automatically supply an object. But it is not significant within the sentence. Similarly it is not clear who is to beseech Hera. A priestess can be implied. If the Messon precinct is to be assumed, its rituals can also be assumed. Or perhaps the person sent should also pray. But the speaker is not making a point of her own or any one else's participation in the ritual; as I note above, the emphasis is on the ritual. The speaker herself is the one who sends. She is a person of authority; someone who chides those around her and tells them what to do; who uses expressions of necessity or of will not found elsewhere; who, certainly, with her prose-like constructions, bordering on awkwardness, and with her repetitive cadences, does not sound like someone with the habit or even ability to compose songs for a chorus. Perhaps she sounds like somebody's mother (assuming the speaker is

76 E.g. Thuc. 2.81.1 παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν (cf. Hdt. 4.128.4)—note that in this case the object of πέμπειν is not specified. Xen. *Anab.* 5.6.21, πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Τιμασίωνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι; 7.1.5, πέμπει Μηδοσάδην καὶ κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι.

a woman; the poem gives no clue), but that is dangerous to say in a poem that gives names but no family markers (unlike the Nereid poem which has family roles but not names). The addressee of the poem, on the other hand, might well have a singer's abilities, especially if she is the one to go perform the prayer.

When the poem was first published, the awkwardness of its language was widely commented on, as if at last we had proof of Page's disparagement, 'additions to the text of Sappho have shown that much of her poetry was below the standard by which we were accustomed to judge her'.[77] That the impression of a non-poetic quality is correct is confirmed by close inspection. What is not correct is that it reflects the author's limitations rather than her intentions. For all the oddities, this poem, or song, as a whole is not awkward. The play with metrical style is restricted to the adoneans; the rest is as varied and expressive as ever. The lines echo each other with the strategically placed repetitions of τρέπω compounds (14 [10] and 19 [15]), of ἐκ + a burden (15 [11], 18 [14], and 23 [19]), of αἶψα (16 [12] and 24 [20]) and of forms of ἄμμε beginning stanzas (13 [9] and 21 [17]).[78] It displays a careful construction. First the speaker bluntly negates simple and vain expressions of hope, then rebuilds the wishes in a series of crescendos: a respectful prayer for safety, a reminder of their dependence on the gods—in metaphor whose vehicle, stormy weather, is neatly matched to its tenor, the threat of storms at sea—and a recognition that this very dependence leaves room for Zeus to do even more by sending his agent to bring about all conceivable success. All this is capped by the hope that Larichos' achievement in the marital and civic sphere can release all their anxieties.[79] It is the *persona* of the singer, not the poem itself, that sounds awkward. The composition itself has the adroitness of structure and imagery of a work true to our highest standards for Sappho, for it is a *tour-de-force* of personification, or *prosopopoeia*.

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77 Page (1959) 110. See also Liberman (2014) 7, 'This rather prosaic poem …'. This was also my own first reaction.

78 For the first, see the report of Jim Powell's remarks in Obbink (2015a) 4; the second I owe to discussions at a symposium held at Bard College in the Fall of 2014; the third and fourth have been widely observed.

79 The series is framed by the conventional Greek triad of natural goods, material goods, and cultural goods, as in the saying attributed to Thales: τίς εὐδαίμων; ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ τύχην εὔπορος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὐπαίδευτος (Sept. Sap. *Apothegmata* 5.14.8–10); the best known example, of course, is Pindar's 'water, gold, games.' (See too Race 1981 on the opposition of what men need for life and for achievement. It is important to note that the triad may, but need not, be a hierarchy). Here it appears as σάαν…πολύολβοι…κεφάλαν ἀέρρη. If the middle term implies a spiritual blessedness, it may correspond better to the variant τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὔπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὐπαίδευτος (Thales, test. 1.140–141 D.-K.).

Because we lack the initial one or two stanzas, we cannot say whether this is the *persona* of the whole poem, or only of one speaker within it. The poem need not dramatize only one character, as ἄϊ θρύλησθα makes clear. The addressee, whoever he or she is, is given to vain wishes or (if ἔλθην is a historical aorist) false inferences.[80] The repeated speech may be something outside the poem, and be part of a characterization of the addressee that began earlier, but it may refer to the content of an earlier stanza spoken by the addressee. I offer, only as an illustration of this idea, a pastiche of Sapphic phrases beginning with a pi that could be taken up by the second speaker at the start of the surviving stanza:

> [πόλλα δὴ πεπόνθαμεν· ἀλλ' ἴκοιτο (or: αἴθ' ἐπέλθοι)
> νῦν Χάραξος ...]
>
> Much have we suffered; may Charaxos now come!

In that case there would be a change in the *personae cantantes* within the poem. I emphasized earlier that the opening of the song makes clear the nature and urgency of the immediate problem, but there is no need to assume that this is presented simply as an objective fact. Although we do not have what we need to reconstruct an initial stanza that would establish the full context for us, and make precise who the speakers in this drama are, it is a further marker of the poet's skill that the use of characterization appears clearly.

Summary and Hypotheses

Until now, the remains of prayers for safe return have been so incomplete that they made stylistic comparison or commentary difficult. We can now see that they do proceed through a common structure, both in general form and topics, but that does not contradict the fact that we can also see that they are very different from each other. The Charaxos poem may represent an extreme case

80 I agree with Lardinois, this volume, that ἔλθην is most likely future-looking, in effect representing an original idea expressed with an optative of wish or a third-person imperative; however, it could be a historic infinitive in indirect discourse, if the addressee had said "he left (here) with a full ship" (a suggestion of Mark Griffith reported in Obbink [2015b] 3) or "he arrived (there) with a full ship" (suggested to me in email by W. Tortorelli), in either case supposing that these were grounds for believing that he would return successfully.

but I doubt it is unique. It sounds very different from the Nereid poem, and neither adopts the formal elements of the prayer to Hera. Perhaps we can take the more evident characterization in this new song as a pointer to what is happening throughout, that individual poems represent individual speakers. Their variety of tones or voices need not be representations of the poet herself. They are enactments that dramatize anxieties and hopes, both personal and communal. The dramatization could be pure representation or, in context, have some degree of narration. Our awareness that the voices are constructed invites us as literary analysts to find a current of thought in tension with the overt one, and this is no less true of the Charaxos poem than it is of the Prayer to Aphrodite, fr. 1, or the Priamel poem, fr. 16. Nonetheless the overt voice requires an occasion, and this invites us to look for a way to place the poems in a cultural context.

The internal evidence leaves many questions unanswered, but gives us parameters within which to discuss them. Also, we cannot know how many types of ceremony are involved. It is notable that the conception of Aphrodite, which binds almost all the poems, is quite consistent. She is active in promoting love, and her presence is desirable but can be intrinsically painful (like Eros in Sappho fr. 130, γλυκύπικρος, 'bittersweet') and so her actions can be seen as hostile, with a military metaphor. The military images σύμμαχος at the end of fr. 1 and possibly δαΐσδ[in line 5 of the Kypris song, and the simultaneous rejection of military beauty and the fusion of it into the beloved in fr. 16 would be consistent with the possible pugilistic image at the end of the Charaxos poem. Possible supplements portraying Kypris on the offensive at the end of fragments 5 and 15 might invoke her presence as the god who arouses desire. There is also a strong presence of Dionysus; more or less overtly in some of the prayers for safety, but as a Dionysiac element in the wine-image of fr. 2 and generally in the 'madness' of love, which is elsewhere a topic of the symposium.[81] But that does not mean that the poems of both types do or do not belong to one type of event.

At one extreme, the love poems may mark a separation from some sort of group for whose members it was age- or status-appropriate to define themselves in terms of Aphrodite (as in fr. 2), whatever the group's actual function—perhaps to practice performing in choruses or to participate in initiatory ceremonies—and they may or may not have connection to marriage (or only incidentally), while the prayers for return may represent homecoming ceremonies

81 Both the dramatic character and the Dionysiac element of Sappho's erotic poems are discussed in Nagy (2007b).

enacted on various different occasions, as the local aristocrats exercised (or were excluded from) their political power and social roles, including opportunities for travel and marriage.[82]

At the other extreme, the love poems (fr. 2 apart) center on loss, and it is easy to suppose that the loss was occasioned by the marriage of a member of the group. This seems especially likely in the case of fr. 16.[83] The prayers for safe return appear to end by looking forward to marriage, so one could imagine—if I am correct that they are dramatic reenactments—a connection between the ceremonies celebrating homecoming and ceremonies of marriage in a multipart festival at Hera's *temenos*. The common stanza form would reflect this unity. In dramatic reenactments focusing variously on different parts of a series of events it would not be necessary that the performing *persona* be a woman in the poems directly reenacting prayer for the arrival of a male traveller. Neither fr. 5 nor the Charaxos poem give an indication of gender, and, depending on the supplements, fr. 17 also might not. In addition, the connection to Dionysus may be an early indication of his importance in dramatic performances.

The internal evidence does suggest what Sappho did as a poet. Whether the occasion called for the topic of mortal dependence on the divine powers governing passion, or for a prayer requesting safe return and the favor of the goddess of marriage, Sappho provided songs for the reiterations of formal ceremonies that enacted common concerns. We cannot say whether she herself took on new roles in successive performances or provided roles for other women or men who were members of her community. The repetition implies that in many of the cases we see stock characters and situations. But no two versions, or no two prompting occasions, or maybe not any two performers, would be identical. Part of Sappho's art (perhaps the part we value most) was her ability to give to particular experiences a form of expression in which we,

82 We may take it for granted that in reality marriage among the Lesbian elite was based on political and economic considerations, but the poetry follows a convention in which marriage fulfills desire. Outside Book 1, that appears plainly in Sappho fr. 112, and explains why the expression of erotic themes is consistent in the love poems and the travellers' poems. Note that if aristocratic activity included bringing home brides to marry as part of the strengthening of ties outside the island (rather than coming home to them, as in the next model I propose), fr. 44, the return of Hector with Andromache, would fit into the context. Caciagli in this volume rightly warns that the Messon temenos would have been the site for a number of different ceremonies.

83 See Lardinois (2001) 80–91 on the close relation of songs of loss and lament to songs for or about brides.

like her audiences, can locate our own, and so have a basis for appreciating the experience of other persons, times, and places. And part of how she did so was to give the different versions different voices.

CHAPTER 4

Sappho, Iambist: Abusing the Brother

Richard P. Martin

At this remove, it strikes us as implausible that the author of *Principia Mathematica* also penned *Notes on Early Church History and the Moral Superiority of the 'Barbarians' to the Romans*. And how likely is it, we think, that the poet of the *Iliad* would in addition compose the coarsely comic *Margites*? We like our authors classifiable, even monotonic. So it seems surprising, if not disturbing, that the Sappho of poems 1, 2, 16, 31, 94 and other expressions of exquisite longing and imagination might also have composed verses of forthright criticism in the style of *iambos*, the genre associated with mockery and abuse.[1]

Yet several testimonia and at least a few poetic fragments afford a glimpse of this other side of Sappho. I shall argue here that the newest Sappho poem, on "the brothers," draws from, and may even in antiquity have been considered a specimen of, iambic poetics. For the suggestion, I shall rely on its structure and rhetorical strategy while adducing comparative evidence from a more readily recognizable Greek iambist. Finally, I shall propose that poems like our newly found composition—maybe even this very poem—affected the Roman reception of Sappho through hints that she could be, when she wished, an artist of verbal abuse.

Sappho and *iambos*

The testimonia regarding her iambic compositions were examined nine years ago by Patricia Rosenmeyer in the comprehensive article 'Sappho's Iambics',

1 A somewhat shorter version of this paper was read to a colloquium at Berkeley in May 2014. For helpful comments, I wish to thank the audience at that occasion, and especially the organizers (Mark Griffith, Leslie Kurke, Donald Mastronarde). A few questions from the audience for the longer version at the Basel conference prompted further thinking on my part. I have benefitted from numerous discussions with Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi about this poem and Sapphic poetics in general. Finally, I thank the editors of this volume for helpful suggestions.

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which builds on suggestions by Dolores O'Higgins and Antonio Aloni.[2] In the light of that evidence, it is hardly necessary to argue for the existence of an ancient tradition about Sappho engaging in *iambos* in the larger sense of mocking verbal attacks. What will be important for my case are the specific ways we find Sappho proceeding in this vein. Before that, however, it will be worth re-visiting the most immediately relevant testimonia, to tease out some more detail.

First in importance come the three passages that use the genre term *iambos* or derivatives in connection with Sappho's work. A biographical notice from the *Suda* reports that Sappho, in addition to lyric poems, wrote epigrams, elegies, *iamboi*, and monodic songs (*Suda* Σ 107= iv 322s. Adler = Voigt test. 253: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ μονῳδίας.) The same Byzantine source twice mentions *iamboi* by Anacreon the lyric poet, juxtaposing them first with elegies (A 1916.3 = i.171s.Adler), then later in the same entry with sympotic songs (*paroinia … melê*) and 'Anacreontea' (A 1916.7–8). While there is evidence (fr. 425) that poems in iambic trimeters or tetrameters were circulating as Anacreon's (and, of course, the iambic dimeter catalectic later bore his name) it is just as probable that compositions by him, in whatever metrical form, could give the overall impression of the mood of *iambos*, interpreted more generally as poetry of invective (which was, after all, the older sense of the genre term).[3] The significantly abusive side of Anacreon has been obscured in literary reception by the dominant persona of the boozy symposiast, as Christopher Brown has pointed out.[4] Apart from the well-known fragments (372, 388) satirizing the effeminate Artemon, Anacreon's invective has not gotten much attention.

In relation to our question regarding Sappho's iambs, one fragment of Anacreon is particularly relevant. The *Etymologicum Genuinum*, citing the adjective κυυζή from an "iambos" by the poet (fr. 432) most likely uses the literary term in its generic, rather than strictly metrical, meaning:

2 Rosenmeyer (2006). Dale (2011) examines the same testimonia but cites neither Rosenmeyer nor O'Higgins.

3 On the evolution of the concept, see Rotstein (2009). While it is possible that the author of the *Suda* notice has been misled by poems falsely attributed to Sappho (as the editors of this volume pointed out to me), it seems more plausible, following Rotstein (2009) 35–36, that perceived "iambic" features had led him and predecessors in antiquity to speak of some Sapphic verse in this way, while not positively asserting that there were poems by her strictly in the genre of *iambos* narrowly defined.

4 Brown (1983) and (1984).

κνυζή τις ἤδη καὶ πέπειρα γίνομαι
σὴν διὰ μαργοσύνην.

Already I am becoming a wrinkled old thing, over-ripe fruit,
thanks to your lust.

This line shares diction and theme with the Cologne Epode of Archilochus (cf. Archilochus fr. 196a.24–26: ‘As for Neoboule, let (some?) other man have her. Ugh, she's overripe (*pepeira*), twice your age …’).[5] The two poems also, it seems, used the same metrical scheme: instead of stichic iambs, an iambic trimeter followed by a dactylic hemiepes. The aggressive invective tone of the Archilochean verses has been widely acknowledged and we shall come to discuss it further below.[6]

Equivocal in a different way is the allusion found in a letter by the Emperor Julian to Alypius (*Ep.*10, 403d Bidez, dated 361 AD):

> It happened that when you sent me your map I had just recovered from my illness, but I was none the less glad on that account to receive the chart that you sent. For not only does it contain diagrams better than any hitherto made; but you have embellished it by adding those iambic verses (κατεμούσωσας αὐτὸ προσθεὶς τοὺς ἰάμβους) not such as ‘Sing the War of Bupalus’, as the poet of Cyrene expresses it, but such as beautiful Sappho is wont to fashion for her songs (οἵους ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ βούλεται τοῖς ὕμνοις ἁρμόττειν).[7]

Gianfranco Agosti remarks on the opposition articulated here between aggressive and “serious” or moralizing iambic modes, a recurrent theme in the Christian reception of the archaic form.[8] In this case, we should not doubt that the prefatory poem was, in formal metrical terms, composed in iambs, but (at least to Julian) sounded milder than the archaic poetry of Hipponax (the attacker of Bupalus, notably alluded to by the ‘poet of Cyrene’ Callimachus). Whether he understood Sappho herself to have composed in iambic *meters*, rather than in the *spirit* of the genre *iambos*, is not clear.

5 Trans. Gerber (1999b) 213.

6 Note also that the speaker of fr. 432 is a woman. On the affiliations of Anacreon with Archilochus, see Brown (1984).

7 Trans. Wright.

8 Agosti (2001) 229–230. On Julian's views concerning iambic poetics, see now Hawkins (2014) 271–273.

Such passages are admittedly later than one might desire. Somewhat earlier is an interesting excerpt in which the critic and poet Philodemus makes mention of a generic contrast that may well have become canonical by the 1st century BC (fr. 117 *de Poem.* Janko):

> οἱ γ[ὰρ ἰ]αμβοποιοὶ τραγικὰ ποιοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοὶ πάλιν ἰαμβικά, καὶ Σαπφώ τινα ἰαμβικῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐκ ἰαμβικῶς. ὥστε φύσει μὲν [οὐ ῥ]ητέον ἰαμβοποιὸν [ἢ ἄλλ]ο τι ποιοῦντα γένος, ἀλλὰ νόμωι…
>
> For poets of iambics compose tragic verses, and conversely tragic poets compose iambics. Sappho composes some verses in the manner of iambics, while Archilochus composes some not in the manner of iambics. Therefore one must say that a composer of iambics or some other genre exists not because of his nature, but by convention.[9]

The alternative explanation for why particular poets are affiliated with certain genres—that it is a matter of "convention"–directly counters the assumptions behind Aristotle's treatment of the issue. For the author of the *Poetics*, *physis* is destiny, as those with a more vulgar nature gravitate toward the less serious or more abusive genre of *iambos* (1448b20–34). The source being quoted or paraphrased here by Philodemus adduces the polythetic poetics of two leading lyric exponents to prove that the individual composer is *not* locked into his or her dominant generic practice. We can observe that the exact nature of the usual poetry composed by each one is not specified; what counts is that either can choose whether or not to compose in the manner of *iambos*, no matter what his or her own main styles might be. (It is also apparent that Archilochus is thought of mostly as an iambist). To what extent the pairing of Sappho opposite Archilochus further coincides with the ability of either to compose 'tragic' verses is not clear from this passage, and it is difficult to imagine which poets Philodemus or the source to which he responds has in mind: Ion of Chios, so celebrated in Hellenistic times for his *polyeidea*? Or the tragedians who also regularly produced satyr plays as part of their Dionysiac tetralogies?[10]

A fourth passage uses language typical of descriptions of *iambos* while not actually employing the term. The Second Sophistic rhetorician Maximus of

9 On the Philodemus passage, see Janko (2000) 330–332.

10 On genre-mixing as built into the archaic iambic tradition and later revivified by Callimachus, see Acosta-Hughes (2002).

Tyre compares Socrates' relations with his interlocutors to Sappho's interactions with her female friends, whom she censures and cross-examines (Max. Tyr. 18. 9 = test. 219)

> What else could one call the love of the Lesbian woman than the Socratic art of love? For they seem to me to have practised love after their own fashion, she the love of women, he of men. For they said they loved many, and were captivated by all things beautiful. What Alcibiades and Charmides and Phaedrus were to him, Gyrinna and Atthis and Anactoria were to her; what the rival craftsmen Prodicus and Gorgias and Thrasymachus and Protagoras were to Socrates, Gorgo and Andromeda were to Sappho. Sometimes she censures them, at other times she cross-examines them, and she uses irony just like Socrates (νῦν μὲν ἐπιτιμᾷ ταύταις, νῦν δὲ ἐλέγχει καὶ εἰρωνεύεται αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ Σωκράτους).

From these passages, we can glimpse an ancient tradition that read the content and style of some Sapphic poetry in terms of its apparently corrective or even aggressive tone. A second category of testimonia, further propounding this view, can be found wrapped up with the representation of Sappho in Athenian comedy. At least six comedies were named for the poetess, and a few others probably staged her adventures—Plato's *Phaon* and the *Leucadian* by Menander for example.[11] Athenaeus mentions that Diphilus, the poet of New Comedy, in his play *Sappho* represented Archilochus and Hipponax as her lovers (13.598bc-d).[12] Significantly, this remark on comedy is prefaced by a citation from Anacreon (whose iambic behavior we have mentioned above), lines supposedly arising from his erotic rejection by Sappho.

Chamaeleon had asserted that Anacreon's poem (fr. 358) was addressed to Sappho, after she *mocked* him for his white hair: (lines 5–7: ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου/Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,/λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται). In the broader context, the sympotic speaker at this point in Athenaeus has been at pains to critique the relative chronologies in a poem by Hermesianax, the Hellenistic elegist, that had alluded to a rivalry for Sappho's favor between Alcaeus and Anacreon (Hermesianax 3.47–56 *Coll. Alex.* Powell). That two of the would-be lovers of Sappho in these inter-related traditions were iambic poets *par excellence*, and the third (Anacreon) can now be seen to have exercised his own

11 On Sappho in comedy, see Lefkowitz (2012) 43–44; also Yatromanolakis (2007) 293–312.

12 On the play, see Rotstein (2009) 292–293.

brand of *iambos*, makes one think that Sappho in the Diphilus play might have played a feisty interlocutor, a Kathryn Hepburn to Archilochus' Spencer Tracy. Both the comedy and the traditions known to Chamaeleon concerning the mocking exchanges between Sappho and Anacreon could also have resembled poetic duelling, like the exchange of competing *skolia* in the symposium.[13] Significantly, the one scrap we have elsewhere in Athenaeus coming from the Diphilus comedy features someone—perhaps Sappho—toasting Archilochus at what must be a drinking party (11.487a):

> Ἀρχίλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μετανιπτρίδα
> μεστὴν Διὸς σωτῆρος, Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος.
>
> Archilochus, accept this brimming after-dinner cup in honour of Zeus Saviour and of the Spirit of Good Luck …

Rosenmeyer compares with this image of Sappho as sympotic performer a passage from the play of Antiphanes, in which Sappho poses riddles to the guests (Ath. 10.450e).

What we do not know, as Rosenmeyer points out, is whether this Sappho is a complete invention of the comedians or whether the playwrights were simply working within an interpretive frame already established in Athens, by which audiences and critics could detect "iambic" overtones in the verses attributed to her.[14] Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi, meanwhile, has taken this Athenian comedic evidence in a different direction, to examine in detail the ways in which Horace conceptualized lyric performance within the symposium. Her article concentrates on Horace's difficult *Epistle* 1.19, to which I shall return at the end of this paper.[15]

Iambic Moods and Modes

So much, then, for the testimonia to Sappho's composition or performance of poetry evoking the genre of *iambos* in contents, style, or occasions. As for the possible surviving Sapphic poems that employ the mode of *iambos*, let us consider five passages in particular. Most prominent is fr. 55, the poem

13 On the practice, see Collins (2004) and Martin (2015).
14 Rosenmeyer (2006) 8–9.
15 Peponi (2002).

‘to an uneducated woman’ (πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον γυναῖκα) preserved in Stobaeus (3.4.12):

> κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσῃ οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν
> ἔσσετ’ οὐδὲ πόθα εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς βρόδων
> τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ’ ἀφάνης κἀν Ἀίδα δόμῳ
> φοιτάσῃς πεδ’ ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.
>
> But when you die you will lie there (κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσῃ), and afterwards there will never be any recollection of you or any longing for you since you have no share in the roses of Pieria; unseen in the house of Hades also, flown from our midst, you will go to and fro among the shadowy corpses.
>
> trans. CAMPBELL 1982a

It is difficult to read this fragment without recalling Homeric speeches that verbally abuse enemies recently killed. Compare for instance Achilles’ address to Lykaon (*Il.*21.122–125):

> ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κεῖσο μετ’ ἰχθύσιν, οἵ σ’ ὠτειλὴν
> αἷμ’ ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ
> ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
> οἴσει δινήεις εἴσω ἁλὸς εὐρέα κόλπον·
>
> Lie there now among the fish, who will lick the blood away
> from your wound, and care nothing for you, nor will your mother
> lay you on the death-bed and mourn over you, but Skamandros
> will carry you spinning down to the wide bend of the salt water.
>
> trans. LATTIMORE 2011

This is the safest sort of *iambos*, being an aggressive speech-act to which the hearer cannot respond. We do not know whether Sappho’s addressee (a rival poetess?) was dead or alive: the former scenario would turn the lines into an effectively vivid perversion of a song of mourning, a *thrênos*, more akin to Achilles’ post-mortem abuse of his dead enemy. Her syntax admits of either interpretation.[16]

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16 Lardinois (2008) 86–87 has argued that the addressee is a young woman who left the choral group prematurely and against Sappho’s wishes.

From Athenaeus (supplemented from Maximus of Tyre) we have verses that refer cattily to Andromeda's unfortunate style blunders. He frames the citation with the word *skôptei*, the regular word for iambic mockery (Ath. 21bc = Sappho fr. 57):[17]

Σαπφὼ περὶ Ἀνδρομέδας σκώπτει:
τίς δ' ἀγροΐωτις θέλγει νόον ...
ἀγροΐωτιν ἐπεμμένα στόλαν ...
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἕλκην ἐπὶ τὼν σφύρων;

Sappho derides Andromeda thus:
And what country girl beguiles your mind ...
dressed in country garb ...
not knowing how to pull her rags over her ankles?
trans. CAMPBELL 1982a

We can notice in this brief fragment that the mockery of Andromeda—one of the women whom, as we saw above, Maximus of Tyre claimed had been 'censured and cross-examined' by Sappho—is indirect, inasmuch as the immediate addressee, whether man or woman, is also subjected to mockery, simply for being infatuated with such an uncouth (but absent) bumpkin. As we shall see, this technique fits a sophisticated rhetorical strategy within *iambos*.

It is a commonplace, of course, that scoptic language was ritualized at marriage ceremonies, as it also was in Demeter cult.[18] The famous fr. 110 (= Hephaestion, *Ench*. 7.6, p. 23 Consbruch), about the door-keeper at a wedding whose feet are seven fathoms long, and so forth, is characterized as scoptic mockery (*skôptei*) by Demetrius (fr. 110b= Demetr. *Eloc*. 167, p. 37 Radermacher). Significantly, the ancient literary critic also notices that Sappho in this poem employs 'prosaic rather than poetic language' (ἐν πεζοῖς ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς), so that such verses are better spoken than sung. Clearly, Demetrius associated the genre of this poem with the 'lower' modes of *iambos* or satire, the 'walking Muse' that had such prominence in the later theorizing and practice of Horace (cf. *Sat*.2.6.17).[19]

The final two passages offering some possible hints of invective theme and diction are fragments 71 (= P.Oxy. 1787 fr. 6) and 37 (= *Etym.Gen*. p. 25 Calame

17 cf. Philem. 162 (p. 107s. Osann) = Eust. 1916. 49 (om. v. 2), Max. Tyr. 18. 9s. (p. 231 Hob.) (= v. 2).

18 See O'Higgins (2003).

19 On this *Musa pedestris*, see the masterful work of Freudenburg (1993).

= *Et. Mag*. 335. 37ss). The former offers just a single relevant word (which is partially restored, at that), the vocative in line 4, 'villain' (*ka*[*ko*]*trop'*). It may have been part of a poem regarding the defection of Sappho's friends to her political enemies, as other lines apparently referred to someone having chosen the friendship of the house of Penthilus (the family of Pittacus, by marriage). The latter reads:

> τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντ' ἄνεμοι φέροιεν
> καὶ μελέδωναι
>
> May winds and sorrows carry off the one who rebukes me.

The line has affinities with the style of the so-called Strasbourg Epode attributed to Hipponax (*P.Argent*. 3 fr. 1 = fr. 115 West), although that poem, with its vision of the friend-turned-enemy naked and freezing on a Thracian beach, admittedly expresses a rather nastier wish.

Iambos in the Brothers Poem

After this brief overview of the several more or less explicit poetic moments in Sappho that might be colored "iambic," we turn to a key passage that relates Sappho to invective as specifically directed toward her brother Charaxos—one of the cast of characters in the new Brothers Poem. Herodotus, telling the story of the courtesan Rhodopis (Hdt. 2.135), names the man who freed her, at great cost, from servitude in Egypt as the brother of Sappho 'the *mousike*-maker' (τῆς μουσοποιοῦ). When this man, Charaxos, brought Rhodopis back to his home city Mytilene, his sister roundly abused him in a song (ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν). The word *katekertomêse* aligns the sisterly speech-act with bitingly pointed addresses of the type seen, once more, in Homeric exchanges (cf. *Il*. 1.539, 5.419, 16.744, 20.202, etc.). Whether we take the information as purely biographical, or see it as an instance of a brother-correcting trope found in didactic verse (as when Hesiod rebukes Perses in the *Works and Days*), it seems certain that the tone of Sappho's poem concerning Charaxos was far from mild; it must have sounded like verbal abuse.[20] That

20 Dale (2011) 67–71 sets the Herodotean anecdote within the generic framework of Hesiodic advice-poetry. On the nuances of Perses and other "brother" figures in such poetry, see Martin (2004).

this occurred *after* Charaxos returned to Mytilene means we have to imagine the newest Brothers Poem as pre-dating in fictional time the missing *iambos*-like poem where Sappho rebuked him. In our newest Sappho poem, Charaxos is apparently still at sea or even still in Egypt, yet to set sail. In effect, his return home with or without his newly-freed girlfriend would provide a nicely ironic companion piece for Sappho fr. 44, depicting the ecstatic welcome given Hector when he arrived at Troy with his new bride Andromache.

A passage from Strabo further shades in the picture. Speaking of the tomb of the courtesan built by her lovers he states that Sappho calls this woman who was her brother's mistress 'Doricha', while other writers call her 'Rhodopis' (Strab. 17.1.33). We should pay a bit more attention to this onomastic divide: other writers call the prostitute by a perfectly apt *hetaira* name ('Rosey'). But Sappho—and apparently no one else—calls her Doricha. Is it too much to see in the latter name an iambist's instinct for degrading her target? While it might be simply an extended form of *Doris* 'the Dorian woman' (though she in fact was known as a Thracian) 'Doricha' might also pun on *dôron* and related forms to imply 'she who gives herself freely' or even something like *dôrodektês* 'she who freely takes gifts'.[21]

The motive given in Athenaeus (Ath. 13.596bc) for Sappho's outraged poetic attack (διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει)—namely that Rhodopis/Doricha came between the brother and his money—is a commonplace in later comic representations regarding voracious courtesans.[22] A more intriguing tradition might underlie the later information contained in Photius and the *Suda* (Phot. s.vv. Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα, p. 490 Reitzenstein= *Suda*, P211, iv 297 Adler). If Rhodopis had been a fellow slave of Aesop might she, as he did, have represented an entire speech-genre on her own? Leslie Kurke in her suggestive work on the ideology contained in the Herodotean account draws attention to the contrast between Aesop the *logopoios* and Sappho *mousopoios*–that is, between low prose and high poetic genres.[23] Might Rhodopis be something in-between these poles, a "low" voice but one still speaking within the conventions of poetic discourse, whose existence (or even actual verses) drags Sappho down to the level of fighting dirty, using the resources of *kertomia*?

One might object that this misunderstands the real target of Sappho's alleged attack. We are told she derided Charaxos, or at least it appears so from the

21 For later comic punning on "Dorian" and *dôra* (bribes), see e.g. Ar. *Knights* 989–995. On the appropriate meanings of both names, see Yatromanolakis (2007) 334.

22 See Davidson (1997).

23 Kurke (2010) 371.

account in Herodotus.[24] In the passage cited above from Athenaeus, however, it is quite clear that Sappho attacked *Rhodopis*. And yet the language of Herodotus (along with a late testimonium in Tzetzes) implies that this all took place in the space of *one* poetic composition.[25] Instead of trying to reconcile these divergent accounts, I would like to use the apparent ambiguity of the attack to approach our newest Sappho poem, the Brothers Song. In brief, I should like to propose that a specific *iambos* technique could well have led readers of the lost poetic "attack" on Rhodopis to perceive it as *also* an attack on Charaxos. The same technique, in my view, means that in our newest Sappho fragment the mention of Charaxos can lead to *iambos*-like mocking of Sappho's *other* brother, Larichos. He was the usually "good brother" whom Sappho is said to praise in yet another poem (test. 203a= Ath. 10.425a):

> The lovely Sappho often praises (ἐπαινεῖ) her brother Larichos because he poured the wine for the Mytilenaeans in the town-hall.

Larichos, I suggest, in the newest poem becomes collateral damage, even as a direct strike on Charaxos is *not*—at least in what survives of the poem—being carried out.[26]

To envision this possibility, we must first return to the new poem's rhetorical structure. The speaker (let's call her person A) addresses person B, who seems to be present in the immediate vicinity, using an impatient tone: you are always *going on* about Charaxos (let's call him absent subject #1) saying that he has started on his journey (so I construe the aorist *elthein* with the verb of speaking).[27] The next sentence, a command 'leave that to the gods', morphs into another more practical imperative: 'send me to pray'.

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24 Unless the unmarked *min* in the Herodotean passage refers to *Rhodopin*.

25 Tzetzes in *Prolegomena de comoedia* (Koster 1.1A): Χάραξος δὲ ἦν αὐτῆς ἀδελφός, ὃς τὴν Ῥοδῶπιν τὴν ἑταιρίδα ἐκ Ξάνθου ὠνήσατο, Ἰάδμονος δούλην ὑπάρχουσαν, σύνδουλον δὲ τοῦ λογοποιοῦ καὶ μυθογράφου Αἰσώπου, καὶ ταύτῃ συνῆν· καὶ τούτου ἕνεκεν ἡ ἀδελφὴ τούτου Σαπφὼ **μέλει ἑνὶ τῶν αὐτῆς καθάπτεται οὐ μετρίως.**

26 Fr. 15, which appears to mention Doricha at line 11 (as restored by Campbell), might have been a poem in which Sappho criticized Charaxos for his relationship: see Lardinois in this volume.

27 For a parallel to this use of the verb *erkhomai* to mean 'set out' with specific reference to a ship, see *Od.*14.334–335: 'But me he sent forth first, for a ship of the Thesprotians chanced to be **setting out** (*erkhomenê*) for Dulichium, rich in wheat' (trans. Murray 1919). The addressee whose frequent remarks are referred to by the narrator in the Sappho poem can be imagined as constantly saying "*erkhetai*" which can mean either 'he is coming' (with deictic focus on the *speaker's* place) or 'he is setting out' (with imaginative focus

While the first complete two stanzas have staged at least a difference of attitude between speaker and addressee, the third stanza brings them *together*: may he (the absent Charaxos) find *us* (*amme*) safe and sound. Let *us* entrust the rest to the divine (*epitropômen*); the fourth stanza picks up the same verbal root in order to make a different point: Zeus can turn things around (*pertropên*). Then the fifth stanza neatly returns to *us* again (compare *kamme* in line 13 [9] with *kammes* in line 21 [17]). This time, however, person A introduces a second brother (absent subject #2)–namely Larichos, asserting that 'if he lifts his head and indeed ever becomes a man we might quickly be released from many heavy-hearted cares'.

In my reading, the initial segment (although it is probably not the beginning of the poem) is lightly colored with the tones of *iambos*. 'You are always chattering' (*thrulêstha*) does not employ a poetic word.[28] The register goes along with a certain abruptness: 'Instead of talking, do something: tell me to supplicate Hera'. The mention of Larichos, at the end of our readable portion of the poem, has the same sort of tone. Instead of taking it to mean that Larichos is just too young to do anything in a crisis situation, I interpret the line 'If he lifts his head and indeed ever becomes a man' to be an insulting swipe. He *is* of age, but he will not take the responsibility to rescue Sappho and her interlocutor from whatever *baruthumiai* are oppressing them. Transpose the situation to epic terms, and we can imagine Eurykleia in the *Odyssey* privately telling Penelope what she thinks of the latter's laggard twenty-something slacker son. Larichos, like Telemachos, has got to man-up.[29]

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on the distant *subject's* action). The aorist infinitive *elthein* generated within the indirect discourse is therefore ambiguous, capturing the sense of either of the two possible original utterances. But in context only the second ('he has set out') makes sense: the addressee can hardly have been asserting, many times over, 'he has come' when clearly Charaxos is still at sea. Obbink's translation (this volume) 'But you are always chattering *for Charaxos to come* with a full ship' (emphasis mine) does not fit easily with the next sentence, 'Zeus and all the other gods know these things, I think'. It is more plausible that the narrator refers to the gods' knowledge of *facts* (the setting out of a ship, e.g.) about which the addressee allegedly chatters, rather than about the addressees's *desire for* Charaxos to come (as Obbink's version would seem to suggest).

28 Bettenworth (2014) notes the word's *despektierliche Färbung*, and further cites Obbink's observation (p. 41: 'θρύλησθα: Derogatory, implying either a confused babbling or unharmonious chattering'). See also Lidov, ch. 3, this volume.

29 Bettenworth (2014) 16 has independently adduced the figure of a servant such as Eurykleia, but more literally takes this figure as a parallel for the *addressee* in the poem, not (as I would) as providing a more general analogy for the attitude and tone of the *speaker*. West (2014) 9 independently observes the parallel with Telemachus.

We are familiar with this tone in the realm of martial elegy: one thinks of Callinus fr. 1 (from Stobaeus 4.10.12):

μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἕξετε θυμόν,
ὦ νέοι; οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπεριкτίονας
ὧδε λίην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνηι δὲ δοκεῖτε
ἧσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει

How long are you going to lie idle? Young men, when will you have a
courageous spirit? Don't those who live round about make you feel
ashamed of being so utterly passive? You think that you are sitting in a
state of
peace, but all the land is in the grip of war.

trans. GERBER 1999a

The only two collocations of 'raising' and 'head' in Homer are oddly enough in one book of the *Iliad* (the already odd Book 10), but it is suggestive that these phrases (metrically identical, and line-final, like the phrase in the Sappho poem), although they do not precisely capture the same denotation as the Sapphic phrase, nevertheless describe two heroes who are roused and ready to find solutions to the troubles that beset the Achaeans:

*Il.*10.29–31 (of Menelaus):
First of all he mantled his broad back in a leopard's
spotted hide, then lifting the circle of a brazen helmet
placed it upon his head, (αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ στεφάνην κεφαλῆφιν ἀείρας/
θήκατο χαλκείην) and took up a spear in his big hand ...

*Il.*10.77–85 (of Nestor): ... and by him
lay in all its shining the war belt, in which the old man
girt himself, when he armed for the fighting where men die, leading
his own people, since he gave no ground to sorrowful old age.
He straightened up and raised his head, leaning on one elbow,
(ὀρθωθεὶς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος κεφαλὴν ἐπαείρας)
and spoke to the son of Atreus, and asked him a question ...

As for the derogatory wish that Larichos 'be a man', we might compare the frequent injunction in the *Iliad* to 'be men'—as when Agamemnon roams about urging on his troops (*Il.*5.528; cf. 6.112, 8.174, 11.287, 15.487, 561):

And Atreus' son ranged through the masses with his many orders:
'Be men now, dear friends, and take up the heart of courage,
(ὦ φίλοι ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἕλεσθε)
and have consideration for each other in the strong encounters,
since more come through alive when men consider each other,
and there is no glory when they give way, nor warcraft either'.

Nestor uses the same formula in *Il.*15.661, with a notable emphasis on how being a man means remembering one's kin—children, wives, parents—the people who are not there:

and beyond others Gerenian Nestor, the Achaians' watcher,
supplicated each man by the knees for the sake of his parents.
'Dear friends, be men; let shame be in your hearts and discipline
(ὦ φίλοι ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ)
in the sight of other men, and each one of you remember
his children and his wife, his property and his parents,
whether a man's father and mother live or have died. Here now
I supplicate your knees for the sake of those who are absent
to stand strongly and not be turned to the terror of panic'.

Sappho or the speaker of our poem works a variation on this speech-act, giving it a guilt-inducing spin with an iambic-style swipe at Larichos, who is (so the strong implication goes) not yet man enough to do the right thing and keep his kin (such as the speaker) foremost in mind.[30] The strategy thus fulfills what Antonio Aloni identified as one role for Sapphic iambic: 'iambic aggression helps to strengthen the identity and the solidarity of the audience, which in many cases was not restricted to the female group, but extended at least to the males in the family group'.[31]

Most important, however, in establishing the iambic quality of the new poem is the way in which it deploys a structuring technique associated with a known piece of *iambos*, the Cologne Epode attributed to Archilochus (fr. 196a).

30 Leslie Kurke points out to me a close parallel for the use of *anêr* within such speech-acts, at Hdt. 3.120: Oroites and Mitrobates, sitting at the doors of the Great King, argue about their respective "manly excellence" (*peri aretês*). The latter asks contemptuously 'Do you even count as a man (*en andrôn logôi*), who has not even been able to capture Samos for the king ...?'

31 Aloni (2001) 29.

Gregory Nagy explained in the *Arethusa* volume that heralded the poem's debut how an 'enclosed invective' within this poem functions rhetorically as a foil device, at the same time as it embodies the single most important principle for the structuring of discourse and society in archaic Greece: praise vs. blame.[32] The relevant lines are 16–37:

> As for Neoboule, let (some?)
> other man have her. Ugh, she's overripe, twice your age,
> and her girlhood's flower has lost its bloom as has the charm
> which formerly was on it. For (her desire is?) insatiable,
> and the sex-mad woman has revealed the full measure of her
> (infatuation?). To hell with her! (Let) no (one bid?) this,
> that I have such a wife and become a laughingstock to my
> neighbours. I much prefer (to have?) you,
> since you are neither untrustworthy nor twofaced, whereas
> she is quite precipitous and makes many (her lovers).
>
> Trans. GERBER 1999b

To put it schematically for purposes of comparison with the newest Sappho poem, Archilochus (person A) addresses an unnamed girl (person B) and in the course of his seductive persuasion mentions absent person #1. The absent person is the sister of his addressee, the woman named Neoboule, another daughter of Lykambes. By maligning in no uncertain terms her shriveled-up older sibling, the Archilochean speaker highlights by contrast the charms of the younger and apparently available girl. Nancy Felson argued that the function of the Cologne Epode is not primarily invective; she would instead fit the poem into the genre of love poetry.[33] Whether or not we should make a hierarchy in this way is not the point, however. What we need to notice is the technique of embedded invective in a poem ostensibly directed to *another* addressee. This technique, I propose, is what we see in the Sapphic poem's mention of Larichos. While ostensibly talking about far-off Charaxos, and possibly berating him (in an earlier segment) the poem embeds a message, none too subtly coded, for another 'absent' (not to say out-of-it) brother, but one who is presumably near by, living on Lesbos. It is all done in a flash but it stings. Given the corpus of Archilochean poetry as a whole, it is easy to slot him into the position of iambist vs. Sappho, whose corpus gets pigeon-

32 Nagy (1976).

33 Felson (1978–1979).

holed, somewhat too easily, as love poetry. More interesting are the possibilities that their juxtaposed corpora pose for a more rhetorically grounded analysis of what we might call gendered slander.

Iambic Sappho and Two Roman Poets

By way of coda, let me suggest how these thoughts on Sappho the iambist might clarify some lines in two Roman poets. Ovid in the fictional letter from Sappho to Phaon (*Heroides* 15) seems to be alluding to the lost attack on Charaxos when he presents Sappho saying (at lines 67–68):

> *me quoque quod monui bene multa fideliter odit*
> *hoc mihi libertas hoc pia lingua dedit.*

> Moreover, because I faithfully warned him, much and well, he hates me
> this is what free-speech, this a loyal tongue, has brought me.

What may be from the speaker's point of view "advice" is from the recipient's a cause for hatred. Ovidian Sappho's *libertas* is of course the Latin translation of *parrhêsia*, the term widely associated with the comic license of Aristophanes and the tradition from which he drew. If we think of a Sappho who is deeply engaged in using the strategies and attitudes of the iambic tradition, we might imagine that there could even have once existed a sort of amoebic counter-poetry with verses written in the *persona* of her brother.[34] This would give more meaning to the allusion to a Charaxos who rejoices and exults at her grief (line 117: *gaudet et e nostro crescit maerore Charaxus*). Think of the alleged 'conversation' between Alcaeus and Sappho.[35] If Sappho and Archilochus were conceived of as yoke-mates and poetic (long-distance) collaborators, it is interesting that the figure of this *Charaxus inops frater* whose poverty has reduced him to piracy (lines 63–66) shares several key traits with that of Archilochus himself in the ancient biographical tradition.[36]

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34 A close structural parallel is provided by the poetic debates (often between a man and woman) called *tensos*, found in medieval Provençal poetry, on which see Akehurst & Davis (1995) 204–207. Compare the traditions about Sappho trading barbed verses with Anacreon (above).

35 On the tradition and its wide-ranging implications, see Nagy (2007b).

36 See, on the metapoetic qualities of the Archilochus biography, Lavigne (2005).

As for Horace, the other Latin poet of relevance here, I would connect my suggestion to the conclusions of two scholars who have offered similar striking formulations. The line in question comes at Horace *Epistles* 1.19.

> *Parios ego primus iambos*
> *ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus*
> *Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.*
> *ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,*
> *quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,*
> *temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,*
> *temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar.*

> I first showed Latium Parian invective
> Following the meter and moods of Archilochus
> but not the material and words that impelled Lycambes.
> And lest you for that reason, crown me with fewer leaves
> because I feared changing modes and song-craft:
> Sappho, the manly, mixes temperately with her verse the Muse of Archilochus,
> Alcaeus, too, tempers it—but is unlike in content and arrangement.

Dolores O'Higgins thinks of the reputation of the poetess as practicing *iambos* when she explains the epithet *mascula* applied here: 'Sappho is *mascula* in Horace's eye possibly because she participated in what had developed as an assertively "male" genre'.[37] Patricia Rosenmeyer writes along similar lines in referring specifically to the imitation and 'tempering' of Archilochus by *mascula* Sappho: 'She is labeled masculine because she could compose invective with the best of them, but she chose not to follow his (Archilochus) metrical lead.'[38] Neither of these scholars had known of the newest Sappho composition now revealed to the world. In light of its embedded wish, with iambic inflections, that Larichos *grow up already*, Sappho may be called *mascula* (in Horace's vision) because it is she who forcefully challenges her indirect addressee to hold up his head, to become a man.[39]

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37 Cited by Rosenmeyer (2006) 21 n. 36; see O'Higgins (2003) 88. Both sharpen the point made by Porphyrius in Hor. *Epist.* 1. 19. 28 (p. 362 Holder): 'mascula' autem 'Saffo', vel quia in poetico studio est ⟨incluta⟩, in quo saepius viri, vel quia tribas diffamatur fuisse.

38 Rosenmeyer (2006) 22.

39 For further discussion of *mascula* and the passage as a whole, see Johnson (2011) 58–60.

CHAPTER 5

The Newest Sappho and Archaic Greek-Near Eastern Interactions

Kurt A. Raaflaub

The discovery of the "newest Sappho" is very exciting, and the attention the poem attracts is more than justified.[1] Not least, it sheds most welcome additional light on the poet's relationship with her brother (or brothers). Given the general focus of the other chapters in this volume on literary, poetic, performative, and religious aspects, among others, it will perhaps be useful if I discuss some of the social, economic, and political background that underlies the poet's emotions in this segment of her work. In particular, I shall explore the Greek–Egyptian (or, more broadly, Greek–Near Eastern) connections suggested by the activities of Sappho's brother, Charaxos. In doing so, I will look at ways in which not only Sappho herself but also the other two super-famous Lesbian personalities of the time, Alcaeus and Pittacus, were affected by this "eastern connection."

Sappho, Charaxos, Rhodopis/Doricha, and the Historical Significance of the "Newest Sappho"

I begin with Sappho's brother, Charaxos. In his Egyptian *logos*, Herodotus says that some people attributed the pyramid of Mykerinos to the *hetaira* Rhodopis—quite falsely because she could not have afforded this monument and she lived during the time of Amasis, long after Mykerinos (2.134.1–3).

1 "Newest Sappho" according to this volume's title. I thank Toni Bierl and André Lardinois for accepting my contribution to this volume and for helpful comments and suggestions. Some parts of this chapter were written initially for a conference on Sappho, Alcaeus, and Pittacus that was in 2005 hosted by Apostolos Pierris on the island of Lesbos itself; unfortunately, the proceedings were never published. I offered a version of this revised paper at a workshop on 'Sappho: New Voices', held on Oct. 18, 2014 at Bard College under the direction of Lauren Curtis and Robert Cioffi. I thank them for organizing an exciting meeting, the Bard Classics Department and College for their splendid hospitality, and Deborah Boedeker for helpful suggestions.

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> She was by birth a Thracian, the slave of Iadmon … of Samos, and … [was] brought to Egypt by Xanthos the Samian, to follow her trade, and Charaxos of Mytilene, … the brother of Sappho …, paid a large sum to redeem her from slavery. Having in this way obtained her freedom, she remained in Egypt and succeeded by her great beauty in amassing a fortune which—for her—was considerable … There is no sense in pretending she was excessively rich, for the tenth part of her property can be seen today by anyone who cares to go and look at it: for wishing to be remembered in Greece by some sort of temple-offering …, she spent a tenth of her money on as many iron roasting-spits as it would buy, and sent them to Delphi. They still lie in a heap behind the altar which the Chians dedicated, opposite the actual shrine … [Rhodopis became] so famous that every Greek was familiar with her name … When Charaxos returned to Mytilene after purchasing Rhodopis' freedom, he was ridiculed by Sappho in one of her poems. So much, then, for Rhodopis.
>
> 2.135; trans. DE SÉLINCOURT and MARINCOLA

This intriguing story raises many questions. To the extent that we can answer them, Alan Lloyd, Leslie Kurke, and others have done so.[2] Herodotus mentions her probably not just because her name came up in connection with the pyramid of Mykerinos but because in his "Guinness book of records" she held the top spot in some category, such as "most beautiful or famous courtesan."[3] Why such interest in courtesans (*hetairai*) at all? Here I defer to Kurke, who places this passage in the larger context of Herodotus' use of women to unmask thoroughly 'the absurdities and pretensions of the elite system'.[4] Why a dedication in Delphi? Lots of people made dedications in sanctuaries after they had reached great success, made lots of money, or had been saved from disaster, and they did so not only in famous sanctuaries such as Delphi or Samos but also in local ones.

What seems more exceptional is a dedication in Delphi—perhaps the most prestigious sanctuary—by a low-status woman. We can imagine Rhodopis chuckling, particularly when we consider her particular choice of dedication: a

2 Lloyd (1975–1988) III.84–87; Kurke (1999) 175–178, 220–227, both with bibliography; see now also Nagy (2015a).

3 See further How and Wells (1912) 132; Lloyd (1975–1988) 3.84–85. Herodotus often draws attention to those who did something for the first time (see Lateiner [1989] 35–36) or who were the best or had achieved most in something (see, e.g., 4.152, mentioned below at n. 31).

4 Kurke (1999) 227.

pile of roasting-spits. The significance of the latter is difficult for us to grasp. The gift may have intended to allude to ancient symbols of wealth and value (*obeloi*) and thus to boast with the wealth Rhodopis had acquired.[5] Lloyd, accordingly, suggests the possibility that the spits were a "monetary" gift, but also, since spit-dedications were common at the time, that they 'had simply become a standard way of testifying to one's devotion to the god or of leaving a personal memorial in a sacred spot'. Going one step further, Kurke plausibly suggests, Rhodopis (aided here by the historian) may have wanted to 'insert her gift completely into a sacral economy of sacrifice' and thus to place herself into the 'circumscribed, elite context' of this type of gift.[6] Four and a half letters (*KEROD*) of an archaic inscription in Phocian script found in Delphi and dated by Jeffery to about 530 BCE have been restored to *anethē*]*ke Rhod*[*ōpis*, with scholarly applause. But initially the last letter was apparently read as a *gamma* rather than a *delta*, the stone was not found in situ, the date seems barely possible for Rhodopis, despite Jeffery's elaborate rationalization, and the restoration is far from certain.[7] Ultimately, though, all this hardly matters: the dedication must have been placed on an inscribed base, and this is what Herodotus must have seen.[8]

If Rhodopis stood out as the best in her category, Charaxos owes his mention in Herodotus to her and not to his own achievements. The historian does not even tell us why he went to Naucratis, of which Mytilenaeans were co-founders and thus probably frequent visitors.[9] The missing information, if it is more than an educated guess, is supplied by Strabo: he exported Greek wine to

5 On *obeloi* as symbols of a premonetary value-system, see Strøm (1992); von Reden (1997) 159–160.

6 Lloyd (1975–1988) 3.87; Kurke (1999) 223–224 with n. 4.

7 Jeffery (1990) 102 with pl. 12 fig. 7; see the reports in *BCH* 78 (1954) 133 with fig. 35 and the two reconstructions proposed by Makrokostas; ibid. 144 the initial reading as *gamma*; *JHS* 74 (1954) 158 with fig. 10; *REG* 68 (1955) 229 with reference to the find spot (in the wall of a chapel in the cemetery of Delphi) and perhaps slight reservations ('M. veut reconnaître'). Jeffery argues that the date of the inscription 'does not contradict other information about Rhodopis': 'that she flourished in the reign of Amasis (569–529) and—presumably after her retirement—left an outstanding offering to Delphi … This may have been as much as 40–50 years after Sappho's brother Charaxos had established her independently at Naucratis …, which would permit a date of c. 530 or even a little later for the inscription'.

8 See also Ath. 13.596c who refers to the 'famous spits' of Rhodopis that, he says, were also mentioned by the comic poet Cratinus (the citation unfortunately is lost).

9 Hdt. 2.178.2; for evidence of Mytilenaean presence in Naucratis, see Lloyd (1975–1988) 3.226.

Egypt.[10] This places him in the category of elite merchants, and here the record belonged to one Kolaios of Samos, about whom more will be said in a moment, and compared to whom Rhodopis' wealth and Charaxos' gains presumably were trivial.[11]

Nor, finally, do we know why exactly Sappho reacted so strongly to her brother's action. The word Herodotus uses, *katekertomēse*, is usually translated as "she blamed, reproached, or abused him," but Denys Page takes it rather to mean "mocking, jeering, taunting."[12] The poem the historian alludes to is lost.[13] In what follows, I will first summarize my comments as I wrote them before the "newest Sappho" was known,[14] and then assess changes brought about by the new find.

In the main surviving fragment that seems relevant here (fr. 5), Sappho (if it is Sappho: there is nothing that specifically identifies her) speaks of her brother (who is not named either) as absent and prays for his safe return and atonement for past wrongs (or errors, *ossa … ambrote*), and that he may bring honor to his sister, after 'suffering cruel agony at the hands of …' In the poem's continuation we hear about something that happened by 'the citizens' censure' or 'at a gathering of citizens', which he soon came to understand, and of an 'unendurable evil'. We do not know the nature of the brother's past wrongs nor who caused him cruel agony, nor again what this business with the citizens was, and who suffered what kind of unendurable evil. What is certain is that no woman is mentioned explicitly here.[15] Another fragment (15) similarly expresses hope that a person (the name is not preserved, but the analogy seems to point to the same man) may 'atone for his past mistakes'. Aphrodite is asked to be 'very

10 Strabo 17.1.33; see Möller (2000) 55.

11 Hdt. 4.152; see Möller (2000) 54–55 and below at n. 31.

12 Page (1955) 131; cf. 50 n. 2.

13 Page (1955) 50.

14 See n. 1 above. I integrate here Obbink's new edition of fr. 5 (in ch. 1 of this volume) that, of course, was not yet known in 2005.

15 Fr. 5: 'Revered daughters of the sea god, grant that / [my] brother may arrive here unharmed / and whatsoever he should desire in his mind / let that be completed. / And as much as he has previously done wrong (*ossa ambrote*) / grant atonement for it all; may he be a pleasure / to friends, and a harm to enemies—and may we / never have any. / And may he want to put his sister in a position / of greater honor, since before he was suffering cruel agony at the hands of …' (trans. Obbink, ch. 1 in this volume; see his text and app. crit. with various proposed translations of the final section). Reading the poem in the form in which Obbink presents it, the brother's failings could have to do as much with politics as with a woman (see n. 47 below).

harsh', and the speaker adds, 'may she, Doricha, not boast, telling how he came the second time to a longed-for love'.[16] The woman who seems to be part of Sappho's brother's problem (if the poem is about these two), is possibly mentioned in three other fragments as well (3, 7, and 9), but in all these cases she is called Doricha rather than Rhodopis: was this a different woman or a different name for the same?[17] Rhodopis apparently remained independent and stayed in Naucratis, while the embarrassment caused by Doricha would suggest a closer or more lasting association. This problem agitated intellectuals already in antiquity. Alan Lloyd suggests that Rhodopis was Doricha's nickname.[18] Would a person's nickname rather than her real name be inscribed on her dedication in Delphi? Would Herodotus not have mentioned her real name as well? Was Sappho unhappy because her brother had involved himself too deeply with a *hetaira*? Unlikely. Because he had brought or was about to bring one home from Naucratis and was too obvious about it? Perhaps. Because he had squandered his gains from his wine trade or even his patrimony on buying the liberty of a *hetaira?* Perhaps. Or was Doricha just one of several problems that burdened Sappho's brother (and thus herself as well)? We simply do not know.

Ultimately, there is no obvious reason to doubt the historicity of individual items in the story: the fame of Rhodopis and/or Doricha, beautiful *hetairai* in Naucratis, a place famous for its beautiful *hetairai*; her dedication in Delphi; the

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16 Fr. 15 Campbell: '… (may he atone for his past mistakes?) … Cypris, and may she find you very harsh; and may she, Doricha, not boast, telling how he came the second time to a longed-for love'. Trans. Campbell (1982a). On the interpretation of these two poems, see Page (1955) 45–51. For other possible readings of these lines, see the contributions to this volume by Lardinois and Lidov (ch. 3).

17 Ancient comments on Rhodopis and Doricha: test. 252, and test. 15 and 16 Campbell (the latter, Ov. *Her*. 15.63–70, 117–120, may offer the best clues *if* Ovid drew closely on Sappho's poetry), and the sources mentioned in test. 209 and 254. See also Lloyd (1975–1988) 3.86. On Doricha in frs. 3 and 7: Campbell (1982a) ad loc; Ferrari (2014) 10; in fr. 9: Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 16; see also Lardinois' contribution to this volume.

18 Posidippus is quoted by Ath. 13.596b–d, who insists that Rhodopis and Doricha were different women and Herodotus simply confused them. Nickname: Lloyd (as in n. 17 above). For other references: Obbink (2014b) 32 n. 1. On these names and possible traditions behind them, see now also Nagy (2015a), (2015c). One of the possibilities mentioned below for explaining Sappho's criticism of her brother (bringing home a *hetaira* from Naucratis) perhaps receives some support from Obbink's suggestion (in ch. 9 of this volume) of an erotic *double entendre* in the Brothers Poem: 'full ship' (line 6 [2]) could possibly be understood metaphorically as a "ship with his lover on board."

travel(s) of Charaxos to Egypt (for whatever purposes, including possibly profits from wine trade), and Sappho's angry, mocking, or simply deeply concerned rebuke of her brother (whatever its reasons and its distortion in poetry). But we have absolutely no certainty that there is any more historical truth in the *connection* between Sappho, Charaxos and Rhodopis, as Herodotus relates it, than there is in Rhodopis' sponsorship of Mykerinos' pyramid. Moreover, those who consider autobiographical elements in archaic Greek poetry generic rather than specific will hesitate to rely on scattered remarks in Sappho's extant poetry about Charaxos (if it is he) and Doricha to reconstruct actual relationships among her family. As Kurke puts it, Herodotus' 'extraordinary passage reads like an ancient "Lives of the Rich and Famous" … This titillating quality of the narrative has led scholars to read it very much at face value, and yet, it is precisely the uncritical circulation of stories around celebrities that Herodotus is here debunking'.[19]

So much for the state of affairs before publication of the new poem which Dirk Obbink calls the "Brothers Poem."[20] What does this new evidence change? From my perspective, the most important positive change is that we now have the name of Charaxos attested in Sappho's own poetry, together with confirmation that it is indeed this brother about whose safe return she has been worrying. I quote a little more than the first two complete stanzas in Christopher Pelling's translation:[21]

> Oh, not again—'Charaxus has arrived!
> His ship was full'! Well, that's for Zeus
> And all the other gods to know.
>   Don't think of that,

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19 The beauty of the *hetairai* of Naucratis: Ath. 13.596b, d. Generic nature of autobiographical references in archaic poetry: Nagy (1990b) ch. 3. Stories around celebrities: Kurke (1999) 177. Among others, Lardinois (last section) and Stehle in their contributions to this volume also take the brothers as "types" or, if they were real, as endowed with traits of general applicability that made them useful as '*exempla* that addressed a number of anxieties that haunted ancient Greek families' (Lardinois). From a different perspective, the comparison with certain genres of painting, Peponi's contribution to this volume, discussing Sappho's experimentation with a "poetics of the familial," illuminates the same issue in very interesting ways.

20 Obbink (2014a), (2014b). For a fuller reconstruction of the poem, see now Obbink, ch. 1 in this volume.

21 Lines 1–9 (5–13 in Obbink's edition, ch. 1 of this volume); the translation is in Obbink (2014a) and in Pelling and Wyke (2014) 41–42.

But tell me, 'go and pour out many prayers
To Hera, and beseech the queen
That Charaxos should bring his ship back home
    Safely to port,

And find us sound and healthy'.

A second important confirmation is that Sappho's concerns extend also to her younger brother Larichos; she prays that he may 'lift up his head' and 'one day be a man', thus turning her worries to joy.[22]

But, again from my particular and very limited perspective, what is *not* in this new poem is equally important. It mentions neither Doricha nor Rhodopis, neither the place from which Charaxos is expected to return nor the nature of his ship's load. It says nothing about his activities abroad, about what he did with his money, about a delay and its possible reasons, or about what his return with a fully loaded ship (or even without it) would mean for his sister and family. Sappho does not criticize or blame her brother, she simply worries about his safe return. Overlaps and connections with the other poems I mentioned before (and yet others) are unmistakable, and thus it is tempting to read such connections into this poem (a temptation to which Obbink himself is not immune), but they are not explicit. Unfortunately, since few doubted before that Charaxos was the brother about whom Sappho worries in her poems, the new text does hardly anything to confirm Herodotus' story with which I began.[23]

Fortunately, for my present purpose only one of the story's components matters: Charaxos' travels to and sojourns in Egypt. Precisely because he was not a famous person, no poet or lawgiver, and because Herodotus mentions him only in passing, as a "supporting actor" in another figure's drama, this aspect of

22 Ibid. last stanza. For interpretations of Larichos' role in the poem, see again the contributions of Lardinois and Stehle to this volume.

23 By contrast, Obbink (2014b) 32 writes: 'We quite simply have had no clue, up until now, as to the kind of information, or its source, that could have given rise to Herodotus' story in a way that his fifth century Athenian audience might have found credible. A newly uncovered papyrus changes that.' (And besides, why single out Herodotus' *Athenian* audience?) Lidov (2004) was among the few who doubted the presence of Charaxos' name in Sappho's poetry. For the importance of the additions to fr. 5 in the present context, see Lardinois' contribution to this volume: references to brother and sister in this poem are now confirmed, and the poem may contain a word play on Charaxos' name (see Burris, Fish, and Obbink [2014] 24).

the story may well be historical. If it is—and in the continuation of my chapter I will assume that it is—he would be one of few elite Greeks we know by name who spent time in Egypt and returned to their home town (at least, according to Herodotus he did). Why is this important?

Charaxos and "High-Flying" Adventurers: Cultural Interaction between Greece and the Ancient Near East

By now, we know a great deal about cultural interactions between the ancient Near East and the archaic Greek world, about the broad range of cultural (including intellectual) stimuli the Greeks absorbed in this formative period of their culture.[24] Unfortunately, research on this topic, which interests me especially from the perspective of early Greek political thinking,[25] is still handicapped by serious limitations. For example, instead of "influence," which implies a one-way path from the south and east to the north and west of the Mediterranean, we should rather think of cultural interactions, directly, indirectly, and through a "cultural *koinē*" in the eastern Mediterranean.[26] Even genuine foreign influences were not integrated mechanically into Greek culture. Rather, they were adapted to local conditions and needs, and thus transformed, slightly or massively, depending on many factors. The complexity of such transformation, I suggest, corresponded to the complexity of the issue involved: it was especially high when customs, institutions, and ways of thinking were involved that affected the community as a whole.

The largest and most crucial Greek institution, of course, was the polis itself. Some scholars have suggested that the Greeks imported the polis, via the Phoenicians, from the Ancient Near East. This is highly implausible—even if it remains possible that the early Greeks profited from other kinds of impulses in the social and political spheres, especially from ideas that might have helped them resolve crises and social conflicts.[27] Then there is the question of transmission. Who were the carriers of such impulses? Burkert suggests

24 On ancient Near Eastern influences on Greek culture in general, see, e.g., Burkert (1992), (2004); Morris (1992); West (1997).

25 Near Eastern influences on early Greek political thought in particular: Raaflaub (2000) esp. 50–57; (2009).

26 Eastern Mediterranean cultural *koinē*: this topic is in urgent need of systematic treatment; for now, see, e.g., Sherrat and Sherratt (1993); Fantalkin (2006); Matthäus et al. (2011).

27 On the polis and its emergence, see, e.g., Hansen (1993) chs. 1–2; (2006). The polis as an eastern import: Gschnitzer (1988); Bernal (1993); *contra*: Raaflaub (2004c).

migrant workers, who were not integrated into the local *oikoi* and thus called *dēmiourgoi*, such as skilled craftsmen, doctors, seers, and singers. Some of these certainly came from abroad; some, like Phoenician silver- or bronze-smiths, settled in Greek villages. Even so, they were *metanastai*, alien residents, and as such in a precarious position, however much their work might be admired and sought after. One might also think of traders, whether Greeks or the "Sidonians" singled out by Homer.[28] Most of these were low-status persons. Greeks were eager to acquire their goods; specialists might be happy to adopt their knowledge and skills. This accounts for many foreign impulses in Greek material culture, crafts, technology, and art. Things were definitely different when it came to social and political customs and institutions, in which persons of higher status (independent farmers and elites) had a stake. Free and proud citizens of emerging Greek poleis, I suggest, might not have been interested in what a lowly *dēmiourgos* or trader (especially a foreigner) had to say on foreign customs and institutions, let alone in such a person's advice on how the polis should be run.

But they might listen if a fellow citizen of a noble family returned to his hometown after years of traveling, living, or serving in a foreign country, and perhaps brought back an impressive amount of wealth.[29] An early example is "Odysseus the Cretan," the bastard son of a nobleman, who was shunned by his half-brothers, loved fighting but not labor in house and field, and gained great wealth by undertaking nine raids to Egypt, thus becoming a respected citizen and claiming a wife from a good family.[30] Herodotus tells us about Kolaios of Samos who was on a trading trip to Egypt when he was blown westward by a storm and became the first Greek to reach Tartessos; he came home with the greatest profit ever reliably recorded. His tithe to Hera of Samos, a huge and magnificent monument, cost six talents. Overall, though, Herodotus says, his wealth was dwarfed by that of Sostratos of Aegina: 'it's impossible that anybody can compete with him!' Sostratos exported beautiful Greek pots

28 *Dēmiourgoi, metanastai*: Qviller (1980); Gschnitzer (1981) 29, 33–34. Migrant workers: Burkert (1992) ch. 1. Trade and traders (Phoenician and Greek): Bravo (1977); Mele (1979); Garnsey et al. (1983); Latacz (1990); Patzek (1996); Donlan (1997) 651–654; Tandy (1997) 62–75. Craftsmen: Hoffman (1997).

29 Elite Greeks abroad: the evidence is collected and traced back at least to the late 8th century in Raaflaub (2004a). On the role of such men in their Greek communities: Haider (2004) esp. 452–453. For discussion of "contact zones," including supra-regional sanctuaries, where Greek and foreign elites had opportunities to meet, see Ulf (2009) with Raaflaub (2013a) 373–379.

30 Odysseus "the Cretan": *Od.* 14.199–320, esp. 200–234 (raiding Egypt!).

(and, no doubt primarily, their contents) to Etruria; we have numerous samples with his *so* signature. An anchor he dedicated to Apollo of Aegina was found at Gravisca, the port of Tarquinii. This is the group of high-flying adventurers within which Charaxos moved, with whom he played and competed. His bid for Rhodopis, if authentic, may have something to do with such competition.[31]

Herodotus tells stories of many more men of this type who roamed the Mediterranean and traversed adjacent countries not only as merchants on a grand scale but as colonizers, adventurers, and raiders, or as mercenary officers or generals. Near Eastern and Egyptian evidence amply confirms their existence and adds yet other categories of men who served in foreign employment as "high-end specialists" of various kinds (architects, sculptors, engineers, shipwrights, physicians, or seers). Some left dedications in Greek sanctuaries, including one Pedon, son of Amphinnes, who rose from mercenary in Egypt to administrative official and dedicated in Priene a statue in Egpytian style with an inscription attesting that Psammetichus I had honored him for his outstanding service (*aristeia*) with a golden crown and a polis (that is, probably, entrusted him with leadership in a settlement). Another, Euthykratides of Naxos, dedicated in the late seventh century in Delphi a kouros standing on the backs of men; probably returning from foreign service, he used an Egyptian royal motif to underscore his importance.[32] Both these men undoubtedly had spent a large part of their lives in Egypt and knew it well.

This allows us to make another connection with Lesbos. Alcaeus himself may have entered foreign service while he was in exile. His brother certainly did. Strabo writes: 'Mytilene produced famous men: in olden times Pittacus … and the poet Alcaeus and his brother Antimenidas, who according to Alcaeus performed a great feat while fighting as ally of the Babylonians, and rescued them from trouble by killing a warrior who, he says, was only one palm's breadth short of five royal cubits' (13.2.3; trans. Campbell). An extant fragment of Alcaeus may refer to Antimenidas: 'You have come from the ends of the earth with the hilt of your sword ivory bound with gold' (fr. 350). According to a scholiast, Antimenidas performed this exploit when Nebuchadnezzar campaigned

31 Kolaios of Samos, Sostratos of Aegina: Hdt. 4.152; see Möller (2000) 56 with documentation. What might have been, from Sappho's perspective, 'self-destructive passion' (Nagy [2015c]) thus probably was, from Charaxos' perspective, a triumphant success.

32 Near Eastern testimonies to Greeks abroad: e.g., Pedon: Haider (1996) 100–101; (2004) 450–451 (with bibliog. and fig. 3 on p. 483); Euthykratides of Naxos: Haider (1996) 113. For further bibliography, see Raaflaub (2004a).

against Askalon in 604 BCE.[33] Presumably, Antimenidas had spent some time in Mesopotamia and brought back much more than a precious sword.

If we look for men who could report with authority about foreign customs, social concepts, or political ideas, and to whom his fellow nobles would listen, I suggest, we will find them among these types of persons, including Charaxos himself.

Charaxos' Trade

But what about Charaxos' trade? We know that the exchange of high-end merchandise[34] flourished across the Mediterranean and that elite Greeks engaged in this type of business, both occasionally, to finance a trip abroad for which they might have all kinds of motives, and more consistently, though never really professionally.[35] This type of trade was compatible with Greek elite values. Hesiod already is fully aware of both the immense gains promised by such trading ventures and the great dangers involved: he warns not to put all one's eggs in one basket.[36] High-quality Greek wine certainly was widely desired, and Lesbian wine had an excellent reputation.[37] That Charaxos shipped Lesbian wine to Egypt is thus not surprising: presumably to Naucratis, but not necessarily for consumption only there.

By his time the 'bronzemen' (presumably Greek or Carian raiders wearing hoplite equipment) who had landed in Egypt and then entered the service of Psammetichus I, had, so to speak, multiplied. Just a little later, 30,000 of them were reported to live in Egypt in various settlements, serving the Pharaoh, helping him to fight his wars, and even assuming administrative functions (as Pedon did). Some of them returned home (we met a couple of them); others married Egyptian women and produced sons with mixed names and grandsons with

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33 Alcaeus in foreign service: Kaplan (2002) 234–235. For the context of Antimenidas' feat: Quinn (1961); Braun (1982a) 22.

34 To avoid the problematic term "luxury goods" because what for one person or place is a luxury is not for others (Foxhall [1998] 299–300).

35 On trade with high-end merchandise: Foxhall (1998); on early Greek maritime trade, see also Reed (2003), and see n. 28 above.

36 Hes. *Op.* 629–632, 643–645, 689–694.

37 Clinkenbeard (1982) collects the evidence for Lesbian wine export to Naucratis and lists the statements in praise of this wine by Greek comic poets and others, quoted by Athenaeus of Naucratis (*Deipnosophists* 1.28e–f, 29b; 3.92e; 13.598c); I thank Deborah Boedeker for these references.

fully Egyptian names. Funeral inscriptions attest to this process of assimilation. To their communications, Herodotus emphasizes, those back home owed a vastly increased knowledge of Egypt.[38] I suggest that the elite among this large Greek or semi-Greek population, and of the partly Hellenized Egyptian population surrounding them, would have been a target of Greek traders in high-end merchandise—directly or, perhaps more likely, given Egyptian suspicion of foreigners, indirectly through middlemen in Naucratis.[39] If so, this would have massively increased the bulk of trade.

Archaeology helps us trace some of this trade: containers used to transport wine, and pots and cups specifically designed to mixing and drinking wine, have been excavated on land and in ancient shipwrecks all over the Mediterranean.[40] The former attest to the trade networks, the latter to the distribution of the culture of drinking wine. Amphorae of Lesbian origin are prominent among these: finds range from Sicily and Etruria to the Black Sea and the southern Levant on the way to Egypt. Naucratis has yielded substantial numbers of elegant early sixth-century drinking vessels. But we should refrain from thinking that wine was the only trade good; diversification was important already then. Other goods exported to Egypt might have included agricultural products, textiles, metals (also well-attested in ship-wrecks) and silver, apart from the intriguing Madonna Lily that was then cultivated in Egypt as an ingredient in perfumes.[41]

What does all this mean for Charaxos? Even if we cannot *know*, there clearly was in Egypt a consistent demand for high-quality wine. This suggests that a direct trading link might have existed between Lesbos (and other places producing such wine) and Naucratis that satisfied this need; wine producers on Lesbos would have adapted to this, and elite merchants like Charaxos would have exploited the opportunity.[42] He might have banked his fortune on a big

38 Bronzemen: Hdt. 2.152, 154. 30,000 under Apries (589–570 BCE): 2.163. On the large Greek colony in Egypt, see Braun (1982b); Haider (1996), (2004); Möller (2000) 32–38. On early Egyptian-Aegean relations: Helck (1995).

39 On Egyptian concerns about foreigners, see Moers (2010).

40 Distribution of Lesbian amphorae: Dupont (1998) 156–163; more generally: Grace (1970); Garlan (1983); Snodgrass (1983); Whitbread (1995). Attic drinking vessels: Osborne (1996). Shipwrecks: Parker (1992).

41 On archaeological evidence concerning archaic trade with Egypt, see e.g. Krotscheck (2008); Fantalkin and Tal (2010). Especially on Naucratis and its trading community: Möller (2000); see also Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006). Other goods and "cross-trade": Foxhall (1998) who mentions the Madonna Lily (Huxley [1977]).

42 I draw here on Osborne's excellent article (1996).

shipment of wine or, as Hesiod advised, been cautious enough to invest in smaller shipments, taking other goods along too. His sister's anxiety may or may not suggest the former. On the way back, he certainly did not sail empty—we remember the hope that he would return with a full ship. He might have carried whatever was in need and popular at home, and promised gain: papyrus products (sails, ropes, paper), culinary delicacies, spice (like natron), durum grain (popular for bread), other types of wine (for instance, from Byblos which we know was popular in Greece), and perhaps slaves.[43] Unlike professional traders who stopped at every port, he would have sailed with purpose, stopping only at prime destinations, and as directly and quickly as possible.

Pittacus, Tyranny, and Greek "Straighteners"

With his presumably extensive knowledge of Egypt (and perhaps other parts of the Near East), Charaxos would have been a respectable source for the transmission of political ideas. Yet for some of these one did not have to go all the way to Mesopotamia or Egypt. To Greeks living on the Anatolian coast and the large islands near it, such as Lesbos, the customs and life style of the Lydian elite were closely familiar, and it is no accident that archaic poets, not least Sappho and Alcaeus, were intensely interested in the positive and negative aspects of eastern wealth and luxury.[44] Lydia was also the home of Gyges, famous for being exposed to hard choices: having been forced by his king to watch his queen undress, he could only survive by marrying her, murdering her husband, and usurping his rule. It is this man whom Archilochus characterizes, for the first time in extant Greek literature, as "tyrant" (*tyrannos*).[45]

Like many other poleis at the time, Mytilene itself suffered from a long and turbulent history of fights between tyrants and elite factions resisting them. The struggles going on in Sappho's time pitted Alcaeus' group (among others,

43 Returning with a full ship: Brother's poem, lines 1–2 (at n. 21 above) or 5–6 in the new edition (Obbink, ch. 1 in this volume). Papyrus sails and ropes: Hermippus, *Phormophoroi* fr. 63 PCG, quoted by Ath. 1.27–28. Natron (with a surprising range of uses that are significant in Sappho's context): suggested by Ewen Bowie in his contribution to this volume. Other goods imported from Egypt (durum grain) and special wines (Byblos: Hesiod, *Op.* 589; cf. Ismaros: Archil. fr. 2): Foxhall (1998).

44 Kurke (1992).

45 Gyges and the wife of Candaules: Hdt. 1.7–14; for brief comments and bibliography, see Asheri et al. (2007) 81–82; *tyrannos*: Archil. frs. 19 and 23.

no doubt) against various tyrants, including finally Pittacus.[46] We know little, if anything, I think, beyond the vaguest allusions, about how Sappho herself and her brothers thought about and were involved in these "troubles" but, since they belonged among the elite of Mytilene, these events must have played a significant role in their lives. Nor do we know whether later traditions about a period of exile in Sappho's own life, if they are trustworthy, were in any way connected with these troubles. Nor again can we tell, although the possibility seems obvious, whether these "troubles" had anything to do with Charaxos' decision to seek his fortunes abroad.[47] But this brings up the notion of tyranny, and it is worth a final consideration.

The word *tyrannos* may well be of Lydian origin, and scholars have long speculated about an Anatolian or Near Eastern origin of the institution as well, presenting, in some cases, elaborate arguments to defend this hypothesis. For several reasons—including especially the Greek use of the word *tyrannos*, the nature of the institution it designated, and the character of the historical tradition that has preserved its memory—I do not consider such arguments plausible.[48] Not least, the phenomenon the Greeks described as tyranny defies a single definition: *tyrannos* was an "umbrella term" under which a great variety of phenomena connected with sole rule or authority were subsumed. In particular, the third "super-famous" individual of Sappho's time, Pittacus, though generally considered a "tyrant" and fiercely attacked as such by his aristocratic contemporaries and rivals, was the stark opposite of an oppressive despot—let alone one with an oriental pedigree. Rather, though holding sole power, he was a leading representative of a much milder version of "tyranny."

In the seventh and sixth century, the Greeks developed the method of bestowing autocratic power on individual 'straighteners' (*katartistēres*) or 'mediators' (*aisymnētai*)—in modern scholarship they are often called 'lawgivers'—as an ingenious instrument to resolve serious social and political crises and prevent the disintegration of communities. This is, I think, a genuine Greek creation. Aristotle identifies this form of "elected tyranny," non-hereditary and

46 "Troubles" in Mytilene: see relevant sections in Page (1955); Rösler (1980); Podlecki (1984): ch. 3; see also n. 49 below on Pittacus.

47 On Sappho and her exile, see Page (1955) 130–131; Podlecki (1984) 83; West 2014: 3. More generally, on Sappho in her social and poetic context, Ferrari 2010 is crucial. In her contribution to this volume, Stehle discusses the elite background of Sappho's family. In his contribution, Lardinois surveys the biographical traditions and (in his commentary on line 13) mentions the possibility that the troubles worrying the interlocutors in the Brothers Poem could be political in nature.

48 See the appendix below.

bound to the law, with the institution of *aisymnēteia*, which existed also as an elected extraordinary office (such as both Pittacus and Solon held it). Like Solon, Pittacus was a lawgiver and known as one of the Seven Sages who were connected with Delphi and its advocacy of moderation. No wonder that the citizens of Mytilene, which Alcaeus called 'that gutless, ill-starred polis', confronted with the detrimental impact of endless fights among elite factions, established him as a mediator and straightener and thus, from the perspective of the disempowered aristocratic leaders, a tyrant, 'all of them loud in his praise'.[49] Again, one wonders what Sappho thought.[50]

Appendix: Near Eastern Origins of Greek Tyranny?

Efforts have often been made to show that Greek tyranny was derived from Near Eastern forms of autocratic rule. Martin West, for example, thinks that early Iron Age Greek kingship 'reflects a pattern that is essentially that of a Near Eastern monarchy'. John Davies, too, emphasizes that 'forms of monarchy closely comparable to those well attested in the Phoenician cities' were widespread in Archaic Greece, including 'the various "tyrant" regimes of Ionia, the Aegean, and central Greece'. *Pace* Davies, I believe strongly that the differences between archaic Greek phenomena of sole rule and Phoenician or Near Eastern forms of kingship are more significant than the correspondences. Similarities in appearance do not necessarily signify identity in nature, let alone derivation or borrowing. A leader's or king's social, religious, and political roles

49 On Pittacus, Arist. *Pol.* 1285a35–b1; Alc. fr. 348; de Libero (1996) 314–328. On *aisymnētai*: Arist. *Pol.* 1285a30–33; see Schütrumpf (1991) 536–537, 542–543; Romer (1982); Meier (1990) 40–52; (2011) ch. 21; Faraguna (2001); Wallace (2009). On Pittacus as lawgiver: Hölkeskamp (1999) 219–226. On the Seven Sages: Snell (1971); Rösler (1991); Martin (1993).

50 I would like to draw attention here to a late 4th-century inscription (*SEG* 36: 750; Rhodes and Osborne [2003] no. 85A) that is obviously situated in a time of civil unrest, connects Hera (supplicated in the Brother's poem; see Boedeker's contribution to this volume) intimately with Zeus whose epithets include not only *Hēraios* and *Basilēios* but also *Homonoios* (husband of Hera, king, and protector or restorer of concord), and in addition appeals specifically to Homonoia, Dikē, and Epiteleia (Concord, Justice, and Accomplisher of all good things); see Delforge and Pironti (2014). Although the personification of *homonoia* hardly dates before the late 5th century (Raaflaub [2015] 115–116 with bibliog.), allusions in both Alcaeus and Sappho and archaeological finds date the pan-Lesbian sanctuary of Messon firmly to the archaic period (see again Boedeker, this volume), and it seems plausible to assume that it played a mediating and unifying role already in "the troubles" of the poets' time.

remain embedded in the conditions that characterize his specific society. Quite rightly, therefore, Davies continues: 'This is not to suggest precise knowledgeable borrowings on the part of Greeks so much as the sort of awareness of institutions in Assyria or Phoenicia or Egypt which mercenaries, craftsmen, and *emporoi* will inevitably have gained and brought back'.[51] I use this opportunity to re-examine this question, although, in the present context, I can only do this very briefly.

Archilochus, perhaps reflecting Lydian usage, applied the word *tyrannos* to Gyges, who usurped power around 685 BCE.[52] Gyges maintained good relations with Psammetichus I who consolidated his power in Egypt in the 650s, around the same time as Cypselus established his in Corinth, supposedly by armed usurpation. Gyges' offerings to Delphi were stored in Cypselus' treasury, and Cypselus' grandson was named Psammetichus.[53] Clearly, networks existed among eastern monarchs into which Greek tyrants fit easily. It is no doubt possible that Psammetichus and Cypselus were inspired by Gyges' usurpation, or Gyges by that of Sargon II of Assyria. After all, usurpations had been common in ancient West Asia for millennia; they were typical of a world of competing dynasts, city-states, and empires. But I consider it very uncertain that, as has been claimed, Cypselus and later Greek tyrants all used the same methods to assume and control power and that they learned these methods from the east.[54] I offer three main reasons to support my doubts.

First, according to extant archaic Greek evidence, the word *tyrannos* served as a label rather than a title.[55] It had positive connotations for those aristocrats who dreamed of attaining tyranny themselves, but was negative in the view of those whom, like Alcaeus, the tyrant's monopolization of rule excluded from their traditional share of power, or who, like Solon, were primarily concerned with the communal good.[56] A functional distinction between *basileia* as a legit-

51 On Greek and eastern kingship and tyranny: West (1997) 14–19, 132–137 (on analogies in the ideology of kingship); Davies (1997) 33–34; Morris (2003). Tyranny as an eastern import: Hegyi (1965); Drews (1972); Fadinger (1993).

52 See n. 45 above. For Lydian origin of the word (and a close relationship to Etruscan *tūran* ['lord, master' vel *sim*]), see documentation in Fadinger (1993) 265 n. 8.

53 For Gyges, Psammetichus, and Cypselus, see the sources listed in Fadinger (1993) 265–266; Drews (1972).

54 For such claims, see the authors listed in n. 51 above, esp. Fadinger (1993).

55 Evidence: Berve (1967) 1.3–6 with references in 2.517–518.

56 The former esp. in Archil. fr. 19; Solon fr. 33. Solon's refusal: fr. 32. For discussion of this antinomy, see Connor (1977). I have contested the conclusions Connor draws for fifth-century politics: Raaflaub (2003) 77–81.

imate and good form of monarchy and *tyrannis* as an illegitimate and bad type did not prevail before the late fifth century. This negative image was shaped by a few notorious cases of oppressive and cruel tyrants, while the sources also preserve the memory of tyrants as defenders of justice and the demos against elite violence and abuses, as paragons of wisdom, or even as responsible for bringing back of an "Age of Kronos."[57] Tyranny thus is an umbrella term, encompassing various forms of sole rule that share some basic elements (especially the monopolization of power by an elite person at the expense of his fellow aristocrats) but differ in origins and characteristics.[58] It is only from a much later perspective of historical interpretation (by Herodotus) or theoretical categorization (by Aristotle) that tyranny became a more homogeneous phenomenon with a wider range of specific and shared characteristics. And it is only from such late perspectives that Near Eastern influence became a plausible assumption.

Second, for archaic tyranny, Herodotus is our earliest and most detailed source. But Herodotus wrote long after the events he describes and with a specific interpretive purpose. He drew largely on oral tradition. By the time he collected his material, roughly two hundred years had passed since Cypselus' usurpation, and the threshold of living memory coincided roughly with Pisistratus' assumption of power in 546. Most tyrants were active much earlier, which cautions us against taking at face value what Herodotus and later sources (such as Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias) tell us about them.[59] Moreover, memories were constantly reshaped by recent experiences, changing political perspectives, and new "myths"—in Athens, the tyrannicide of 514, Hippias' oppressive rule in its aftermath, and the Persian Wars, in which the Greeks were confronted with an absolute ruler whom, lacking other models, they equated with a "super-tyrant."[60] These experiences most likely also tainted their view

57 Distinction from *basileia*: Parker (1998); see also Barceló (1993). Positive conception of the role of tyrants: McGlew (1993); Bassi (1998) 144–191; Kurke (1999) 67–100; Lewis (2009). Age of Kronos: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16.7 with comments by Rhodes (1981) 217–218.

58 Kinzl (1977); cf. generally Berve (1954); Pleket (1969); Parker (1996); Lewis (2009) esp. 8–11; Stein-Hölkeskamp (2009).

59 Oral memory: Vansina (1985); Ungern-Sternberg and Reinau (1988). On Herodotus and Athenian history: Raaflaub (1988); Cobet (1988); Thomas (1989). Osborne (1989) 313 emphasizes the dearth of memories in Athens about events of the seventh century. Herodotus and early tyranny: Stahl (1983). Critical analyses of the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons: Stahl (1987); Welwei (1992) 229–265; Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2000); Lavelle (2005).

60 See Lavelle (1993); Thomas (1989); Forsdyke (1999); also Raaflaub (2004b) 100–101 with bibliog.

of early Greek tyrants: many of the specifically "tyrannical" aspects of these figures may thus be influenced by Near Eastern patterns—not because they *were* identical but because later Greek observers, thinking they perceived analogies, retrojected such patterns upon these figures and *made them look* identical.[61]

Moreover, the earliest historians wrote not only in conditions that differed starkly from those in the seventh and sixth centuries but also with a concept of history that differs essentially from ours. To the most serious and responsible among them (especially Herodotus and Thucydides), history was important primarily because and insofar as it was meaningful to the present. Past and present stood in a dialectical relationship that was determined by the needs and concerns of the present. This, combined with the difficulties of knowing what had really happened in the more distant past, gave the historian some liberty—I would even say, it compelled him—to shape history in a way that emphasized those aspects that would attract the attention of their public and stimulate them to think about the present.[62] Confronted in his time not least by the problems caused by the contention of the two Greek "superpowers" for supremacy and the oppressive rule of a *polis tyrannos*, Herodotus used inter alia the phenomena of imperialism and tyranny to realize his purpose of making past history relevant to the present. As Carolyn Dewald has shown, he employs as an interpretive tool a homogenizing analytical template of tyranny that recurs throughout the work.[63] Much of this "tyrannical template" concerns persons and events located in the sphere of "mythical memory" (that is, as suggested above, before 550) and even outside of Greece, and it both draws on and affects his portrait of eastern monarchs as well.

Hence it is a priori likely that in Herodotus' depiction of Greek tyrants we are dealing not with one-sided eastern influence on a factual-historical level but with a much more complex problem that is situated primarily on an intellectual-interpretive level. François Hartog suggests that the barbarian 'king and the tyrant are two of a kind. Each provides a mirror image for the other ... At the intersection of these two images the representation of despotic power is constructed'. Elaborating on this, Kurke says: 'all Eastern monarchs in

61 Integration of Persian models into the context of Greek tyranny: Heuss (1971) 12–17 ([1995] 114–119).

62 Strasburger (1955); Fornara (1971); Raaflaub (1987), (2002), (2010), (2013b); Kurke (1999); Dewald (2003).

63 Dewald (2003). Herodotus and imperialism: Raaflaub (2002). For earlier discussions of Herodotus' representation of tyranny, see Waters (1971); Barceló (1993) 149–177.

Herodotus serve a double function—they represent the Other, but they simultaneously furnish Herodotus and his audience with paradigms for conceptualizing the modalities of Greek tyranny'.[64]

Hence, even if Herodotus had some good information on the early Greek tyrants, we do not *know* when he did, we cannot distinguish with any certainty between "mythical" and "historical" information and his own dramatic elaboration and purposeful interpretation, and we have to credit his authorship with traces of the "tyrannical template." While we can somewhat control his narrative on eastern monarchs because we have reliable information in Near Eastern sources,[65] for early Greek tyranny we mostly lack independent evidence. As a consequence, Herodotus needs to be virtually eliminated as a source for comparison between eastern monarchy and Greek tyranny, let alone for the question of influences of the former on the latter.

Those who argue for such influences usually fail to consider any of these issues. Often they simply assume that Herodotus reports historical facts throughout. Moreover, in such arguments a specific chapter in Aristotle's *Politics* plays an important role.[66] Discussing the methods tyrants typically use to secure their power, this passage is a piece of systematic theoretical analysis that conflates phenomena from various periods and areas and seems to draw heavily on the example of Dionysius I of Syracuse.[67] Dionysius lived around two hundred years after his archaic predecessors; he was atypical in several ways and established his rule in conditions that differed massively from those in archaic Greece. By his time, the Greek world was thoroughly familiar with autocratic Persian monarchy, and he may indeed have drawn on that model. Aristotle knew the methods of both Dionysius' rule and that of the Persian kings and 'other barbarians'. At the same time, as Schütrumpf and Gehrke observe in their commentary, the traditions Aristotle mentions probably concern a firmly established typology of tyranny that was connected especially with the name of Periander; but, in view of undoubtable elaboration based on later experiences, it is impossible to know how much of this is authentic material that can be attributed to the historical Periander.[68] Clearly, all this offers an unreliable

64 Hartog (1988) 322–339 (quote: 324–325); Kurke (1999) 70, cf. 93. See also, on parallels between the Herodotean portraits of Pisistratus and Amasis, Bassi (1998) 145–191.

65 See, for a start, Lanfranchi and Rollinger (2010).

66 Arist. *Pol.* 5.11.1313a34–b32, exploited esp. by Fadinger (1993); on Aristotle's chapter, see Heuss (1971); Meister (1977); Schütrumpf and Gehrke (1996).

67 On the tyranny of Dionysius I: e.g., Berve (1967) 1.222–260, 2.637–656; Sanders (1987); Jordović (2005) 245–266.

68 Arist. *Pol.* 1313a36–38, b9–10. On Periander, see Hdt. 5.92; Stahl (1983). Schütrumpf and

basis for claiming an oriental-style monarchy not only in early fourth-century Syracuse but in sixth-century Athens and even earlier in Corinth.

Finally, to mention the obvious without entering into a detailed discussion, upon closer inspection Greek tyranny differs markedly from Near Eastern, even Phoenician, models of monarchy. All Near Eastern monarchies were hereditary by nature, firmly embedded in the institutions of the city or state concerned, and intimately connected with the divine. None of this applies to Greek tyrants whose power was personal and located above and outside the institutions of the polis, failed to gain institutional recognition and permanence, and was secular in nature.[69]

For all these reasons, then, the thesis that Greek tyranny was derived from eastern models remains implausible to me. It is, at any rate, too general and too simple. Greek tyranny as such, that is, the sole rule established by an aristocratic individual who monopolized the power previously shared by his peers, differed and indeed had to differ—structurally, socially, politically, and from the perspective of social mentalities—from comparable institutions in ancient West Asia and Egypt. My sense is that the phenomenon of Greek tyranny as such did not require outside stimuli and can be explained sufficiently within a Greek framework as a result of extreme individual ambition, increasingly fierce elite competition, and increasing social tensions.[70] Yet Archilochus and Herodotus leave no doubt that Greeks stared with fascination at the Lydian kings, and perhaps far beyond (just as our contemporaries do at royalty), both for their wealth, glamor, and power, and for their (often scandalous) behavior. Hence in the context of elite connections ranging widely beyond the Greek world, knowledge of foreign phenomena may well have stimulated emulation and specific imitation, but mostly in more limited ways: in lifestyle and luxury, rituals and ostentation at court, insignia and paraphernalia of power and

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Gehrke (1996) 581 offer important observations on the relationship between Aristotle's own interpretation and existing traditions.

69 Although, of course, Greek tyrants fostered polis-cults and built temples in order to emphasize their patronage and, at least in the case of Athens, highlight the significance of the polis' central place (at the expense of the local centers where their aristocratic rivals' power was rooted); see e.g. Kolb (1977). Pisistratus' scheme of using an allegedly special connection with Athena to gain power in his "second tyranny" has been interpreted in various ways that do not make it necessary to invoke oriental customs: Hdt. 1.60.3–5; oriental custom: Fadinger (1993) 293–306; (2000); for different explanations, see Connor (1987) 42–47; Blok (2000); Lavelle (2005) 99–107; also Linke (2005).

70 On the nature of Greek tyranny, see e.g. Berve (1954); Pleket (1969); Kinzl (1977), and e.g. Murray (1993) ch. 9; Stein-Hölkeskamp (2009); Meier (2011) ch. 19.

methods of securing power, policies of sponsoring buildings and culture, the maintenance of far-reaching international connections, and so on.[71]

71 On these aspects, see e.g. Morris (2003), Dewald (2003). It is in this context too, that some of Fadinger's perceptive observations (1993) remain important.

CHAPTER 6

How Did Sappho's Songs Get into the Male Sympotic Repertoire?

Ewen Bowie

It is as a performer on the *barbitos*—presumably accompanying the singing of her own songs—that Sappho is imagined by late sixth- and early fifth-century Attic vase painters, and was doubtless recognised by many Athenian sympotic users of these vases.[1] The *barbitos* (as was shown by Yatromanolakis) is closely associated with comastic activity, and painters and their patrons seem to imagine Sappho in a context where she can chase (or be chased by, or perhaps both) an attractive young woman,[2] or can find herself propositioned by an Alcaeus whose bashful down-turned gaze is in some tension with his clearly displayed penis.[3] It must be conceded that the most common female musical performer in Attic representations of symposia and *komoi* is not a *barbitos*-player but an *auletris*, playing the *aulos* to accompany a male symposiast's singing.[4] Likewise male are most of the figures who are shown holding a stringed instrument, whether a *barbitos* or a lyre, and singing to their own accompaniment. But both

1 Note the caution of Yatromanolakis (2007) 76 on whether the shape of the red-figure kalathoid vase of ca. 480–470 BC (Munich inv. no. 2416, his fig. 3a and 3b) representing Sappho and Alcaeus is indeed sympotic. His argument, however, from the representation on the other side of the vase of Dionysus holding a *kantharos* and a female 'devotee' holding an *oinochoe* is strong; and one cannot question the sympotic function of the red-figure *oinochoe* representing a female figure holding a *barbitos* (Harvard Art Museum, inv. no. 1960.354) of ca. 490–480 BC (his fig. 2) or of the red-figure *kalyx-krater* representing Sappho with a *barbitos* (Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Kunstsammlungen, inv. No. S 508) of ca. 480–470 BC (his fig. 4a). The *barbitos* is attested by Athenaeus 4.182e (= Sappho fr. 176) as an instrument mentioned by Sappho and has been supplemented in the last line of the new fragment pre-58 yielded by P.Köln 21351 + 21376 [ἤ βάρβιτον ἤ τάνδε χε]λύνναν θαλάμοισ' ἀείδω. For a choral interpretation of the context of performance of the Tithonus poem see Bierl 2010.

2 Yatromanolakis (2007) fig. 4a, and for the label ΗΕ ΠΑΙΣ fig. 7.

3 Yatromanolakis (2007) fig. 3a.

4 For the predominance of *auletrides* over players on the *kithara* or *barbitos* in the particular class of images involving 'Anacreontic' figures see Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 225.

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the *aulos* and a stringed instrument are regular providers of sympotic music,[5] and several vases, including those just mentioned, suffice to show that the idea of a great female singer performing, accompanied on her *barbitos*, in a sympotic or comastic context was at the very least imaginable.[6] That *auletrides* and young women dancers were regularly present at *symposia* will have made the introduction of a female virtuoso singer a small step, but it may be indicative of the higher status of a woman lyre- or *barbitos*-player that (so far as I have discovered) such players are never depicted naked, though several *auletrides* and a few lyre-playing youths are so portrayed.[7]

We do not, of course, know that symposia on Lesbos in the late seventh and early sixth centuries were like those depicted on later sixth-century Attic vases, though the presence of musical performances in symposia of that period is established for Mytilene by the poetry of Alcaeus and for Corinth by painted sympotic pottery, of which the earliest example is dated to the last quarter of the seventh century.[8] We have no painted pots produced in Lesbos of the late seventh and early sixth centuries that depict symposia and that might support the hypothesis that elite symposia in Mytilene and other cities were indeed attended by *hetairai*, though recent excavations at Eresos have yielded a fragment of a middle Corinthian *krater* painted with a sympotic scene.[9] That

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5 Cf. *Theognidea* 533–534, and for lyre-playing male symposiasts see the red-figure *krater* Cleveland 26.549 = *ARV* [2] 563(9) (Lissarrague [1990] 12), the tondo of a red-figure cup Louvre G 127 = *ARV* [2] 427(1) (Lissarrague [1990] 35, fig. 21) and a red-figure cup Louvre G 245 = *ARV* [2] 366(86) (Lissarrague [1990] 35, fig. 22).

6 Note too the tondo of the red-figure cup attributed to the Pedieus painter (whose outside depicts an orgy of men in threesome and foursome coupling with naked *hetairai*), Louvre inv. No. G 13: a female lyre-player wearing an elaborate chiton is embraced by a youth holding a cup and a walking stick. Among 'Anacreontic' vases note (1) a red-figure *krater* in Vienna, Vienna 770, *CB* II, no. 21, *ARV*[2] 576(33) representing a 'female kitharode' (so Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague) between a male dancer and a male *kylix*-carrier, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 225 with 250 fig. 7.28, and (2) a red-figure *stamnos* once in Rome, Cippico, now lost, CB II, no. 99, *ARV*[2] 291(25), which has a female *barbitos*-player flanked by two 'Anacreontic' figures on one side and a female cithara-player so flanked on the other, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 225 with 250 fig. 7.29 (also registering in n. 83 a lone female *barbitos*-player on Munich 2317).

7 See Peschel (1987), Schäfer (1997) with numerous illustrations. Note however that in fourth-century Athens the same two-drachma limit was applied to expenditure on *auletrides*, *psaltrai* and *kitharistriai*: Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 50.2.

8 An early Corinthian *kotyle*, British Museum inv. 73.8.20.387, Schäfer (1997) 25–35, Katalog II 1 (a) with Plate 2. 2 and 3.

9 Zachos (2012) 309 with fig. 11, cf. Zachos (2010). I am grateful to Catherine Morgan for

the local Lesbian pottery was initially a grey bucchero, and was almost never painted, and later in the archaic period a hard red ware,[10] has deprived us of what might have been valuable testimony. It must also be remembered that the representation of *hetairai* on Attic pottery, especially on sympotic vases, only begins with the depiction of individual women's presence in the middle of the sixth century, and moves to the depiction of scenes, often orgiastic, with several participating *hetairai*, only in the last quarter of the sixth century.[11] This iconographic evidence can be played in various ways. It can always be claimed that in the scenes on vases (as in the case of some of their grotesque *Mischwesen*) their painter's imagination ranges far from reality.[12] But other late-sixth-century evidence, such as the poetry of Anacreon, suggests there is some basis in real life. At the same time the relatively late appearance of *hetairai* in sympotic scenes on Attic vases cannot be pressed to insist that they were absent from pre-550 BC Attic symposia.[13] Whichever position is taken on the evidentiary value of Attic pottery, we are still left groping in the dark concerning the place (or otherwise) of *hetairai* in elite symposia on Lesbos.[14]

One glimmer of light, however, comes to us from a much-discussed poem of Anacreon and from the Attic terms Λεσβίζειν and Λεσβιάζειν. The lines of Anacreon (fr. 358) in which the singer presents himself as incited by the cast of a dark-red ball by Eros to 'sport with' (συμπαίζειν) a girl with fancy sandals, and as then rebuffed because of her pretentious Lesbian origin and his own advancing age, shows at the least that in Samian or Athenian symposia around the years 520–490 BC there were (or could be imagined to be) Lesbian *hetairai*, and that they might occasionally claim an up-market status. The lines' conclusion may also indicate (though this is contested ground) that one of this girl's favoured sexual entertainments was *fellatio*. At least when a century later we first encounter the terms Λεσβίζειν (in the future Λεσβιεῖν,

directing my attention to these articles. Slightly later (ca. 540–520) an outdoor symposium is represented on the temple of Athena at Assos, an Aeolic settlement in the Troad, see Wescoat (2012): I am grateful to Vanessa Cazzato for this reference.

10 See Lamb (1932a) and (1932b), and note (1932b) 52 'amongst thousands of sherds only one shows traces of white paint'.

11 Reinsberg (1989) 104–112, Kurke (1999) 199–200 with further references n. 63.

12 For scepticism about the relation between vase-scenes and sympotic reality, see Kurke (1999) 205–206, Topper (2012), esp. 136–161.

13 Reinsberg (1989) 108–114, Kurke (1999) 201.

14 A fragment attributed to Alcman (fr. 174) seems to attest *komoi* in late seventh century Sparta: ἄγ' αὖτ' ἐς οἶκον τὸν Κλεησίππω.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1346–1347) and Λεσβιάζειν (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1308) they seem certainly to refer to *fellatio*.[15]

One thing, however, can and should be stressed. The archaic and classical *hetaira* could be a free citizen,[16] and she could express her preference for association with one young man rather than with another.[17] The Theodote of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* offers her favours only to those who persuade her and seems (together with her mother) very much in control of her life.[18]

One prominent component of the content of Sappho's songs was certainly *eros*, and the centrality of *eros* to male sympotic activity is documented beyond doubt by the later sixth century poetry of Theognis and Anacreon, by that of Pindar, and by scenes on sixth- and fifth-century Attic vases. What again is not so well-documented is the place of *eros* in late seventh-century Mytilenean *symposia*. A full text of Alcaeus would have had more amorous songs than have been preserved in quotation or happen so far to have turned up on papyri from Egypt—that is clear from Horace's reference to Alcaic love poetry about *Lycum nigris oculis nigroque / crine decorum*.[19] But what survives falls short of linking *eros* and the symposium in the way we find in Anacreon, in Theognis 237–254 or in 'Book 2' of the *Theognidea*. Yet despite the known unknowns, I think it reasonable to put the sort of *symposia* of which we know from these poets and from vases together with the recurrent focus on *eros* in Sappho's songs and to hypothesise that she is singing for a male sympotic audience whose minds and bodies are so often directed to *eros*—whether that *eros* had as its object a young elite male or a young professional female—and that her self-presentation as a sexual agent who was also fired by desire for young females made an important contribution to raising the erotic temperature of male participants. The effect of Sappho's songs of

15 See MacDowell on *Wasps* 1346–1347 and Dover on *Frogs* 1308, with further literature.

16 Antiphanes fr. 210 K-A, cited by Kurke (1999) 185 n. 19.

17 Anacreon fr. 372: ξανθῇι δ' Εὐρυπύληι μέλει ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων with Kurke (1999) 190; a red-figure *psykter*, St Petersburg 644 (St. 1670) = *ARV*² 16(15) ca. 520 BC (Lissarrague [1990] 83 fig. 69) on which two naked women recline on cushions playing *kottabos*; one, called Smikra, says τὶν τάνδε λατάσσω, Λέαγρε ('I pitch this one for you, Leagros'); a red-figure *hydria*, Munich 2421= *ARV*² 23(7) also ca. 520 BC (Lissarrague [1990] 83 fig. 70) on which two naked women reclining on cushions play *kottabos*, and the one on the left utters σοὶ τενδὶ Εὐθυμιδεῖ ('[I throw] this one for you, Euthymides').

18 Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.

19 *Odes* 1.32.11–12. The 'charming Menon' (τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα) whom Alcaeus asks to be invited to a symposium at fr. 368 and the Damoanactidas of 296(b) seem also to be among his ἐρώμενοι; see Vetta (1982).

desire for young women, I suggest, may have been similar to that proposed by Leslie Kurke for the impact on male symposiasts of sympotic vases depicting sexually uninhibited symposia of naked *hetairai*: 'these vessels represent fantasies painted for the gaze of male symposiasts, who enjoyed seeing their own activities mirrored in those of sexually available female "companions" (often nude or semi-nude)' and (in relation to the *hetaira* represented as dedicating her *kottabos* throw to Euthymides) 'the *hetairai* on the hydria's shoulder are there to ventriloquize male desire: male symposiasts can savor the fantasy of a gathering of sexually active women sharing their longing for the beautiful Euthymides. And through their shared desire, the represented *hetairai* can stand metonymically for the eroticized sphere of the elite symposium generally'.[20]

My title is intended to draw attention to how much easier such a hypothesis makes an attempted reconstruction of the movement of Sappho's songs into a male sympotic repertoire. There are of course other possible models.[21] Those who believe that Sappho's songs of *eros* were composed for performance in a circle of female friends can suppose that Charaxos, when he was in town, could pass on the music and words of his sister's songs to his fellow symposiasts in Mytilene, or take some of them with him to Naucratis.[22] Some similar mode of transmission could be imagined for a later generation. But that Sappho's songs were sung in male symposia *ab initio* avoids any objections that might be formulated to these other hypotheses.

Amongst these other hypotheses one of the most influential has been that of André Lardinois arguing in favour of 'public performance'.[23] I suggest that many of his points are met by taking that 'public' performance to be one which took place in the restricted space of the symposium, a space both private and public. Thus the girls addressed by the singer are her fellow-entertainers, sometime, as he suggests, dancing. There are certainly a number of poems that he and others rightly see as marked by features of choral ritual performance: the *hymenaia*, and perhaps now in its augmented form fr. 17. But fr. 58.6 uses not the term χορεύειν but ὄρχησθ(αι).[24] The new fragments of fr. 17 are interpreted in the *editio princeps* as supporting the view that this poem was

20 Kurke (1999) 206. For the Euthymides *hydria* see above n. 17.

21 Cf. that proposed by Lardinois (2001).

22 The hypothesis of performance in a small circle of women is admirably argued against by Lardinois (1996) 154.

23 Lardinois (1996).

24 The only example so far of a χορός-term is in fr. 70.10 .[ ]αθην χόρον, ἄα[.

composed for choral performance,[25] but a resolute sceptic might insist that it simply presented to a sympotic audience a re-creation of a choral, cultic song.

It might be asked whether the *polis* or its leading families would be comfortable with having a woman who sang to symposiasts to the music of her *barbitos* or *lyra* also play and sing for a chorus of women engaged in wedding rituals or cultic activities for Lesbian divinities. That is an unanswerable question, but in a later period and different cities we know that in a fourth-century dramatic fiction a sympotic *psaltria*, Habrotonon, could be imagined as also playing for girls' choruses at the Tauropolia;[26] that between 200 and 150 BC a woman named Seddis was active as a *kitharistria* in a temple precinct in Sardis;[27] and that it is possible that a *kitharistria* mentioned by Dinarchus in connection with the *Eleusinia* was actually playing in some festival ritual.[28]

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25 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 5: 'The appearance, however, of ἐόρτα (or ἐόρταν) at line 2, along with other new readings, indicates that the poem is not "personal" in theme, but is (or at least is presented as being) a choral song intended for cultic performance, as has already been suggested by Calame. The new first-person plural πόημεν at Fr. 2 ii 19 (= Sa. 17.11) suggests choral performance, and when taken together with νῦν δὲ … κὰτ τὸ πάλ[αον] the verb clearly announces a communal, cultic continuation of the preceding mythic material: "and now … we act according to the old way." The make-up of the communal voice is probably indicated by the reference to "girls" and "women" at Sa. 17.13–15, who together make up a joint chorus, assuming the supplement ὄ]χλος is correct (cf. Sa. 44.14–15 ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ' ἄμα παρθενίκα[ν] τ'). The likely performance context is the temenos of the so-called "Lesbian triad", i.e. Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus, known from Alc. 129 and tentatively identified by Robert with the temple remains at Messa north of Pyrrha'.

26 Men. *Epit.* 477–479.

27 Ἔφεσος μάγειρος,/ ἀδελφὴ Σεδδις κιθαρίστρια,/ 5 γυνὴ Ἐφέσου Νινις,/ υἱὸς Ἄτταλος,/ θυγάτηρ Ἀρτεμῖς, *Sardis* VII 1.3 ii 3–5.

28 Dinarchus 1.23. That Themistius of Aphidna was executed for committing an act of *hubris* against this female *kithara* player (*kitharistria*) from Rhodes during *Eleusinia* can be taken as an indication that she might have been playing in the Mysteries, as it is by Power (2010) 365 n. 138. For the other cases see Power (2010) 60 n. 136. The question of whether certain female performers on stringed instruments in the Hellenistic period are properly termed *kitharoidoi*, the subject of an animated discussion by Goldhill (2005), is only marginally relevant to my subject here.

Some Test Cases

Before turning to the 'Brothers Poem' I offer some brief sketches of how some long-known poems or fragments might be read in the light of the hypothesis of a chiefly male sympotic audience.

Fr. 1 (ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα …)
On my hypothesis this would be a sympotic prayer of the sort we find in the *Theognidea* 1–22 or in Anacreon fr. 357,[29] a song in the form of a prayer addressed to a god whose sphere includes the activities of the symposium. The male audience may or may not suppose that the object of the singer's desire is one of the girls who, like the singer, are performing at the symposium—playing the *aulos*, dancing, or showing off her physical attractions or acrobatic skills; they (or the συνετώτεροι among them) may simply take it as an example of a song that could be sung by one young woman infatuated with another. Either way it can kindle or feed their own fires of passion for a youthful love-object, whether male or female.

Fr. 2 (δευρυμ†μ̣εκρητα̣ς̣.π[ ]. ναῦον)
Although this song is as strong a candidate as any for first performance in a ritual space, the vivid evocation of that space in the first three stanzas becomes much harder to interpret as relating precisely to the context in which it is being sung when we reach the fourth stanza:

> ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμ⟨ματ'⟩ ἔλοισα Κύπρι
> χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
> ὀμ⟨με⟩μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
> οἰνοχόαισον.
>
> In this place, Cypris, take the garlands
> and delicately in golden cups
> wine-pour the nectar that has been mixed for banquets.

If this is a hymn accompanying a ritual act, what can Aphrodite do that will count as 'taking' the garlands? 'Taking' is quite different from the normal ritual term for 'receiving', some part of the verb δέχομαι. But even if is inter-

29 ὦναξ, ὧι δαμάλης Ἔρως … ('Lord, with whom *Eros* the subduer …') discussed in Bowie (2012).

preted as an untypical way of singing about such divine acceptance, what will Aphrodite do that can be described as 'wine-pouring nectar in golden cups'? This stanza undermines any literalist interpretation and brings the imaginary *locus amoenus* of the sacred grove into the sympotic performance space where wine, cups and *oinochooi* are in plentiful supply: were Aphrodite to come and pour liquid into the symposiasts' cups, that liquid would inevitably be nectar, as it is in what seems to be a memory of the first-person speaker of fr. 96.26–28, the memory of an occasion whose nature is irrecoverable as a result of the tattered state of the papyrus.[30]

Fr. 5 (πότνιαι Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι] / τὸν κασίγνητον δότε τυίδ' ἵκεσθαι)
Like frs. 1 and 2, I suggest that this is a sympotic prayer, and that Sappho can rely on her male sympotic audience knowing who Charaxos is, why he is in Egypt, and what reasons Sappho has for praying for his safe return. Her mention of φίλοι and ἔχθροι taps into a recurrent theme of male sympotic song, amply attested in the iambic poetry of Archilochus, the melic poetry of Alcaeus and the elegiac poetry of Theognis, though it is of course widespread in almost all genres of archaic and classical Greek literature.

Fr. 16 ([ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων / οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν / [ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον …)
Like fr. 1, this song prompts reflection on *eros*, but Sappho moves to that through a range of very masculine hypothetical answers to the question 'What is most fair (κάλλιστον)?'[31] Although Greek pronominal use has many examples of 'masculine' for 'feminine', here the successive οἰ μὲν … οἰ δέ, and οἰ δέ ('some … some … some …'), when interpreted against these οἰ's canvassing of cavalry, infantry and ships, are easiest to take as genuine masculines: Sappho starts her investigation from the foil of a male perspective. It may also be a male perspective that explains her decision to pick out the pre-eminent beauty of Helen. As has often been remarked, Helen's beauty is not relevant to the point that she left the best of husbands, her daughter and her parents because of *eros*. But it brings home to men who may each think himself the best of husbands the danger of losing the woman who for him has been out-

30]ος Ἀφροδίτα / καμ [ ] νέκταρ ἔχευ' ἀπ]ὺ / χρυσίας [. As for fr. 2, there are problems in taking this as the memory of a 'real' *ritual* occasion on which Aphrodite was herself present and the liquid that was poured into golden (? cups) was 'really' nectar.

31 Cf. *Theognidea* 255–256, the *epigramma Deliacum*. Among many discussions see especially Bierl (2003).

standingly attractive—a danger whose realisation is followed up by Sappho's surprising shift of focus to longing felt by an abandoned lover for a departed love-object.

Fr. 17 (πλάσιον δη μ̣[… / πότνι' Ἦρα σαχ[…).
As I have already said, the newly augmented text of this poem makes it a strong candidate for ritual performance. But the text remains too lacunose to clinch the matter, and a sympotic prayer which evoked cultic activity at the *temenos* of Hera, Zeus and Dionysus at Messon remains a possible interpretation.

Fr. 31 (φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν / ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι / ἰσδάνει …)
The presence in the same space of a man and the young woman who arouses Sappho's passionate physical reactions has always been a problem for hypotheses that Sappho's first audiences were a circle of such young women, and the solution offered by Wilamowitz's 'bridegroom' hypothesis now has few if any takers. Interpretation becomes easier if we envisage Sappho singing this song accompanying herself on her *barbitos* in a sympotic space where youths and *hetairai* sit or recline on the same seats or couches. The *hetaira* is doing what a *hetaira* is expected to do—chatter, perhaps sing, and laugh in a seductive way. We are not told if she is standing, sitting or reclining. That the man is sitting (ἰσδάνει), not reclining, differentiates him from most men in Attic and Corinthian sympotic vase scenes. But we do not know how uniformly the oriental habit of reclining was adopted in archaic Greek *poleis*. It may be attested around 650 BC for Ephesus by the term κατακεῖσθε ('lie back') in Callinus fr. 1.1, and for Thasos or Paros by κεκλιμένος ('leaning' or 'reclining') in Archilochus fr. 2.2. Alcman fr. 19.1 attests seven κλίναι in what seems to be the description of a symposium, presumably but not certainly in Sparta, but we have to wait for Dionysius Chalcus fr. 3.5 in late fifth-century Athens before we find a κλίνη in a sympotic elegy. It could be argued that if Alcaeus refers to a 'soft pillow', μόλθακον … γνόφαλλον, at fr. 338.8, then he imagines himself reclining. But that is not certainly the meaning of γνόφαλλον—in his 1982 Loeb Campbell had moved from his 1967 translation 'cushion' to the quite different rendering 'fillet'[32]—and to the best of my knowledge no excavation of an *andron* so shaped as to accommodate κλίναι, 'couches', has established that when Alcaeus had a symposium in Mytilene with his *hetairoi* they are likely always to have reclined.

32 Campbell (1982a) 375 'put a soft fillet round your brows'.

Fr. 58 (......... Μοίσαν ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες / [......... τὰ]ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν)
This is one of very few poems in which we find both Sappho and a plurality of girls. Unfortunately even after the new papyrus, its lacunose first lines leave us uncertain what relation the song set out between the 'fair gifts of the violet-laden Muses' (Μοίσαν ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα) and the 'girls', παῖδες. West's supplement at the beginning of line 1 of ὔμμες πεδὰ and at the beginning of the second of σπουδάσδετε καὶ creates a sequence in which the παῖδες are addressed with a command in the second line, encouraging the supposition that Sappho may be acting as some sort of *choragos*. But there are other possibilities, e.g. Gronewald and Daniel's φέρω τάδε at the beginning of line 1 and λάβοισα or ἔλοισα πάλιν at the beginning of line 2: these supplements would reduce the role of the girls to no more than an audience. They may be implicitly an audience that, unlike the singer as represented in her sad song, is still young enough to dance, but this dancing could as well be sympotic entertainment for men as choral ritual: note the point made above that the term used here for dancing is ὄρχησθ' and not χορεύειν or another χορ- term. The warning that old age inevitably succeeds youth was a sympotic theme favoured by Mimnermus (e.g. fr. 1, fr. 2, and fr. 5) and Anacreon (e.g. fr. 395) and one highly relevant to the life of the pleasures of wine, women (and boys) and song chosen and celebrated by symposiasts.

Frs. 94 and 96: like fr. 1 and fr. 31, these songs will have turned male symposiasts' thoughts to the pains and pleasures of *eros*— the pain of parting which could be occasioned by the sort of mercantile adventures that, as the evidence from Naucratis shows, Charaxos was not alone among Mytileneans in undertaking; the pleasures of memory; and the association of some of these pleasures with sympotic accessories—perfume, garlands, and soft beds or cushions of the sort on which, at least on some Attic vases, drinkers are depicted as reclining.

The Brothers Poem

As in fr. 5 (πότνιαι Νηρήιδες ...) the focus of Sappho's thoughts in our new poem is her brother Charaxos, a man perhaps more likely to be well-known to male symposiasts than to a circle of choreutic *parthenoi*. But who is the addressee? I do not want to spend time bringing arguments against other scholars' proposals, but shall rather raise what seems to me a problem with the text as it is presented by the new papyrus.

Ever since Dirk Obbink released his preliminary publication I have been unhappy about the sense proposed for lines 7–13(3–9):

> ... σὲ δ̣’οὐ χρῆ
> ταῦτα νόησθαι,
>
> ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεσθαι
> πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασί̣λ̣ηαν Ἤ̣ραν
> ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
> νᾶα Χάραξον
>
> κἄμμ’ ἐπεύρην ἀρτ̣έ̣μεας

These lines he translated as follows:[33]

> But it is not necessary
> for you to think these things,
>
> but especially to send me and command to beseech
> Queen Hera over and over again
> that Charaxos may arrive, piloting
> his ship safe back here
>
> and find us safe and sound.

Cf. Rayor's translation in Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 160:

> Don't think about that,
>
> but send me, yes command me
> to keep praying to Queen Hera
> that Charaxos return here
> guiding his ship safely.
>
> and find us secure.

This is an oddly indirect way of the singer suggesting that she herself should go to pray for her brother's return, oddly oblique concerning *where* the singer is being sent, and odd too in the overlap in sense of 'send' and 'command', perhaps responsible for Rayor's rendering 'send me, yes command me' (which seems to

33 Obbink (2014b) 39–40.

betray a degree of discomfort). The parallel offered from *Iliad* 6.269–279[34] is not at all close and involves a simpler sequence. In the *Iliad* Hector (a male relative) asks Hecuba (a female relative) to gather the old women of Troy and go to the temple of Athena to make an offering (of a *peplos*) and a vow (to sacrifice twelve oxen if she takes pity on the Trojans); in the papyrus text of the Sappho poem the singer tells an addressee (supposed by some to be a female relative) to tell *her* to supplicate Hera with the request that Charaxos (her male relative) return safely. In Sappho's poem there is neither offering nor vow; in the *Iliad* the term 'supplicate' (λίσσεσθαι) is not used.

Bearing in mind that the scribes of papyri regularly make mistakes, I offer a tiny conjecture—we should read ἔμα ('my things') in place of ἔμε ('me'):

> ... σὲ δ̣'οὐ χρῆ
> ταῦτα νόησθαι,
>
> ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμα, καὶ κέλεσθαι
> πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασί̣λ̣ηαν Ἤ̣ραν
> ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
> νᾶα Χάραξον
>
> Don't you think of that,
>
> but both send my stuff, and tell
> Charaxos to make many supplications to queen Hera,
> that he should arrive here bringing his ship safely.

Sappho's ἔμα are not difficult to cash out as the fuller phrases she may know from the *Odyssey* or from lost epic poetry that deployed the same or similar formulae—ἐμὰ κτήματα ('my possessions') from *Odyssey* 2.213, or ἐμὰ χρήματα ('my resources') from *Odyssey* 13.283. And although in Homer πέμπειν ('to send') usually has a person as its object, there are exceptions. Thus at *Odyssey* 16.83 we find εἵματα δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ πέμψω καὶ σῖτον ἅπαντα ('I shall send clothing here and all the food he needs'). Then, in a seventh-century poem that seems to have quite close links with Lesbian poetry, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the precious objects that Aphrodite feigns will be sent as her dowry to Anchises: οἱ δέ κέ τοι χρυσόν τε ἅλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὑφαντὴν / πέμψουσιν, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα ('And they will send you in ample quantities gold and woven garments, and you will receive a large and brilliant dowry', 139–140).

34 A suggestion of Joel Lidov kindly communicated to me by André Lardinois.

It might be objected that not ἔμα but τὰ ἔμα would be expected. Against that objection I make two points. First, it is well established that the article is used much less, and in many respects differently, in the Lesbian Aeolic of Alcaeus and Sappho by comparison with Attic and Ionic. In the particular case of possessive pronouns, Lobel noted, 'The possessive adjectives ἔμος, σός (τέος) Fός, ἄμμος and ἀμμέτερος, σφός are found both accompanied and unaccompanied by the definite article …'[35]

Second, there are parallels in other poetry:

ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι
φρασσόμεθ' ἤ κε νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ' ἦ κε μένωμεν'
Il. 9.618–619

And at the time when dawn displays herself
we shall ponder whether we are going to go to our home or to stay.

Ἀτρεΐδη Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,
βούλομαι ἤδη νεῖσθαι ἐφ' ἡμέτερ'· οὐ γὰρ ὄπισθεν
οὖρον ἰὼν κατέλειπον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν ἐμοῖσι.
Od. 15.87–89

Menelaus, son of Atreus, nurtured by Zeus, marshall of peoples,
I now wish to go to our own place: for when I came
I did not leave behind a watcher over my possessions.

In both these Homeric passages the audience supplies a noun with the neuter possessive adjective ἡμέτερ(α)'—in the *Iliad* passage perhaps οἰκία 'dwelling' (as in *Iliad* 6.15 etc.) or δώματα (as in *Odyssey* 3.355, 8.31, 8.41); in the *Odyssey* passage either οἰκία or δώματα or (slightly differently) κτήματα or κτέατα (cf. κτεάτεσσιν in line 89).

If this change is accepted, it is hard not to think that the addressee of this song, sung to men in Mytilene who knew Charaxos, was none other than the absent *hetaira* Doricha of Naucratis, on whom Charaxos spent loads of money,[36] and whom Sappho attacked in fr. 15. It also seems likely that the μιν whom Herodotus recalls a *melos* of Sappho as having abused (admittedly in

35 Lobel (1927) lxxxi, #23(a). I am grateful to Felix Budelmann for directing me to this discussion which I must admit not to have read carefully since 1960.

36 Ath. 13.598b–c cf. *POxy.* 1800 col. i 7–13 (both = fr. 202).

a discussion that confuses Doricha with Rhodopis) is not Charaxos himself but the *hetaira*, as has been well argued by Maria Kazanskaya in a recent paper.[37] In our poem Sappho sings of a situation—either real, or a mixture of reality and imagination—in which Doricha is represented as sending repeated reassurances that Charaxos will return with a fully-loaded ship; but that has not actually happened, and Sappho here urges Doricha to send Charaxos on his way home and to tell Charaxos to pray for a safe return at a temple of Hera—presumably the one at Naucratis mentioned by Herodotus and identified by excavators on the basis of inscriptions on sixth-century pottery, several of them marking dedications by Mytileneans.[38] On this interpretation the first-person plurals of lines 13 (9) κἄμμ' and 21 (17) κ̣ἄμμες refer to Sappho and the members of her family who have remained on Lesbos—certainly Larichos, perhaps the third brother Erigyios. What metaphorical storm has threatened that family we can only guess—something that presumably threatened Sappho's own station in Mytilenean society—but it is one whose replacement by (metaphorical) plain sailing Sappho hopes will be secured by the return of Charaxos, already, perhaps for some years, a man, and by a hitherto unseen readiness to be self-assertive on the part of the still immature Larichos.

What was the stuff, the ἔμα, that Sappho expected from Naucratis? In 1964 John Boardman guessed the things archaic Greeks got from Naucratis were corn, papyrus and linen.[39] But it was only an educated guess.[40] I have consulted

37 Hdt 2.135, discussed by Kazanskaya forthcoming. In favour of the traditional interpretation, see Lardinois in this volume.

38 Hdt. 2.178.3. For the inscriptions from the *temenos* of Hera, see Gardner (1888) 67, nos. 841–844, and for those from the *temenos* of Aphrodite Gardner (1888) 63–67 nos. 701–882, including inscriptions in Aeolic on grey bucchero, Gardner (1888) 65 nos. 786–793, Möller (2000) 259–260. Some corroboration of Herodotus' story comes from a dedication by Archedice (cf. Hdt. 2. 135.5), cf. *ABSA* 5 (1898–1899) 56 no. 108, illustrated by Möller (2000) fig. 3d.

39 Boardman (1980) 129–133 at p. 129 (a revised and enlarged edition of the book which first appeared in 1964). For Naucratis' trading role, see Möller 2000. For the fifth century BC Hermippus, *Phormophoroi* fr. 63.12–13 PCG (quoted by Athenaeus 1.27–28) attests sails and papyrus ropes (κρεμαστὰ ἱστία καὶ βίβλους) as coming to Athens from Egypt, presumably but (by this date) not certainly *via* Naucratis (see Raaflaub in this volume n. 43).

40 For corn from Egypt in the early to mid fifth century see Bacchylides fr. 20b Maehler. That linen was to be had, and perhaps was worked, in Naucratis, at least in the third century BC, was later shown by Posidippus 36 A.-B., a girl's dedication to Arsinoe-Aphrodite (see Bing [2009] 246) of a βύσσινον … βρέγμ' ἀπὸ Ναυκράτιος, line 2 ('scarf of fine linen from Naucratis', transl. C. Austin). It is tempting to think that the idea that the dead and deified Arsinoe wants the scarf 'to wipe off the sweet perspiration when she has ceased from her

one of the leaders of the international Naucratis project, Alan Johnston, and he replied: 'Not an enormous amount known. There are trinkets of various kinds, and the Berlin palimpsest of probably 475 BC gives only natron as an outgoing cargo'.[41]

That natron is documented is not without interest. I quote Wikipedia:

> … natron was harvested directly as a salt mixture from dry lake beds in Ancient Egypt and has been used for thousands of years as a cleaning product for both the home and body. Blended with oil, it was an early form of soap. It softens water while removing oil and grease. Undiluted, natron was a cleanser for the teeth and an early mouthwash. The mineral was mixed into early antiseptics for wounds and minor cuts. Natron can be used to dry and preserve fish and meat. It was also an ancient household insecticide, was used for making leather and as a bleach for clothing.

For Sappho, then, natron could be used both to wash herself and her clothes, something to which any high-class performer, including singers and *hetairai*, would—or should—attach some importance. It was also used to wash drinking vessels, ἐκπώματα.[42] And fish-preservation, still important to the twentieth-century economy of Ayvalık/Kydonia in the Mytilenean *peraia*, might be a useful component of whatever local services other than sympotic entertainment Sappho and her brothers were providing. Finally its application in leather-making would not be irrelevant to the production of ὄλισβοι, 'dildoes', which may be mentioned by Sappho.[43]

Not surprisingly, then, the second-century lexicographer Phrynichus attests the mention of natron/νίτρον by Sappho:[44]

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energetic labours' (ὀμόρξασθαι γλύκυν ἴδρω … ὀτρηρῶν παυσαμένη καμάτων, lines 3–4) is a cheeky reworking of a lost Sapphic reference to such material in an erotic context (cf. Mesomedes 9 = *Ecphrasis of a sponge* 13–15 ἵνα σου κατὰ χιονέων μελῶν / λύσῃ μετὰ νύκτα, γύναι καλά, / κάματον †τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀμμάτων).

41 For a text and thorough discussion of the Elephantine papyrus see Yardeni (1994): I am grateful to Peter Haarer for directing me to this publication.

42 Alexis fr. 2 K.-A. = Ath. 11.502 f.

43 For the appearance of ὄλισβοι in Sappho's poetry see fr. 99 (a) 5 Campbell: ὀλισβ[ο]δοκοισ⟨ι⟩. As the editors point out to me, however, this papyrus fragment was assigned to Alcaeus by Voigt (her fr. 303A), and in the context the sense of ὄλισβο- may be 'plectrum' (cf. χόρδαισι in line 4), cf. Yatromanolakis (2007) 251–254, Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 125–126.

44 Fr. 189 = Phrynichus *Ecloga* 272 Fischer = 273 Rutherford.

> Νίτρον. τοῦτο Αἰολεὺς μὲν ἂν εἶπεν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ Σάπφω διὰ τοῦ ν, Ἀθηναῖος δὲ διὰ τὸ λ, λίτρον.
>
> *Nitron*. This is what an Aeolian would have said, as indeed does Sappho, with a *nu*. But an Athenian would have said it with a *lambda*, *litron*.

Why is Charaxos bringing Sappho things she wants, some of them perhaps closely related to her activity as an entertainer, from Naucratis? To humour her? More likely, I would guess, we have traces of a coordinated family business. Charaxos exports wine from the family's estates to Naucratis,[45] Larichus pours wine from these same estates in the *prytaneion* at Mytilene.[46] This activity of Larichus is often read together with a remark by a scholiast on the *Iliad* that Sappho said it was the custom for 'noble youths' (νέους εὐγενεῖς) to pour wine:[47] but without the context in which she said this—not necessarily the same poem as that to which Athenaeus refers—we cannot tell whether Larichus and his family are thus shown to be 'noble' (εὐγενεῖς) or whether the point was that Larichos was doing something that *normally* only εὐγενεῖς did. At the time of the new poem's composition Larichos seems to be still too young to fend for himself in a highly competitive adult male society, and his role in the *prytaneion* may be that not of a social equal but a social inferior. He may even be in the vulnerable position of the *oinochooi* on Attic vase-paintings, often naked, some of whom are clearly the passive objects of older men's sexual attention.[48]

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45 That Charaxos was 'importing Lesbian wine to Naucratis to trade' (οἶνον κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν Λέσβιον κατ' ἐμπορίαν) is stated by Strabo 17.1.33, 808c (cf. Ath. 13.596b), presumably ultimately on the basis of what could be inferred from Sappho's poetry. Möller (2000) 55 suggests that Charaxos 'takes the surplus from his estates' and should be seen 'more as a traveller than as a trader'. I tend to accept in full Strabo's κατ' ἐμπορίαν: without knowing the size of Charaxos' estate and the quality of its production we cannot judge whether he would have benefited his ἐμπορία by carrying other Mytileneans' wines as well as (or instead of) his own.

46 Test. 203 = Ath. 10.425a, attesting a poem in which Sappho praised Larichos in his capacity as wine-pourer in the *prytaneion* (ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῶι πρυτανείωι τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις).

47 Schol. T on *Iliad* 20.234 (V 41 Erbse) = Sappho test. 203c.

48 For the problem of interpreting the status of *oinochooi* on Attic vases see Topper (2012) 53–85 (a chapter entitled '*Eros*, Service and the *Oinochoos*'). For their possible sexual role, see Breitenberger (2007) 181–185.

Conclusions

The first part of this paper stated the case for seeing the first context of performance of many of Sappho's songs as the male symposium, and for seeing Sappho herself as an outstanding singer to the accompaniment of a *barbitos* or *lyra*, a singer whose virtuosity was such that she was also in demand for performance at weddings and perhaps civic religious rituals. I then offered a discussion of how several well-known pieces of Sappho's poetry that involve expressions of desire, *eros*, might be understood on this hypothesis. Finally I turned to the 'Brothers Poem', suggesting that the complexity of the sequence in which the singer commands her female addressee to command her to pray for Charaxos' safe return justifies emendation of ἔμε ('me') to ἔμα ('my things'). The addressee will thus be the absent Doricha herself; the song will be testimony to Sappho's own interest in some of the cargo with which Charaxos was hoped to return from Egypt; and it will be one of a number of songs in which male symposiasts, some of them known to Charaxos and perhaps even seeing themselves as his comrades, ἑταῖροι, were entertained by Sappho's expressions of loyalty to him and of her hostility to the entertainer in Naucratis who had led him astray.

PART 2

Brothers Song

CHAPTER 7

Sappho's Brothers Song and the Fictionality of Early Greek Lyric Poetry

André Lardinois

It is a good time to be working on Sappho.[1] Twelve years ago two new poems were published, including the so-called Tithonos poem, in which Sappho (or better: the I-person) complains about the onset of old age.[2] The number of publications devoted to this poem was starting to dry up, when suddenly a new set of papyri was discovered in 2014. One might be forgiven for suspecting that a creative papyrologist was behind these finds, but it looks like the papyri are genuine and that we owe them to the gods and to the enduring popularity of Sappho's poetry in antiquity.

The new discovery consists of five papyrus fragments, preserving the remains of no less than nine poems of Sappho.[3] Among these are five complete stanzas of a previously unknown song, which Obbink has labelled 'Brothers Poem' or 'Brothers Song'.[4] This article deals mainly with this poem, preserved on P. Sapph. Obbink and re-edited by Obbink in the opening chapter of this volume. The argument consists of four parts. First I will say something about the authenticity of the Brothers Song. Next I will discuss what we know about Sappho's brothers from the ancient biographical tradition and other fragments of Sappho. Then I will discuss the content of the Brothers Song in more detail and, finally, I will present my interpretation of the song.

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1 Oral versions of this paper were delivered at the universities of Amsterdam, Basel, Groningen, Leiden, Nijmegen and Oxford. I would like to thank the different audiences, as well as Toni Bierl, Vanessa Cazzato, Joel Lidov and Dirk Obbink, for their comments and suggestions. An earlier written version was published in Dutch (Lardinois [2014]), but I have changed my mind on several issues concerning the Brothers Song since then.

2 Gronewald and Daniel (2004a), (2004b) and (2007). For detailed discussions of this poem, see Buzzi and Aloni (2008), and Greene and Skinner (2009).

3 See Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

4 Obbink (2014b) and ch. 1, this volume.

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Authenticity

The papyrus on which the Brothers Song was written has been subjected to C14 analysis. This analysis dates it roughly to a period between the first and third century CE, a dating which agrees with the hand in which the text was written. The ink with which the text was written has been examined further through light spectrum analysis.[5] All indications are that the text dates from antiquity. This dating does not guarantee that the poem is authentic, since it leaves open the possibility that it is an ancient forgery. Both the biographical content of the poem and the old Lesbian dialect fit the literary taste of the time in which the papyrus was written, a period known in Greek literature as the Second Sophistic. However, the Brothers Song was found together with the fragments on P. GC Inv. 105, which derive from the first book of a Hellenistic edition of poems of Sappho.[6] That the Brothers Song was included in at least one other contemporary edition has been demonstrated convincingly by Simon Burris, who identified a very small fragment from the Oxyrhynchus papyri that overlaps with the text of this song. This is P. Oxy 2289 fragment 5, which is so small that it is not even included in Voigt's edition of Sappho's fragments.[7] The Brothers Song is therefore not an entirely new poem: we already possessed a tiny fragment of it. This fragment not only overlaps with letters at the beginning of the first strophe of the new Brothers song, but it also preserves five letters from the last two lines of the strophe that preceded the five preserved strophes on the new papyrus. Obbink has now rightly added these to his text of the song.[8]

Hellenistic scholars therefore already recognized the Brothers Song as being by Sappho and included it in at least some of their editions. That still allows for the possibility that it was an imitation of a Sapphic poem made in the fifth or fourth century BCE, but this is true of almost any fragment we have of Sappho. These fragments are derived from poems which the Hellenistic scholars *thought* Sappho had composed. It is not impossible that there were among these poems songs that were composed by other, anonymous Lesbian poets, fifth- or fourth-century imitations, and distorted versions of Sappho's original poems. In this case, however, we have a fifth-century witness, Herodotus, who informs us that Sappho composed a melic song about her brother Charaxos. This shows that by the end of the fifth century BCE songs about Charaxos were

5 Obbink (2014a) and, ch. 2, this volume.

6 P. GC. Inv. 105 frs. 1–4: see Burris, Fish and Obbink (2014) and Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

7 It is printed in Lobel & Page (1955) 11.

8 Obbink (2015a) and ch. 1, this volume.

circulating in the Greek world and were attributed to Sappho. I therefore see little reason to doubt that this song goes back to Sappho or at least to sixth-century BCE Lesbos, based on what we know about it today.

The Biographical Tradition

Sappho's brothers were already known to us from the biographical tradition attached to her in antiquity. An example is this short biography, dating back to the Hellenistic period and preserved on P. Oxy 1800:

> [Σαπφὼ τὸ μὲν γένος] ἦν Λε[σβία, πόλεως δὲ Μιτ]υλήνης, [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου, κα[τὰ δέ τινας Σκα]μανδρωνύ[μου· ἀδελφοὺς δ'] ἔσχε τρεῖς, ['Ερ]ί[γυιον καὶ Λά]ριχον, πρεσβύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον, ὃς πλεύσας ε[ἰς Αἴγυπτον] Δωρίχαι τινι προσε[νεχθε]ὶς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταύτην πλεῖστα· τὸν δὲ Λάριχον ⟨νέον⟩ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἠγάπησεν.[9]
>
> Sappho was a Lesbian by birth, from the city of Mytilene, her father was Skamandros or according to others Skamandronymos. She had three brothers: Erigyios and Larichos, and Charaxos, the oldest, who sailed to Egypt and, having met a certain Doricha, spent a great deal of money on her. She [= Sappho] was more fond of young Larichos.

Other ancient sources provide us with similar information.[10] Herodotus discusses Charaxos' affair with a courtesan, whom he calls Rhodopis and who is really his main interest. In Book 2 of his *Histories* he devotes two paragraphs to her (Hdt. 2.134–135), the second one of which begins as follows:

> Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός [μιν], ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ.
>
> Rhodopis came to Egypt having been brought there by Xanthos the Samian, and having been put to work, she was freed for a large sum of money by a man from Mytilene, Charaxos, the son of Skamandronymos and the brother of Sappho the poet.

9 Test. 252 (P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1).

10 Test. 253 (the *Suda*), test. 213A h (P. Oxy. 2506 fr. 48, col. Iii, vv. 36–48).

There follows a short paragraph in which Herodotus tells us more about Rhodopis. He then closes the paragraph with the following sentence: Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. ('When Charaxos returned to Mytilene, after he had freed Rhodopis, Sappho greatly [or repeatedly] criticized him in a song'.)

Because the personal pronoun μιν can refer to a woman as well as a man, it has been argued that Herodotus in this sentence is not saying that Sappho criticized him (Charaxos), but her (Doricha).[11] The word order of the sentence, however, strongly favours a reference to Charaxos. Charaxos' name is prominently placed as topic at the front of the whole sentence, outside the subordinate clause to which it syntactically belongs. In other sentences in Herodotus which are structured in this way, such a topic always returns in the main clause either as subject or object.[12] One expects the same here. Ovid too seems to have understood Sappho's poetry (or Herodotus' account) in this way, since he makes Sappho say in his *Heroides* that she often gave her brother good advice, while using a certain 'freedom' (*libertas*) of speech.[13] This *libertas* reads like a euphemism put by Ovid in the mouth of Sappho for the 'vehement criticism' Herodotus ascribes to her.[14] I therefore hold to the standard interpretation of this sentence, according to which Sappho criticized her brother Charaxos.[15] Later authors, such as Strabo and Athenaeus, identified Herodotus' Rhodopis with Doricha, whose name, unlike Rhodopis', they apparently did find in Sappho's poetry.[16]

We read more about her brother Larichos in Sappho testimonium 203. This testimonium contains two passages about Larichos. The first is a passage from Athenaeus: 'The lovely Sappho often praises her brother Larichos, because he poured the wine in the townhall for the Mytileneaeans' (Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις).

11 Ferrari (2014) 10 with earlier references. Add Bowie, this volume.

12 Hdt. 1.10.1, 1.34.3, 1.45.3, 1.48.1, 1.50.3, 1.74.3, 1.76.1, 1.83.1, 1.85.4, 1.114.4, etc. I owe these references to Helma Dik, and would like to thank her and Rutger Allan with whom I discussed this passage.

13 Ovid, *Her*. 15.67–68 (= test. 16 Campbell). Ovid's authorship of this poem has been disputed: see Morgan in this volume.

14 See Martin, this volume.

15 It should be noted, however, that no such 'strong criticism' of Charaxos is found in the surviving fragments of Sappho, including the new Brothers song, with the possible exception of fragment 15 (see below).

16 Strabo 17.1.33 and Athenaeus 13.596c. Doricha's name perhaps appears in fragments 7.1, 9.17 and 15.11: see below. Posidippus (*Ep*. 122 Austin & Bastianini) confirms that Sappho composed a song about Doricha.

A scholion to the *Iliad* adds to this: 'For it was custom, as Sappho also says, for handsome young noblemen to pour the wine' (ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σάπφω φησι, νέους εὐγενεῖς εὐπρεπεῖς οἰνοχοεῖν).[17] It seems reasonable to infer that this reported remark of Sappho's related to her brother Larichos pouring the wine in the townhall of Mytilene.

Several of the earlier known fragments of Sappho have already been connected to the biographical stories about her and her brothers. There is, first of all, fragment 5, the first poem of Sappho that Grenfell and Hunt discovered at Oxyrhynchus.[18] More of this song now can be restored thanks to the new papyrus find.[19] The references to a 'brother' (καcίγνητον) and a 'sister' (καcιγνήταν), conjectured by Blass, have now been confirmed. The names of the brother and sister do not appear in the fragment, but Burris, Fish and Obbink observe that line 6 contains a wordplay on Charaxos' name: the brother is asked to be a *chara* ('joy') to his friends or relatives (καὶ φίλοιcι ϝοῖcι χάραν γένεcθαι).[20]

In line 18 of fragment 5 the goddess Aphrodite is invoked. She is similarly addressed in fragment 15, which also probably deals with Charaxos. The only part of this fragment that is more or less readable is the last stanza. It has been restored in Campbell (1982a) as follows:

Κύ]πρι κα[ί c]ε πι[κροτάτ]α̣ν ἐπεύρ[οι
μη]δὲ καυχάς[α]ιτο τόδ' ἐννέ[ποιcα
Δ]ωρίχα, τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὠc πόθε[ννον
εἰc] ἔρον ἦλθε.

Cypris, and may he (or she) find you most bitter
and may Doricha not boast, telling this
how for a second time he (or she) came
to a love full of longing.

The appearance of the name of Doricha in this stanza is not entirely certain and the omega should in fact be dotted, as in Voigt. According to Joel Lidov the traces of the letter do not agree with an omega,[21] but Dimitrios Yatro-

17 Ath. 10.425a; Schol. T *Il.* 20.234 (V 41 Erbse). Cf. Eust. *Il.* 1205.17 ff. (= Sappho test. 203b): Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ καλὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οἰνοχοεῖν φηcι θεοῖc … ἡ δ' αὐτὴ Σαπφὼ καὶ τὸν Λάριχον ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆc ἐπαινεῖ ὡc οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τῆc Μυτιλήνηc.

18 Grenfell & Hunt (1898).

19 For the newly reconstructed text of this poem, see Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

20 Burris, Fish & Obbink (2014) 24.

21 Lidov (2002) 203.

manolakis reports that: 'so little is preserved from the letter before ρίχα in line 11 (Δ]ωρίχα)—and the position of the dot of ink preserved is so ambiguous—that it would be quite difficult to maintain that it is incompatible with an omega'.[22] I tend to agree with Yatromanolakis and therefore consider it not unlikely that Doricha's name stood here.

Doricha is the subject of the second clause ('may Doricha not boast …'), but probably not of the following subclause: it makes more sense that she would boast that her lover, whom the ancient commentators identified with Charaxos, came to her love than the other way around. In that case Charaxos is probably the subject of the first clause of the stanza as well: the speaker wishes that he find the goddess of love bitter and that he not go back to Doricha.[23] This stanza could then be part of the song in which Sappho 'heavily criticized' her brother Charaxos for his relationship with Doricha, as Herodotus reports, but other readings of this stanza are also possible.[24]

Other fragments that could possibly, though not necessarily, be connected with the story about Charaxos and Doricha are fragments 3, 7, 9 and 20. In fragment 3.4–5 the first person speaks about someone 'hurting' her (λύπηϲ τέ μ[ε), leading to a 'reproach' (ὄνειδοϲ). David Campbell remarks in a footnote that these lines are possibly addressed to Charaxos.[25] It is, however, equally possible that they are addressed to a beloved. In fragment 7 the name Doricha has been restored in line 1, although only the letters -χαϲ are, more or less, readable. A possible reference to her dealings with Charaxos is, however, contained in line 4, where someone may be said to have 'to pay the price for arrogance' (ὀφλιϲκ]άνην ἀγẹρωχίạ[ι).[26]

The newly reconstructed fragment 9 is more promising in this regard. Before the discovery of the new papyrus traces of only nine lines of this song were known from P. Oxy 2289. To these lines the new fragments add significant new readings as well as the remains of eleven more lines. Burris, Fish and Obbink point out that Doricha's name may have stood in line 17, although they admit that a word like τ]ύ̣χαν could equally have stood here.[27] There are further indications, however, that this fragment may have had something to do with the story of Charaxos and Doricha. The sentence starting in line 8 has a

22 Yatromanolakis (2007) 331.

23 Compare Ferrari (2010) 159, who translates: 'Cypris, and may he find you [more bitter] / nor Doricha ever boast, say[ing] that for the second time he came back long[ed for]'.

24 See Lidov, ch. 3, this volume.

25 Campbell (1982a) 59.

26 Ferrari (2010) 159 and (2014) 10.

27 Burris, Fish and Obbink (2014) 16. West (2014) 8 proposes μελλ]ίχαṿ.

male subject (οὗτος δẹ) and the following line contains a form of the adjective ἀβλάβης with a metrically short ending: either ἄβλα[βες or ἀβλά[βες', followed by a vowel. This word is reminiscent of ἀβλάβην ('unharmed') in the opening line of fragment 5. In line 19 we read the verb 'you owe' (ὀφέλλης̣), which could possibly apply to Charaxos. Martin West restores the first eight lines of the fragment as a conversation between Sappho and her mother,[28] but a prayer to Hera as 'mother' whose 'festival' (line 3) has to be celebrated, is possible as well (cf. fr. 17). In either case a complaint about Charaxos or a wish for his safe return may have been part of this song.[29]

According to the new arrangement of P. GC Inv. 105 and P. Sapph. Obbink, as proposed by West (2014) and accepted now by Obbink (ch. 2, this volume), this fragment stood between fragments 5 and the Brothers Song, both dealing with Charaxos. It may be that under the letter groupings in the Hellenistic edition of Sappho's poetry from which these fragments are derived, the editors deliberately placed the songs that they believed to be dealing with her brothers together.[30] This would be another argument in favour of fragment 9 dealing with the story of Charaxos and Doricha. It also would mean that the Hellenistic editors did not consider fr. 17, which started with π- but was not placed with the other brothers poems starting with π-, to be dealing with the return of Charaxos, as Caciagli argues.[31]

Finally there is fragment 20. In this fragment we read about a storm at sea and the loss of cargo. This could relate to one of Charaxos' sea voyages, but it could of course also be part of a different story.[32] We therefore cannot say with certainty that all these fragments relate to the story about Sappho and her brothers, but it does appear that the Brothers Song was not unique. Sappho composed a number of poems about her brothers.[33] Ancient biographers used these songs to reconstruct a narrative about Sappho and her brothers.

28 West (2014) 7–8.

29 See Dale (2015) 20. He connects this fragment with fragment 15.

30 See Obbink, ch. 2, this volume. Dale (2015), however, argues for a different arrangement: he connects fragment 9 with fragment 15 and places them before fragment 16. This would still be an example of a Charaxos Song (fr. 9/15) preceding a love song (fr. 16) in the o-series, just as fr. 5 and the Brothers Song precede the Kypris Song in the π-series.

31 Caciagli (2011) 153–155 and this volume.

32 Ferrari (2014) 12 with earlier references.

33 According to Athenaeus, Sappho 'often' (πολλαχοῦ) praised her brother Larichos (Ath. 10.425a = Sappho test. 203a, quoted above): this suggests that she composed more than one song about him too.

Commentary

One of the sources which the ancient biographers will undoubtedly have used to reconstruct Sappho's life is the new Brothers Song. The papyrus that contains five strophes of the song is exceptionally well preserved. Still there are a number of passages where people disagree over how to construe the Greek. I will first discuss these passages and then provide my interpretation of the poem.

In the fifth line of the newly constituted text of this song (Obbink, ch. 1) we find the aorist infinitive ἔλθην. Ever since the first publication of the fragment, scholars have debated whether this infinitive should be translated with a past tense ('Charaxos has come') or a future tense ('Charaxos will come').[34] It is dependent on θρύληϲθα, which means 'you babble' or 'you keep repeating'. After such a verb of speaking one would expect an infinitive construction of indirect discourse in which the aorist expresses a past tense, something like: 'you babble / you keep saying that Charaxos came with a full ship', but this translation does not fit the context. In the next sentence we read that the gods know this, but an event in the past, that Charaxos came with his ship, is something everyone could know, not only the gods.

One would therefore expect that ἔλθην refers to something in the future: that Charaxos might or will come with his ship, and it has been proposed that ἔλθην is a dynamic infinitive, similar to the infinitive found after verbs like θέλω or βούλομαι.[35] Such infinitives are sometimes found also after verbs of speaking.[36] An example is the following sentence in Xenophon's *Anabasis*: πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην.[37] It is clear from the context that this sentence must mean 'all said that those who started this must be punished' and not 'had been punished'. Similarly the first line of Sappho's song should read: 'but you always keep saying that Charaxos must come with his ship full'.

This construction can also be explained as a form of indirect discourse, not of a declarative sentence in the indicative, but of an original third person imperative ('let Charaxos come') or optative of wish ('may Charaxos come'). In such cases the infinitive preserves the original present or aorist aspect of the imperative or wish: in this case the aorist. According to Albert Rijksbaron, the aorist aspect in such constructions refers to a specific instance of the action described by the verb, whereas the present expresses the action of the verb in

34 E.g. Obbink (2014b) 42, West (2014) 8, Ferrari (2014) 3, Neri (2015) 57.

35 E.g. West (2014) 8.

36 Smyth (1984) 444.

37 Xen. *An.* 5.7.34.

general.[38] Here the aorist would indicate that Charaxos is at the moment of speaking at sea and expected to come home.

More recently Mark Griffith has proposed translating ἔλθηην not with 'to have come' but with 'to have gone, departed'.[39] This is theoretically possible, but not very likely. Forms of the verb ἔρχομαι elsewhere in Sappho and Alcaeus always seem to have the meaning of 'to come' (e.g. Sappho fr. 1.5, 8, 25), and that Charaxos departed with a full ship is something that, again, not only the gods but everyone would know.

Reading ἔλθηην as referring to Charaxos' coming in the future is therefore more likely. It also creates a nice opposition between the second and third strophe, and between the speaker and the addressee. The addressee *always keeps babbling* that Charaxos must come with a full ship. Instead he or she should be encouraging the speaker *to pray to Hera repeatedly* (a more helpful speech act than babbling), not that Charaxos come with *a full ship* but with *his ship safe* and find them unharmed. The speaker thus values their safety and the safety of Charaxos over the material gains the addressee hopes for.[40]

Several scholars have commented on the unusual syntax of these lines, including the presence of two emphatic pronouns, cέ and ἔμε, in lines 7–9 [3–5].[41] The sentence thus emphasizes the contrast between the speaker and the addressee rather than that between their actions. Joel Lidov (ch. 3) deduces from this that the pronouns must be the subjects of the two different sets of verbs governed by (οὐ) χρῆ in line 7 [3]: '*You* must not think about that, but *I* must send and order to pray to Hera, etc.' This is possible, but I don't think it is necessary. The emphatic pronoun cέ at the beginning of the sentence is intended foremost to draw a contrast with the preceding clause: 'Zeus and all the gods know this. *You* must not think about that …'. The emphatic ἔμε continues this train of thought: 'Zeus and all the gods know this. *You* must not think about that …, but you must send and order *me* (to speak to the gods about this)'. It marks a contrast with the 'you', whether one takes it as subject or object of πέμπηην καὶ κέλεcθαι. A problem with Lidov's interpretation is that πέμπηην καὶ κέλεcθαι are left without an explicit object, which, consequently, has to be reconstructed from the context outside the poem.[42] The construction with cέ as subject and ἔμε as object of πέμπηην καὶ κέλεcθαι avoids this problem.

38 Rijksbaron (2002) 109.

39 Griffith, cited by Obbink (2015a) 3. Similarly Martin, this volume.

40 Cf. Nünlist (2014), Bierl, ch. 14, and Stehle, this volume.

41 See Bierl, ch. 14, Bowie, and Lidov, ch. 3, this volume.

42 Lidov suggests that Sappho commands a chorus which on her behalf can go and pray to Hera.

Ewen Bowie (ch. 6) also takes the 'you' (cέ) as the subject of πέμπην καὶ κέλεcθαι, but is troubled by the fact that these two infinitives, according to the standard interpretation, refer to the same action (directing the speaker to pray to Hera). He therefore proposes to emend ἔμε to ἔμα and to postulate two different actions, thus translating: 'Don't you think of that, but both send my stuff and tell Charaxos to make supplications to queen Hera that he should arrive here bringing his ship safely.' In this case πέμπην καὶ κέλεcθαι would no longer refer to one and the same action, but to two different ones with two different direct objects. This emendation creates other problems, however. Firstly, the name Charaxos (line 12 [8]) appears too late in the sentence to be taken as object with κέλεcθαι (line 9 [5]): contrast πέμπην ἔμα, where verb and object are immediateley juxtaposed. Secondly, Bowie has to postulate the absent Doricha as the addressee (she would be with Charaxos in Egypt, from where she can send Sappho's stuff and order Charaxos to pray to Hera for his safe return). This makes one wonder how we are to imagine the communication between speaker and addressee in this poem taking place. Finally, Bowie is correct that *Iliad* 6.269–279, adduced by Lidov (ch. 3), is not a perfect parallel for the situation described in the Brothers Song, but it does distinguish the same two activities as being part of one act of supplication: Hector orders his mother Hecuba both to lead a procession to the temple of Athena and to vow twelve cows to her. I see no reason to abandon the standard interpretation of these lines, which makes the addressee the subject of πέμπην καὶ κέλεcθαι and connects both verbs to the act of supplication which the speaker offers to perform on behalf of Charaxos.

The speaker says that she hopes that Charaxos, when he returns, finds 'us' (ἄμμ') unharmed (13 [9]). This 'us' most likely refers to the speaker and addressee, since no other persons, besides Charaxos, have been mentioned in the poem so far. In line 21 [17], the same 'us' are connected to the other brother, Larichos. The word which the speaker uses in line 13 [9] for being unharmed (ἀρτ̣έ̣μεαc) is noteworthy. It is a fairly rare word, which in the *Iliad* is used for heroes who return from the battlefield unharmed.[43] It is another example of Sappho's use of martial and heroic language to describe her own, non-martial situation.[44] But what does it refer to here? Does she use it in the physical sense of 'unharmed' or does it possibly refer to some political or economic troubles in which they find themselves? The 'storms' the speaker mentions in the next stanza could refer to the dangers Charaxos might encounter at

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43 Hom. *Il.* 5.515 and 7.308. Nünlist (2014) adduces *Od.* 13.43, where the word is used in a slightly different sense, but also seems to refer to physical well-being. Stehle, this volume, argues for the meaning 'steadfast' or 'unshaken'.

44 Cf. Rissman (1983). This was first suggested to me by Casper de Jonge.

sea, but they could also point to the political troubles in which the speaker and addressee find themselves: Alcaeus often uses storms as metaphor for the political problems he encounters.[45] In any case, speaker and addressee appear to be in trouble even before Charaxos returns. While the addressee is convinced that these troubles will be over once Charaxos returns with his laden ship, the speaker is not.

The speaker instead puts her trust in the gods. They can provide good weather after a storm, and Zeus, if he pleases, can send a *daimon* who can turn people away from their troubles and make them blessed and fortunate. While the meaning of lines 17–20 [13–16] is clear, the syntax is not. One can take δαίμονα both as the subject and the object of the verb περτρόπην,[46] which is the Aeolic aorist infinitive of Attic περιτρέπω ('to turn around'). The genitive of the relative pronoun τῶν can be connected to δαίμονα ('their good spirit'), to πόνων ('their troubles'), or to ἐπάρωγον ('their helper'). I prefer to take it primarily with πόνων and to make δαίμονα the subject of the verb περτρόπην, thus translating: 'Those from whose troubles the king of Olympus wishes that a *daimon* as helper turn (them) away, they are blessed and full of good fortune.'

The syntax remains somewhat strained and West has therefore proposed to emend the word ἐπάρωγον to ἐπ' ἄρηον and to understand δαίμονα not as god or spirit but as 'fortune', translating: 'Those whose fortune the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship to the better, they come out blessed and prosperous.'[47] I don't think the syntax is so convoluted that it warrants this emendation and a likely echo of this passage in Theocritus 17.123–132 makes it improbable.[48] With δαίμονα in the sense of 'good spirit', this stanza furthermore creates a nice parallel with the next one: Zeus, if he wishes, can send a divine helper, whose role, in the case of Sappho, is matched by Larichos, once he becomes a man. One can, in fact, notice a number of parallels between the last and the two preceding stanzas, notably: ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣ / αἶψα πέ̣λ̣ο̣νται (15/16), ἐκ πόνων… ἤδη / περτρόπην (18/19) and ἐκ πόλλαν βα̣ρ̣υθ̣υ̣μίαν̣ κεν / αἶψα λύθειμεν (23/24).

The next question is the import of the word πολύολβοι in line 20 [16]. It can mean 'very wealthy' or 'very happy, rich in blessings'. The one other occurrence of the word in the fragments of Sappho, fr. 133, where it is applied to Aphrodite, does not resolve the ambiguity. Campbell, following LSJ, translates the word here with 'rich in blessings',[49] but a materialistic reading cannot be excluded

45 Page (1955) 179–197, Heirman (2012) 151–157.

46 See Rijksbaron (2002) 99 on the two possible constructions with βούλομαι.

47 West (2014) 9. Similarly Ferrari (2014) 2–3.

48 Bierl, ch. 14, and Obbink, ch. 9, this volume, quoting Henrichs (forthcoming).

49 Campbell (1982a) 151.

either. In the Brothers Song, Sappho pairs the word with μάκαρες, which does have a spiritual meaning ('happy, blessed'). It is unclear, however, if she wants to use πολύολβοι as a synonym of μάκαρες here to reinforce its meaning ('those whom Zeus helps are happy and blessed'), or as an added benefit ('happy and rich'). This is not without significance for the interpretation of the song. The speaker and addressee disagree, after all, as to what will bring them salvation: Charaxos' material goods or Hera's help and the blessings of the gods that keep them safe. It is possible that with the word πολύολβοι the speaker wants to suggest that, if they trust in the gods, they can have both: blessings (μάκαρες) and material riches (πολύολβοι).[50] Both are probably relevant to the situation they find themselves in. The poem, in fact, works better if the outside audience, unlike the speaker and addressee in the poem, already assumes that Charaxos, when he comes back, will not return with a full ship, for example because they already know from other songs of Sappho that he squandered the family's fortune on a courtesan named Doricha. This would ensure that the audience understood the speaker's worries about Charaxos' chances of coming back with a loaded ship and great fortune, and that it sided with the speaker in the poem from the outset.

The last stanza of the poem contains further ambiguities. The first line of this stanza includes the expression 'if Larichos lifts his head', if this is what was originally in the poem, because the text of the papyrus actually reads: 'if Larichos lifts *the* head' (αἴ κε τὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η).[51] In order to produce the more likely reading 'his head', it is necessary to emend the text to ϝὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η, now also accepted by Obbink.[52] The use of the article as an unemphatic possessive pronoun, common in classical and later Greek, is otherwise not attested in the Lesbian poets, especially where 'words meaning parts of the person' are concerned,[53] and ϝ is easily mistaken for τ, especially when the result agrees with contemporary Greek idiom. According to Edgar Lobel's analysis of the use of the definite article in the Lesbian poets, if they want to say 'Larichos lifts his head', they use the word 'head' (κεφάλαν) by itself, with the possessive pronoun (ϝὰν κεφάλαν), or with the possessive pronoun and an article (τὰν ϝὰν κεφάλαν), but never with just the article (τὰν κεφάλαν).[54]

50 This is the way Stehle, this volume, reads the line. Bierl, ch. 14, this volume, argues for a spiritual meaning, connected to the mysteries.

51 This was first pointed out to me by Joel Lidov.

52 Obbink, Ch. 1, this volume.

53 Lobel (1927) lxxxii.

54 Idem, lxxxi–lxxxii. Lobel allows for one exception, when a word denoting a body-part is accompanied by a predicative adjective (§ 26, pp. xci–xcii), but this does not apply here.

If we accept the reading αἴ κε ϝὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η ('if Larichos lifts his head'), how is it meant: literally or figuratively? In Greek literature the expression is most often used literally,[55] but it is hard to see what a literal meaning could signify here. Christopher Pelling and Maria Wyke have suggested that Larichos was perhaps dangerously ill and is asked to lift his head from his sickbed,[56] but the problem with this interpretation is that we are never told about Larichos' sickness in the poem nor in the biographical tradition.

In some passages in Greek literature the expression 'raise your head up' can be understood metaphorically, for example in Euripides, *Supp*. 289, where Theseus seems to be asking his mother to control herself. A parallel has been drawn with the lifting of the head in boxing.[57] Another passage that may be relevant to Sappho's use of the term, is Sophocles, *OT* 22–24, where the city is described as being unable to raise its head when drowning in a storm at sea. Is Larichos expected to 'lift up his head' to weather the 'storms' described in lines 15–16? In all these cases, in which the phrase is used metaphorically, the persons to whom it applies are asked to pick themselves up and to stand firm. This is probably what it means here too. A metaphorical reading of 'raising his head' is further suggested by the word βα̣ρυθ̣υ̣μίαι̣ in the third line of the strophe (23 [19]): The 'heavy-heartedness' the speaker and addressee currently suffer is 'lifted' by the raising of Larichos' head.[58]

The expression is coupled with the speaker's wish that Larichos in time become a man (22 [18]). Unfortunately this expression also allows for different interpretations: ἄνηρ γίγνεσθαι can mean 'to become an adult' (ἄνηρ indicating an age group), 'to become a gentleman' (ἄνηρ indicating a class) or 'to become a husband / get married' (ἄνηρ denoting 'husband', as often in Sappho: e.g. fr. 16.7). What should it mean here? Probably, as Obbink argues, all of the above: '[Larichos] should become a man. Presumably this would include aristocratic demeanor, noble marriage, transfer of wealth, and production of legitimate off-

Neri (2015) 66 n. 97 defends the reading of the papyrus by arguing that the word is used here not in the sense of 'head' but in the metaphorical sense of 'life' or 'person', but also in the parallels he cites for this meaning from Homer and the tragedians it does not occur with the article alone (see my next note), nor is this to be expected, since metaphors follow the syntax of the vehicle, not the tenor.

55 E.g. Hom. *Il*. 10.80, Aes. *Cho*. 496, Eur. *Hec*. 500, *Tro*. 98–99. For more parallels see the commentary of Fries (2014) on Eur. *Rh*. 7 and 789. The expression is used in these cases without the article or with article and possessive pronoun (Aes. *Cho*. 496).

56 Pelling and Wyke (2014) 43.

57 Bierl, ch. 14, Lidov, ch. 3, and Obbink, ch. 9, this volume.

58 This was first suggested to me by Casper de Jonge.

spring'.[59] Alternatively, it has been argued that Larichos is already an adult, but needs to behave like one: ἄνηρ γίγνεςθαι, after all, can also mean 'to behave like a man, to be brave'.[60] The aorist aspect of the subjunctive argues against this interpretation, however. It indicates that Larichos is expected at a specific moment in the future to 'become a man' rather than to behave like one continuously. When Electra instructs Orestes to behave like a man in Euripides' *Electra* 694, she uses a present infinitive.

We know more about Larichos' situation from the biographical tradition. As we have seen above, Athenaeus reports that Sappho praised him for pouring the wine in the townhall of Mytilene, and a scholion to the *Iliad* adds that this was a custom reserved for 'young, well-born and handsome men' (νέους εὐγενεῖς εὐπρεπεῖς).[61] Whether one belonged to the 'well-born' elites or not, was for most aristocratic Greek families a contested matter: one had to be recognised as such.[62] By being allowed to pour the wine in the townhall Larichos proves that he (and his family!) belong to the local elite. This in turn holds great promise for the future, because when Larichos grows up and becomes an adult, he can, as a result, marry into a good family, become a gentleman, etc. I believe that this is what the speaker hopes for when she wishes that Larichos lift up his head and become a man. Larichos' position as wine pourer in the townhall may have been spoken of in the missing strophe(s) at the beginning of the poem.[63] Another way to gain access to the elite was by amassing wealth through 'risky long-distance maritime trade expeditions'.[64] This is the strategy Charaxos appears to have adopted and in which the addressee puts his or her trust.[65]

Some interpreters assume that the speaker in this last strophe criticizes Larichos as being lazy (if this is what '[not] lifting his head' can mean) and not quick enough in proving himself a man.[66] This depends in part on how δή ποτε in line 23 [19] is to be understood: this combination of particles can express impatience ('finally'), but also a neutral attitude toward the progress of time ('in time').[67] I understand δή ποτε here in this second way and read it as an echo of ἤδη in line 18: Zeus 'in time' (ἤδη) sends a helpful *daimon*, if he wants

59 Obbink (2014b) 35 and ch. 9, this volume.
60 Martin, this volume.
61 Sappho test. 203, quoted above.
62 Wecowski (2014) 23–26 with earlier bibliography.
63 Cf. Obbink (2015a) and ch. 2, this volume.
64 Wecowski (2014) 24.
65 Cf. Raaflaub, this volume.
66 Martin and Stehle, this volume.
67 Denniston (1954) 213.

to make people happy and blessed, and for us (κἄμμες, 21 [17]) good fortune will take the form of Larichos, when 'in time' (δή ποτ') he becomes a man. A positive reading of these lines also agrees better with the ancient testimonia, which tell of Sappho praising Larichos and being fonder of him than of her older brothers.[68]

Interpretation

In order to understand this song of Sappho it is of primary importance to determine who Charaxos and Larichos are, what their relationship is to the speaker, and who the speaker and addressee are. The ancient tradition understood Charaxos, Larichos and the speaker to be brothers and sister. It must have based this idea on Sappho's poetry, and the extant fragments indeed contain some indications that this was the most likely nature of their relations. Fragment 5 is spoken by a sister to a brother who may be identified as Charaxos, if one accepts the pun on his name in line 6 of this poem (see above).[69] This identification is strengthened by the fact that the situation of the brother in this poem is very similar to that of Charaxos in the Brothers Song: he is away with his ship at sea and expected to come home. In the Brothers Song the speaker offers to pray to Hera, while in fragment 5 she prays to the Nereids for his safe return. Charaxos thus appears to be the brother of the speaker in both songs. Charaxos' relationship with the speaker and addressee in the Brothers Song is implicitly compared to that of Larichos, who, according to the speaker, can provide for them in a way Charaxos does not. Therefore the ancients were probably right in understanding Charaxos, Larichos and the speaker as being brothers and sister.

One might add to this that the speaker in the Brothers Song is most likely a woman. The wording of the song does not reveal the gender of the speaker, but most speakers in Sappho's poems, when we can identify them, are women, and the situation in this poem, as we have seen, resembles that of fragment 5, where the speaker is identified as a sister. Neither in this fragment nor in the Brothers

68 Test. 213a and 252, both quoted above.

69 Lidov (ch. 3) argues that the speaker in fragment 5 does not have to be the sister, since she is spoken of in the third person (fr. 5.9), but if the speaker is not the sister mentioned in this line, he or she is never identified in the song and it would become very hard to understand. One then has to assume that (only) the performance context would have made clear who the 'brother', the 'sister' and the speaker were. This is not what we commonly find in Sappho's (extant) poetry.

Song does the speaker explicitly identify herself as Sappho, however, the way the speaker does, for example, in Sappho fragments 1 or 94. This is significant, because it makes it easier for other women, besides Sappho, to perform these songs and so pretend to be the sister of Charaxos and Larichos. I believe that the speaker could be identified with Sappho, as the ancients apparently did, but other women could perform these songs and pretend to be the sister of Charaxos and Larichos as well. I will come back to this.

For now let us accept that Sappho is the speaker and Charaxos and Larichos are her brothers. Who then is the addressee? Obbink lists various possibilities: a concerned friend or family member, Charaxos' lover, the speaker's companions, or the speaker herself in a form of reflective self-address.[70] Most scholars prefer the first option, namely a concerned friend or family member, and this seems to me, too, to be the best option. Obbink opts for the mother and has been followed in this by West, Franco Ferrari, Camillo Neri and Leslie Kurke.[71] Both René Nünlist and Anja Bettenworth, however, have raised some reasonable objections against this idea,[72] of which the most cogent is the absence of a reason why the mother would have to send Sappho to pray to Hera rather than do this herself. It has been suggested that she is too old,[73] but this is not mentioned as a reason in the poem, and if Larichos is her son and not yet a man, she cannot be very old.

I believe that the addressee is a man and that Sappho proposes that he send her to go to pray to Hera, because this is something she can do better than he. Neri objects that this man could have taken over the role of Charaxos and provided for Sappho the way she now hopes Larichos will do,[74] but this reasoning assumes that the addressee is able and willing to do this. She may be implicitly criticizing him for doing nothing except 'babbling' and relying on the fortunes of Charaxos instead. In this exchange a subtle gender opposition might be detected, not unlike that found in other Sapphic songs, notably fragment

70 Obbink (2014b) 41. For a complete list of possibilities suggested till now, see Neri (2015) 58–59.

71 West (2014) 8, Ferrari (2014) 4, Neri (2015) 60, Kurke, this volume. The supplement Obbink proposes (ch. 9), following a hesitant suggestion of West, in line 4 (cέ, μᾶ[τερ) to support his claim that the person addressed is Sappho's mother, is far from certain. As West remarks, there is very little space before these letters to fit two more syllables, which the metre would require (West [2014] 9), but see Obbink's defence of the possibility in ch. 9, this volume.

72 Nünlist (2014), Bettensworth (2014). Cf. Bierl, ch. 14, this volume.

73 Hammersteadt, quoted by Obbink (2014b) 41.

74 Neri (2015) 59.

16.[75] While the male interlocutor makes the economical argument that all their problems are solved if Charaxos delivers the goods, the female counters that trust in the gods and the good reputation of Larichos count for more.[76]

If we accept that the addressee is male and most likely a family member of Sappho, Charaxos and Larichos, there are three possibilities:

1) The adressee is Sappho's father
2) The addressee is Sappho's husband
3) The adressee is Sappho's third brother, Erigyios.[77]

Sappho's father can be excluded. Ovid in his *Heroides* informs us that Sappho's father died when she was six years old.[78] We do not know, of course, if Ovid or his source did not make up this detail, but if there was a poem preserved in Book 1 of Sappho in which an (almost) adult Sappho speaks to her father, it is unlikely that someone would have invented this detail. I think we can exclude Sappho's husband as well. He is a problematic character in Sappho's biography any way,[79] and it would be odd if he had to rely on Sappho's brothers, including the young Larichos, for his fortune and fame. This leaves the third brother, who in the ancient biography I quoted above is called Erigyios, but in other sources Eurygios.[80] I am surprised that in the discussion about the identity of the addressee in this poem so far, this option has not been considered, because he seems to be the most obvious candidate.[81] With Sappho's father dead and Charaxos, who was the oldest brother (test. 252), away at sea, Eurygios would be the *kurios* of Sappho, her mother and her younger brother, Larichos, according to Greek family custom.[82] As Sappho's *kurios*, he would have the proper

75 See also Stehle and Bierl, ch. 14, in this volume.

76 On the association of men with economic affairs and women with religion and concern for the reputation of the family in ancient Greece, see, for example, Vernant (1963).

77 Bierl, ch. 14, this volume, mentions a fourth possibility, namely that the addressee is Sappho's uncle, but he is never mentioned in the *testimonia* of Sappho, which would be surprising, if he played a prominent role in one or more of her songs. The same objection holds for Bettenworth's suggestion (2014) that the addressee is Sappho's nurse.

78 Ovid, *Her*. 15.61–62 (= test. 13 Campbell). Cf. Obbink, ch. 9, this volume.

79 Parker (1993) 309.

80 Test. 253 (Suda). For a defence of the name Eurygyios, see Caciagli, this volume.

81 I already made this suggestion in Lardinois (2014) 191. See now also Caciagli, this volume.

82 Blundell (1995) 114. Unless we are supposed to imagine Sappho as already being married at the time when this poem is set, in which case her husband would be her *kurios*. Since her brother Larichos is still a young man in the poem, we are made to think that the speaker is not very old either. Cf. Ferrari (2014) 1 and Obbink (2015a) 3.

authority to order Sappho to pray to Hera on behalf of their brother, while being at the same time close enough to Sappho in age and social position for her to address him the way she does in the opening lines of the fragment.[83] His name must have been mentioned somewhere in Sappho's poetry to have made it into the biographical tradition and the Brothers Song is as good candidate as any poem. He was probably identified as the addressee in the lost opening stanza(s).

Now that we have postulated who Charaxos, Larichos, the speaker and the addressee are, we should ask ourselves if we are supposed to believe that these were Sappho's real brothers or whether we are to take them instead as fictional characters. We should not forget that there were more songs about Sappho and her brother besides the Brothers Song. Such a collection of songs about the poet and a series of characters is quite unique. The only parallel in archaic Greek poetry I can think of are the songs Archilochus composed about his dealings with Lykambes and his daughters. Archilochus criticizes and makes fun of them in a series of poems, including the famous Cologne epode.[84] The Brothers Song resembles this epode in its use of an extensive dialogue between a first person speaker and his or her addressee.[85]

In the case of Archilochus three scenarios have been proposed with respect to the identity of Lykambes and his two daughters. They were either 1) fictionalised characters, but based on real-life persons who were known to the original audience, 2) purely fictional characters, or 3) cultic figures.[86] There is no consensus yet on which of these scenarios fits Archilochus' poetry best, and our findings about Sappho's songs about her brothers could throw new light on Archilochus' poems about Lykambes and his daughters too.

The Brothers Song does seem to refer to the cult of Hera at the ancient site of Messon,[87] but nothing in the song warrants us to believe that it was actually performed there. The names of Charaxos and Larichos can be given

83 There is a tradition in Greek literature of sisters lecturing brothers: see Peponi, this volume. The poem in which, according to Herodotus, Sappho 'heavily criticized' (κατεκερτόμησε) her brother Charaxos (Hdt. 2.135), would fit this tradition.

84 Archilochus fr. 196a. For a discussion of the sources about Lykambes and his daughters, see Kivilo (2010) 104–106.

85 Martin, this volume, draws a parallel between the Brothers Song and Archilochus fr. 196a as well.

86 Fictionalised real persons: Carey (1986), Slings (1990); purely fictional characters: Henderson (1976); cultic figures: West (1974).

87 See Pirenne-Delforge & Pironti (2014); also Bierl, ch. 14, Boedeker, Caciagli, Lidov, ch. 3, Nagy, and Obbink, ch. 9, in this volume.

cultic significance,[88] but this is true of almost any Greek name. One could point to the figure of Phaon as another example of a cultic figure who later became attached to the ancient biography of Sappho: he was a local variant of the god Adonis, but by the fourth century BCE he was known as Sappho's lover.[89] In this case, however, there is external evidence that Phaon was a cultic figure on Lesbos (test. 211), while in the case of Sappho's brothers there is none. Some of the details of their story also argue against such a cultic status, such as the fact that Larichos was said to have served the wine in the townhall of Mytilene.

I consider it very likely, however, that the two brothers were fictional characters. For one thing, they never seem to change or to grow up. It is of course tricky to argue from silence, when so much of the work of a poet is lost, but it is striking that when Charaxos is mentioned in the extant poetry of Sappho or in the biographical tradition, it is always in connection with his absence from home and his affair with Doricha. We do not hear if he later settled down (or not), got a wife and children, etc. Similarly, Sappho 'often' praised Larichos for serving the wine in the townhall of Mytilene, according to Athenaeus, but neither in the biographical tradition nor in the extant fragments of Sappho do we hear anything else about him. He seems to be frozen in this state of being a "Ganymede". This is more suggestive of fictional characters than of real persons whom Sappho had the occasion to sing about in the course of her and their lives.

If Charaxos was Sappho's real brother, it is difficult to understand why she would publicly scold him in her poetry, as Herodotus reports and fragment 15 seems to suggest. It would be an extreme case of airing the family's dirty laundry and Sappho herself would contribute to the bad reputation of the family she expresses concern about in fragment 5 and in the Brothers Song. This circumstance constitutes an important difference with the songs of Archilochus about Lycambes and his family, because Archilochus supposedly shamed them deliberately with his poems. If one wishes to maintain that Charaxos was Sappho's real brother, one has to postulate a performance situation in which such a critical stance toward a real brother would be permissible and accepted. One can think of an intimate, family gathering, but why would Sappho compose a song for such an occasion? At a family get-together she could scold her brother just as well in regular speech. While composing songs about her brothers, she must have known that they would circulate beyond the family circle at some point, as they ultimately did. Such is the nature of songs.

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88 See Bierl, ch. 14, Lidov, ch. 3, and Obbink, ch. 9, in this volume.

89 Bowra (1961) 212–214, Nagy (1973).

Another possible scenario is the songs' performance at wedding banquets or women's festivals. There is some evidence that Greek women sang songs at wedding banquets in which they mocked men: traces of such songs are preserved among the fragments of Sappho.[90] Similarly at some women's festivals, such as the Thesmophoria in Athens, women made fun of men, both real and fictional.[91] But the Brothers Song, like the other songs about Sappho's brothers, such as fragment 5, lacks the light-hearted character of those comic compositions (*pace* Wright 2015). All in all it seems more likely that Charaxos, Larichos and Eurygios were fictional characters rather than Sappho's real-life brothers.

The difference between fictional and real, historical brothers may ultimately not be so great, however, for even real-life persons are necessarily abstracted and fictionalised in the process of composing a song. For if Sappho's songs about her brothers or Archilochus' compositions about Lycambes and his daughters were based on real-life persons, we should ask ourselves the question why ancient audiences would be interested in listening to such songs about the personal vicissitudes of these poets? It must be because these poets generalize from their own experiences. As Chris Carey, who believes that Lycambes and his daughters were based on real persons, puts it:

> As a general rule, the archaic solo poet uses his own person and represents the events he narrates or judges as belonging to his own life or the lives of those around him. But though he writes about himself he usually sees two aspects to his experience, the individual and the general. It is as a rule true that the archaic monodists use their own experience to express a truth of general validity. The poet rarely concentrates upon the details of his life; he seeks rather to use his own experience to inform others.[92]

This has consequences for the other songs of Sappho as well, such as her love songs about Atthis, Anactoria and the other women. We probably should not interpret these as personal declarations of love, but rather as general reflections about the vicissitudes of love and the erotic appeal of young women.[93]

90 Lardinois in Lardinois & Rayor (2014) 135. See Sappho frs. 110, 121 and 138.

91 O'Higgins (2001) and (2003) esp. 15–36.

92 Carey (1986) 67. See also Bakker (1998), Calame (2005) 5; and on Sappho in the Brothers Song: Nagy, Peponi, and Stehle in this volume.

93 I still believe that most of the women whom Sappho sings about in her songs, such as Atthis and Anactoria, are young women of marriageable age: Lardinois (1994) *contra* Parker (1993), Stehle (1997) esp. 263–311, and Schlesier (2013). See also Bierl, ch. 14, this volume.

Similarly, even if Charaxos, Larichos and Eurygios were Sappho's real brothers, the songs she sang about them would address the concerns of any sister confronted with irresponsible older brothers or promising younger ones. This general applicability would make these songs suitable for (re)performances by other women, including performances at cultic festivals, such as the cult of Hera at Messon, or other public venues, such as wedding banquets, just as much as songs about stock characters or legendary figures. I still consider it more likely that Charaxos, Larichos and Eurygios were recognised by Sappho's original audience as fictional characters, for the reasons I stated above, but if they are based on real brothers of Sappho, the meaning of these song would not necessarily be very different.

What then is the meaning of these songs? In my opinion they served as *exempla* that address a number of anxieties that haunted aristocratic Greek families: the loss of family capital and reputation, the risks of trading at sea, the allure of foreign courtesans, and strife between family members. Some of these themes are reminiscent of Hesiod's *Works & Days*, such as the quarrel with a bad brother or the risk of trading at sea; others of Theognis, such as the loss of family capital and reputation. These are themes that transcend Sappho, her family and Lesbos and made these songs interesting for future generations of Greek listeners and readers too, which is why we can still find them in the sands of the Egyptian desert today.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued for the authenticity of the Brothers Song in the sense that I believe that it was composed in Lesbos in the 6th century BCE. I have examined the biographical tradition about Sappho and her brothers and argued that there were more songs about these brothers among the poetry of Sappho, including fragments 5, 9 and 15. The Brothers Song is not unique in this respect. I have analysed the text of this song in some detail and discussed some of its syntactical and idiomatic problems.

Finally, I have presented my interpretation of the song. I have argued that Charaxos, Larichos and the speaker should be considered brothers and sister and that the addressee is most likely the person who in the biographical tradition is identified as Sappho's third brother, Eurygios. I further have argued that these figures were probably fictional characters. The songs about these brothers address themes that are familiar from other archaic Greek poets as well. Sappho, however, manages to render these themes in a poetic style that is unique to her and that makes us believe her characters are real.

CHAPTER 8

Hera and the Return of Charaxos

Deborah Boedeker

The longest of the new Sappho fragments, the 'Brothers Poem' or, as I prefer to call it, the 'Charaxos Poem', engages its twenty-first century audience with a number of questions, to which contributors to this volume propose a variety of solutions.[1] Who is the speaker's silent interlocutor? Are Charaxos and Larichos historical brothers of Sappho, or 'types' in a Lesbian poetic or ritual tradition? How does the first-person speaker relate to each of these male figures, and to the interlocutor? What is meant by the wish at the end of the poem that Larichos 'lift his head' and 'become a man?'

Introduction: Hera in the Charaxos Poem

Even with so many matters still under lively debate, readers can agree that the song reflects a world of seafaring and trade,[2] as seen in its focus on a safe return 'here' (τυίδε, line 11) with a 'full ship' (νᾶϊ cὺν πλήαι, 6) by Charaxos (5 and 12), known to the biographical tradition as a trader and a brother of Sappho.

ἀλλ' ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
νᾶϊ cὺν πλήαι. τὰ μέν̣ οἴ̣ομ̣αι Ζεῦc
οἶδε cύμπαντέc τε θέοι· cὲ δ̣'οὐ χρῆ
ταῦτα νόηcθαι,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεcθαι
πόλλα λί̣ccεcθαι βαcί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἤ̣ραν

1 It is a pleasure to thank Anton Bierl and André Lardinois, organizers and editors *par excellence*. For discussion and feedback I am grateful to them and to other contributors to this volume, to fellow-participants at a symposium on the new fragments held at Bard College in October 2014, and to a gracious audience at the University of Leiden. None of the above, needless to say, is responsible for this paper's shortcomings.

2 On archaic trade as related to figures such as Charaxos, see Raaflaub's contribution to this volume.

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ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
νᾶα Χάραξον

κἄμμ’ ἐπεύρην ἀρτ̣έ̣μεας. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα
πάντα δαιμόνεσς̣ιν ἐπ̣ι̣τ̣ρόπωμεν·
εὔδιαι̣ γὰρ̣ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣
αἶψα πέ̣λ̣ο̣νται.

τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω
δαίμον’ ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μ̣άκαρες πέλονται
καὶ πολύολβοι·

κ̣ἄμμες, αἴ κε ϝὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η
Λάρι̣χος καὶ δή ποτ’ ἄνη̣ρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ’ ἐκ πόλλαν βαρ̣υθυ̣μίαν̣ κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν. ⊗

you keep chattering about Charaxos coming
with his ship full. Zeus knows these things,
I believe, and all the gods.
You should not think about this,

but instead send me, urge me
to pray profusely to Queen Hera
that Charaxos return here
guiding his ship safe

and find us unharmed. Everything else
let us turn over to the higher powers,
for from great gales clear skies
quickly emerge.

Whomsoever the King of Olympus wishes
a helper *daimon* to turn away now from troubles,
they become blessed
and very fortunate.

And we too—if ever Larichos
should raise his head and become a man—

we too would quickly be freed
24 from the many cares weighing down our hearts.

Hera's help is relevant not just to Charaxos but also to those awaiting his return. The goddess should be asked to bring the seafarer back with a safe ship (ϲάαν…νᾶα, lines 11–12), and also to let him find 'us' ἀρτ̣έ̣μεαϲ 'safe and sound' (line 13).[3] René Nünlist shrewdly comments that this prayer suggests trouble at home, not just at sea, noting that *Odyssey* 13.42–43 presents a close parallel to the (imagined or implicit) situation of Charaxos returning to his loved ones. In that passage, Odysseus bids farewell to his Phaeacian host Alkinoos with the wish, 'May I find my blameless wife at home when I return, with my dear ones safe and sound' (σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν).[4] This statement suggests that Odysseus suspects or fears something like the critical situation (well-known to the epic audience) that threatens Penelope, Telemachus, and his loyal servants on Ithaca.

This rare poetic word, of unknown etymology, is used only twice more in archaic epic, as many commentators on this passage have pointed out, both times from the perspective of those who perceive a dear one unexpectedly returning unharmed from what had threatened to be grave danger. When Aeneas returns to the battlefield after being wounded by Diomedes and then secretly healed in Apollo's sanctuary, his comrades were amazed and overjoyed 'as they saw him come back alive and unharmed' (ὡς εἶδον ζωόν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα, Homer *Iliad* 5.515). The same line is used in *Iliad* 7.308, when Hector returns safe from his (supposedly) mortal combat with Ajax.

In the Charaxos Poem, at line 9 the focalization subtly shifts from those who await the return of Charaxos to the voyager's own perspective, as he (it is to be hoped!) 'arrives (ἐξίκεϲθαι) guiding his ship safely here', and 'finds (ἐπεύρην) us safe and sound' (lines 11–13). Thus, Hera is asked to bring about relief and safety for both sides, the voyager and those awaiting him.

The speaker's concerns are apparent. But why should Hera be the god to beseech in this situation? Her prominence in the song, although limited to a few lines, is striking: in standard works on Greek religion she has little or nothing to do with seafaring and trade,[5] and she is mentioned very rarely in

3 Bierl (ch. 14), in this volume, suggests that ἀρτ̣έ̣μεαϲ would call to mind the protection of the chaste Artemis; I believe that the association, while possible, would not be especially resonant for Sappho's audience.

4 Nünlist (2014). Similarly, Ferrari (2014) 3–4; Morgan, in this volume. Nünlist also lists, without comment, the other Homeric attestations of ἀρτεμής.

5 No such connection is mentioned, for example, in the sections on Hera in Burkert (1985) 131–

the corpus of Sappho. This contribution examines the goddess's relevance in the new song, in light of a larger religious-historical context.

Sappho's Hera

Although Hera is frequently associated with marriage in Greek cults and iconography,[6] she appears neither in Sappho's epithalamia nor in her narrative of the wedding of Hector and Andromache (fr. 44). Prior to the publication of the Green Collection papyri, in fact, the only secure attestation of Hera's name was at fr. 17.2.[7] In that fragment, which has now been expanded by the new papyri, Hera is also associated with the hope of finding a way home by sea.

⊗
πλάσιον δὴ μ̣[. . . . .]μ̣έ̣ν̣οις' ἀ[. . . .]ω,
πότνι' ῏Ηρα, cὰ χ[αρίε]ς̣ς̣' ἐόρτ[α][8]
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτ[ρέϊδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηcαν-
τ' οἰ βαcίληεc,

ἐκτελέccαντεc μ[εγά]λ̣οιc ἀέθλοις̣
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ἴ̣[λιον]· ἄψερον δὲ̣
τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τεc, ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν γὰρ̣ εὔρη̣[ν]
οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο,]

πρὶν cὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ίαον] π̣εδέλθην̣
καί Θυώναc ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα·

Nearby …
Queen Hera, a festival for your [sake],
that the kings, the sons of Atreus,
had vowed to celebrate

135, Farnell (1896) 179–204, Nilsson (1967) 427–433, or *Der Neue Pauly* (= Graf 1998); nor does Hera's maritime role appear in the general discussions of Greek gods in Mikalson (2010) or Parker (2011). A notable exception is a paragraph on Hera's role vis-à-vis seafarers in Simon (1969) 45–46.

6 Cults: Burkert (1985) 132–133, Nilsson (1967) 429–432, Farnell (1896) 185–192 and 195–198. Iconography: Oakley and Sinos (1993) 12 and *passim*, Ley (1998).

7 Voigt (1971) supplemented Ἥραι at fr. Sappho 9.4, but the new papyrus (P. GC inv. 105, fr. 1) shows that the correct reading is ὤραι.

8 In line 2, I have adopted the supplements proposed by Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014).

when they had completed great labors,
first around Troy and later stopping
here, for they could not
find the seaway

before seeking you and Zeus, god of
suppliants, and Thyone's alluring son.

SAPPHO fr. 17.1–10 (trans. RAYOR, modified)

As scholars have long noted,[9] the narrative in fr. 17.3–10 recalls an episode in the *Odyssey*, 3.168–175, where Nestor (who does not appear in Sappho's version) tells Telemachus about a critical stop he made at Lesbos in the voyage home from Troy.

168 ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετὰ νῶι κίε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
ἐν Λέσβῳ δ’ ἔκιχεν δολιχὸν πλόον ὁρμαίνοντας …
173 ἠτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φῆναι τέρας· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ’ ἡμῖν
δεῖξε, καὶ ἠνώγει πέλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὔβοιαν
175 τέμνειν, ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπὲκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν.

168 but fair-haired Menelaus came late behind us,
and caught up to us in Lesbos, as we pondered the long voyage …
173 We asked the god to show us a portent, and he revealed one to us;
he told us to cut through the midst of the sea to Euboea,
175 so that we most quickly could escape from distress.

The god who sent the portent on Lesbos is not named here, but the masculine ὅ γ’, ('he', line 173) clearly excludes Hera. Denys Page assumes it was Zeus,[10] but Nestor goes on to tell Telemachus that when he reached Geraistos (at the southern tip of Euboea), he sacrificed to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.177–179)—the Homeric god most closely associated with seafaring.[11] In the *Odyssey* passage as well as Sappho fr. 17, then, Lesbos figures as a pivotal place both for the Atreid

9 E.g. Page (1955) 59–60, Lidov (2004) 401–402, and the contributions of Lidov (chs. 3 and 19), Caciagli, and Nagy, in this volume.

10 Page (1955) 59–60.

11 For a detailed interpretation of the *Odyssey* passage, including the sacrifice at Geraistos and the pivotal role of Lesbos for the Homeric *Nostoi*, see Nagy's contribution to this volume.

Menelaus and for Nestor—the quintessential 'home-bringer' in the etymology of his name as well as in his epic role[12]—as they contemplate how to cross the Aegean on their way home from Troy.[13]

An important new addition to the text of fr. 17.2 provides a Lesbian cultic perspective on the request for help: a festival (ἐόρτ[α]) was celebrated for Hera. The interpretation of this passage is debated. If Ἀτρεΐδαι̣ (line 3) is a nominative plural, then 'the Atreid kings' carried out the 'vowed' (ἀράταν) festival, having set off for Lesbos after their toils at Troy, to seek help in finding the way home.[14] But if Ἀτρεΐδαι̣ is a dative singular, then 'the kings' carried out the festival vowed *for* an Atreid, presumably Menelaus.[15] (I find the nominative plural more likely, although this question has little bearing on my general point about Hera's importance to seafarers.) If Milne's restoration [Ἤ]ρ' in line 20 is correct,[16] Hera's name appears again at the end of the song, following a lacunose passage (lines 11–16 or further) on the songs and dances that 'we' too perform 'now' (11–12), as in olden times, in honor of the goddess.

As presciently argued before the new papyri made it clear,[17] this festival is presented as the locus and the focus of fr. 17. Very plausibly, the same *temenos* is the speaker's desired destination in the Charaxos Poem: send me to ask Queen Hera to bring Charaxos home safe. This song may have been intended for performance at such a festival, as Bierl, Lidov, and Nagy argue in this volume. Lidov (ch. 3, this volume,) further suggests that an annual 'multi-part festival' celebrating the homecoming of sea traders, together with marriage ceremonies, was celebrated annually at Hera's *temenos*, and that this festival served as the performance locus for the songs in Sappho's first book, including the Charaxos Poem. In its content, however, as I understand it, the new song presents a critical situation in which the goddess' help should be sought through immediate

12 See Frame (1978) 81–115; Frame (2013) 28–29, 182–191, and *passim*.

13 At *Odyssey* 4.81–85, Menelaus lists for Telemachus a number of places he visited on his eight-year-long journey home from Troy. Lesbos is not among them, but since the hero's catalogue begins only with Cyprus, this does not necessarily preclude a stop on Lesbos earlier in his voyage.

14 So West (2014) 4. Neri (2014) 15 less persuasively argues that the lines must mean '(your joyful festival) which the Atreids, the kings, hoped (i.e. desired) for themselves', with the only meaning that ἄραμαι has in Sappho. See Obbink (ch. 1, this volume) for a concise review of editorial and interpretive suggestions.

15 For this interpretation see Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014) 19–20 as well as Obbink (ch. 2) and Lidov (ch. 19) in this volume.

16 West (2014) 5 now tends to accept this reading.

17 Calame (2009) 3–7 and Wilson (1996) 181–182. See now Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

prayers, rather than waiting for an annual festival. *Familiarity* with the festival, however, and especially of Hera's role as helper of seafarers, would greatly enrich the audience's understanding of the urgent request that the speaker makes to her interlocutor.

Hera's name may also be attested in the new additions to Sappho fr. 5. The song begins with an address to the Nereids, asking them to let the speaker's brother (κααcίγνητον, line 2) return home, to his benefit and hers as well. In the sadly lacunose final strophe, Kypris is mentioned, and possibly Hera too, if a supplement proposed by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) is correct:[18]

καὶ τιμα̣[. .]ον αἰ κ[.]εο[. . . . . . .] . ι
γνῶc θ̣[έαν] Ἤ̣ρ̣[α]ν · cὺ [δ]ὲ̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣ c̣[έμ]να
ο̣υ̣κ̣ο̣ν̣ . [. . . . .]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν [×
[.] . [.] . . [. . . . .]ι.   [⊗?]

and … if
you recognize g[oddess] Hera[?]; and you, revered Aphrodite,
… deliver [him] from evil …
*

trans. RAYOR, except for line 18

Even if this supplement is correct, Hera's role in the song is unclear—but at least her name would be mentioned, as it is always is in the extant fragments of Sappho, in a song concerned with a troubled return from sea.

The brother is not named in fr. 5,[19] and conversely, in the Charaxos Poem, 'Charaxos' is not called a brother; nonetheless it seems ever more likely that these two fragments from the first book of Sappho are part of a cycle of songs about the errant seafaring brother—be he biographical or fictional.[20] In both the Charaxos and the Nereids songs, the female speaker voices (or wishes to voice) a prayer that this figure will return safely as a boon to his family

18 Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014) 26. See now Obbink's edition (ch. 1) in this volume, which records also the alternative readings proposed by West (2014) 6–7 and Ferrari (2014) 6. On the name Kypris in Sappho, see Schlesier's contribution to this volume.

19 But χάραν γένεcθαι '[may he] become a joy' (fr. 5.6) might hint at the name Charaxos, as suggested by Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014) 24, citing Posidippus *Epigr.* 17 Gow–Page (= 122 Austin-Bastianini) τὸν χαρίεντα…Χάραξον.

20 As discussed in the contributions to this volume by Obbink (esp. ch. 2), Lidov (ch. 3), Lardinois, Nagy, and Stehle; for different perspectives on the question of biography vs. fictionality, see also the contributions to this volume by Peponi and Raaflaub.

members; significantly, and in keeping with very general norms of Greek prayer, the deities this speaker addresses are overwhelmingly female.[21] Hera is the most prominent of the three gods sought by the homecoming Atreids in fr. 17; the deities mentioned in fr. 5 are the Nereids, Kypris, and possibly Hera; and of course Hera is the god to beseech in the new Charaxos Song.

In Homeric epic, Hera occasionally operates in this sphere as well, protecting or harming heroes at sea.[22] Zeus in *Iliad* 15 reminds his wife how he punished her—suspended from a golden chain, her feet weighed down with anvils—because she had driven his beloved son Heracles off-course: 'prevailing upon the storm-winds (θυέλλας), with Boreas' help you malevolently (κακὰ μητιόωσα) drove him over the unploughed sea to Kos'.[23] In Proclus' summary of the *Cypria*, Hera sends a storm (χειμῶνα) against another enemy, Paris, as he sails off with Helen, thus preventing the Trojan prince's safe and straightforward homecoming with his cargo.[24]

Hera's role vis-à-vis seafarers in the *Odyssey* is more positive. As Circe instructs Odysseus on how to get home, she names Hera as protector of the Argonauts: because Jason was dear to her, she helped the *Argo* sail safely through the Clashing Rocks.[25] In *Odyssey* 4.512–513, Menelaus tells Telemachus that the same goddess saved (σάωσ') Agamemnon on his way home from Troy, whereas Locrian Ajax was destroyed.[26] As Nagy argues in this volume, the Agamemnon passage relates closely to Sappho fr. 17, where the Atreids (or an Atreid) are connected with a festival of Hera on Lesbos and, subsequently, a homeward voyage from Troy.

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21 On the role of gender in mortal/god relations in the Charaxos poems, see especially the contributions to this volume by Stehle, Kurke, Lardinois, and Bierl (ch. 14).

22 Lidov (2004) provides a comprehensive discussion of this pattern; see also Nagy's contribution to this volume.

23 *Iliad* 15.23–24. On the dangers faced by Heracles on Kos at *Iliad* 14.250–261, see Janko (1992) 191–192; Krieter-Spiro (2015) *ad Iliad* 14.249–261 and 254.

24 *Cypria* fr. 14 Bernabé; Paris and Helen were subsequently blown to Sidon, which Paris conquered. Herodotus 2.116–117, however, says that in the *Cypria* the pair sailed smoothly straight to Troy, in contrast to the Homeric tradition of their wanderings; Sappho fr. 16 includes no hint that this voyage did not proceed uneventfully. See Lidov (2004) 403.

25 *Odyssey* 12.68–72, discussed in O'Brien (1993) 157–158 and Simon (1969) 45. Hera's role in the Argonaut saga is most elaborately developed, of course, in Apollonius' *Argonautica*. Note that according to Pausanias 7.4.4, the Argonauts first brought the image of Hera to Samos.

26 O'Brien (1993) 158 notes this passage in light of Hera's protection of other Achaean heroes.

The 'Lesbian Triad' Sanctuary

A question that has attracted considerable interest (and growing consensus) among scholars is the location and nature of the sanctuary where that festival was celebrated. Sappho fr. 17.9–10 provides a clue, in that Zeus ἀντ[ίαον][27] 'of suppliants' and Thyone's son (Dionysus) are invoked along with Hera.[28] Sappho's contemporary Alcaeus describes in fr. 129 a great pan-Lesbian *temenos* that features altars of the same three gods, albeit only Zeus ἀντίαος receives the same epithet as he does in the Sappho fragment.[29] The fragment begins:

[ ].ρά.α τόδε Λέσβιοι
. . .]. . . . εὔδειλον τέμενος μέγα
ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν ἐν δὲ βώμοις
θανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκαν

κἀπωνύμασσαν ἀντίαον Δία
σὲ δ' Αἰολήιαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θέον
πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τέρτον
τόνδε κεμήλιον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν

Ζόννυσσον ὠμήσταν. ἄ[γι]τ̣' εὔνοον
θῦμον σκέθοντες ἀμμετέρα[ς] ἄρας
ἀκούσατ', ἐκ δὲ τῶ̣ν̣[δ]ε̣ μ̣ό̣χ̣θ̣ων
ἀργαλέας τε φύγας ῥ̣[ύεσθε·

the Lesbians established this
great conspicuous sanctuary
to be held in common, and put in it altars
of blessed immortals,

and they named Zeus 'god of suppliants'
and you, Aeolian, glorious goddess,

27 The supplement is supported by ἀντίαον Δία in Alc. fr. 129.5 (discussed below).

28 The inclusion of Dionysus in this sanctuary is noteworthy, since in many instances Hera was famously hostile to him; see Farnell (1896) 1.193 for examples.

29 On Alcaeus fr. 129 see Bierl (2016 forthcoming) 19–23.

'mother of all', and this third
they named 'Kemelios',[30]

Dionysus eater of raw flesh. Come with
gracious spirit, hear our prayers
and rescue us from these hardships
and from grievous exile …

The three gods, often called the 'Lesbian trinity' or 'triad', are present in both accounts of the sanctuary, but they are not presented entirely *ex aequo*. Sappho fr. 17 begins with Hera; she alone is addressed in the second person (line 2), and may even be mentioned twice (at lines 2 and 20). The narrative in the first ten lines focuses on a festival in her honor, and she is most prominent[31] in the appeal to the three gods for help in finding a way home: not only is Hera mentioned before her fellow immortals, but she even receives another second-person reference (line 9).

In Alcaeus fr. 129, Zeus is mentioned first—as might be expected for the king of the gods in a context where the speaker demands justice and/or vengeance (cf. e.g. Archilochus fr. 177). Here too, however, only Hera is addressed in the second person (if, as is almost certain, she is to be identified with the 'Aeolian goddess'[32]), and with a longer set of epithets.[33]

Another Alcaeus song, fr. 130b.16–20, evokes a sanctuary (plausibly taken to be the same *temenos* as described in fr. 129[34]) where the speaker was driven in exile (ἀπελήλαμαι/ φεύγων, lines 8–9):

οἴκημ⟨μ⟩ι κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας,

ὄππαι Λ[εσβί]αδες κριννόμεναι φύαν
πώλεντ᾽ ἐλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει
ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων
ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας

30 On the epithet see Liberman (1999) 1.62, and Bierl's contribution to this volume (ch. 14), with references.

31 *Pace* Lidov (ch. 3, this volume), who finds that Dionysus has 'pride of place' here.

32 See Caciagli (2010) 234 on Hera as the 'Aeolian goddess'.

33 Dionysus, mentioned third, also enjoys a longer appellation than Zeus (but no direct address).

34 See Liberman (1999) 1.63, with bibliography.

keeping my feet away from troubles, I live

where Lesbian women, being judged for beauty,
come and go in their long robes, and all around resounds
a wondrous echo of women,
the sacred yearly *ololyge*

An ancient commentary on the *Iliad* famously declares that the beauty contests (καλλιστεῖα) Alcaeus witnessed took place at 'the sanctuary of Hera' (ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει) on Lesbos.[35] Assuming, as I do, that this is the same *temenos* as the one mentioned in Alcaeus fr. 129 and referred to in Sappho fr. 17, the scholion supports the view that this sanctuary was primarily a Heraion, shared with Zeus and Dionysus—or at least that it was best known for a festival of Hera.[36]

This view is corroborated by an anonymous Hellenistic epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 9.189), in which Lesbian women or girls, led by Sappho herself, are summoned to dance at a 'splendid temenos of Hera':

Ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,
  Λεσβίδες, ἁβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ’ ἑλισσόμεναι·
ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇ χορόν· ὔμμι δ’ ἀπάρξει
  Σαπφὼ χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.
ὄλβιαι ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἦ γλυκὺν ὕμνον
  εἰσαΐειν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.

Come to the splendid sanctuary of ox-eyed Hera,
  girls of Lesbos, whirling the delicate steps of your feet.
Form there a beautiful chorus in honor of the goddess.
  Sappho will lead you with the golden lyre in her hands.
Blessed you in the joy of your dance: surely you will
  believe you are listening to the sweet song of Calliope herself.
    trans. FERRARI

Where was this splendid temenos in which the three gods were honored and a grand festival of Hera was held? In 1961 Jerome Quinn argued, based largely on

35 Scholion D A on *Iliad* 9.129.

36 Robert (1960b) 314 n. 4 suggests this possibility; similarly Neri (2014) 22 n. 72 (citing Alc. fr. 130.15, AP 9.189.1, and the scholion in P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. 1 33–39). Bierl, ch. 14 in this volume, argues for the importance of Dionysus in Alcaeus frs. 129 and 130.

FIGURE 8.1 *Map of Lesbos showing the location of ancient Messon*
DRAWING BY RENÉ REIJNEN. IMAGE COPYRIGHT © RADBOUD UNIVERSITY

topography, that the location of Alcaeus' 'great conspicuous sanctuary' accords well with Cape Phokas [also spelled Fokas] on the south coast of Lesbos. The cape, which lies east of the entrance to the Bay of Kalloni, has remains of a small Hellenistic temple of Dionysus (one member of the 'Lesbian triad').[37] The great majority of experts, however, have been persuaded by Louis Robert's argument, first published in 1960 and based primarily on epigraphical data from the second century CE, that Alcaeus' *temenos*, the conspicuous sanctuary held in common by all Lesbians, was located at Messon (modern Mesa).[38] I agree that the evidence favors Messon, but my argument requires only that the site lie near an ancient harbor—and according to a recent survey of the ports of Lesbos, that is true of both these sites.[39]

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37 As argued by Quinn (1961), whose conclusions are approved by Campbell (1967) 294 (*ad* Alc. 129.2) and Picard (1962). On the remains of the temple see Spencer (1995) 17.

38 See Fig. 8.1, this page. For detailed discussion, see the contributions of Bierl (ch. 14), Caciagli, and Nagy in this volume.

39 'Mapping the ancient ports of Lesbos', a project of the Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Archaeology Foundation, reports: 'In 2009, both St. Fokas's port [ancient Vrissa] and a small rock fill close to the ancient sanctuary of Messa in the Mesitziki spot in Kalloni Bay were completely mapped. Furthermore in St. Fokas, apart from the preserved windward mole, the team discovered a second underwater breakwater for the protection of the mole from the east' (http://www.emmaf.org/ accessed May 6, 2014). On Cape Phokas, see also

As its name would suggest, Messon occupies a central position on Lesbos, near the northeast corner of the Bay of Kalloni.[40] In his gazetteer of Lesbian archaeological sites, Nigel Spencer notes that the late fourth-century temple which is now visible covers an undated earlier structure, and that some archaic graves and fine-ware pottery have been found near the site. Spencer adds that there could have been an open-air archaic sanctuary.[41] Few traces remain of the site that would have been known in 600 BCE, the period ascribed to Sappho and Alcaeus, except (as we have seen) traces of an anchorage in the bay nearby.

Hera as Maritime Goddess in the Archaic Mediterranean

Not only on Lesbos, but in a number of other Mediterranean sites as well, sanctuaries of Hera were located at harbors or capes.[42] At Perachora, with its small harbor on the Corinthian gulf, there was a *temenos* dedicated to Hera Akraia.[43] Humfry Payne, who excavated there in the early 1930s, believed that he had discovered a second sanctuary, a little higher up, to Hera Limenia,[44] although more recently R.A. Tomlinson has argued that this was just an extension of the Akraia sanctuary.[45] At any rate, this maritime Hera cult flourished especially in the latter seventh to sixth century, the historical period assigned to Sappho's world.[46] Finds there include many that indicate its importance to those engaged in wide-ranging trade routes, including Phoenician bronzes of the eighth and seventh centuries, and some 900 Egyptian or Egyptian-style scarabs. Because the pottery at the site is largely of local provenance, however, Tomlinson declares that the sanctuary was 'primarily of local interest', with the 'international element in the objects found there reflecting the overseas con-

Quinn (1961) 392; on Messon's location near a port, see Caciagli (2010). I regret that I have not been able to see Theodoulou (forthcoming).

40 Robert (1960b) 306–315; see further the detailed assessment of Caciagli (2010).

41 Spencer (1995) 22–23 with bibliography.

42 I refer again to the admirable paragraph in Simon (1969) 45–46.

43 This sanctuary is well known from Euripides, *Medea* 1378–1380, where the heroine says she will bury the bodies of her children there, to keep them safe from the Corinthians' wrath; on the connection of this cult with a 'reproductive demon' figure, see Johnston (1997).

44 Payne (1940) 110–122.

45 Tomlinson (1992) 322–323.

46 *Idem.*

tacts of the Corinthians themselves', but he also maintains that 'dedications were made there by sailors travelling up or down the gulf of Corinth'.[47]

Elsewhere in the Peloponnese, there was a Heraion at Tiryns on the Argolic gulf. In Naukratis, the mixed Greek trading city in Egypt, where according to Strabo, Sappho's brother Charaxos traded wine,[48] there was a Heraion, established by the Samians.[49] (Thus if the Charaxos Poem and/or Sappho fr. 5 presume that Charaxos is returning from Egypt, Hera may be relevant both at the beginning and end of his voyage.) A Heraion is attested on Cape Lacinia near Croton in southern Italy,[50] one at Foce del Sele on the Italian west coast near Poseidonia (see below), and another at Gravisca, the harbor of Tarquinia. At the Samian colony Heraion Teichos on the Propontis, the place-name strongly suggests that there was yet another.[51] An inscription from Thasos (*IG* 12 Suppl. 409) mentions a Hera Limenaia, as well.[52]

Most of all, of course, there was the Heraion at Samos, a short distance from the coast. A tale in Herodotus suggests the importance of this sanctuary for local seamen. It tells the story of a Samian merchant ship, captained by a certain Kolaios, that was blown off course when heading for Egypt. According to Herodotus (4.152.2–4),

> (2) … [the sailors] were driven off course by an east wind, and as the blast did not let up, they passed through the Pillars of Heracles and arrived at Tartessus, enjoying divine accompaniment (θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι). (3) This market was untouched at that time, so that when these men returned home, of all Greeks about whom we have precise information, they got the greatest profit from their cargo—except for the Aeginetan Sostratus, son of Laodamas (no one else can compete with him). (4) The Samians took a tenth of their profits, six talents, and made with it a bronze object in the style of an Argolic mixing bowl, with griffin-heads spaced all around it. They set this up in the Heraion, placing it atop three immense bronze figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees.

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47 Tomlinson (1992) 323.

48 Strabo 17.808; see Athenaeus 13.596b and Herodotus 2.135.1, 5. See the discussion in Raaflaub's contribution to this volume.

49 In addition to the better-known Hellenion, in whose foundation the Mytileneans had participated, along with several Ionian cities.

50 See de Polignac (1997).

51 I thank Barbara Kowalzig for this suggestion. The colony is mentioned by Herodotus 4.90; see Asheri-Lloyd-Corcella (2007) 646.

52 I owe this reference to Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28 n. 17.

Evidently, Herodotus' Kolaios knew whom he had to thank for his astonishing mercantile success, as the narrator suggests when he mentions the ship's 'divine accompaniment'. At least one expert believes that Kolaios may even have dedicated his entire ship to Hera.[53] Two large ships *were* dedicated to her, along with Poseidon: at the Samian Heraion, on the processional route from the harbor to the temple, are two bases made of stone, dating from roughly 600 BCE, each of which supported a ship some thirty meters long.[54]

Helmut Kyrieleis, former director of excavations at the Heraion in Samos, also calls attention to some forty small (0.4 meters long) ship-shaped wooden objects that have been discovered there, which 'reproduce the elegant shape of Greek warships and trading vessels in simplified form'.[55] Given their rough workmanship he doubts that these were dedications: 'Their appearance … might suggest that these boats played a role in the ritual of festivals of Hera as a kind of symbolic cult object'.

Kyrieleis draws a comparison with a contemporary Christian cult at Foce del Sele on the Campanian coast near Paestum, within the site of another [formerly] coastal Heraion: 'There is a chapel in the sanctuary of Hera … which is dedicated to the Madonna del Granato who, by virtue of her epithet and the attribute of a pomegranate, must be the Christian successor of … Hera. Even now there is an annual festival in [her] honour … in which little decorated ships of the simplest form are carried in procession, although nowadays the inhabitants have nothing to do with seafaring …'[56] Kyrieleis further notes (p. 143) that in the Hera sanctuaries at Tiryns and Perachora, 'archaic terracotta figures … show the goddess holding a little boat decked with flowers. These are, at the very least, strong indications that representations of ships functioned as a symbol or cult object in the ritual of Hera's festival'. François de Polignac, in a study of Hera sanctuaries that included archaic (eighth through sixth century) small models of boats or houses, mentions Samos and Perachora as find-spots of small wooden boat models; he compares the small bronze boats dedicated at the Heraion on Cape Lacinia near Croton, and that of Gravisca as well.[57]

Widespread throughout the Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries (and beyond), then, are Greek settlements where Hera sanctuaries were

53 Walter (1990) 88–89.

54 Walter (1990) 82–88; de Polignac (1997) 116.

55 Kyrieleis (1993) 141–142; citation from p. 141.

56 Kyrieleis (1993) 142. The boat shapes form the bases of the so-called *centi* to which candles (nominally a hundred) are attached and carried in procession.

57 De Polignac (1997) 114–115. Models of boats have also been found at sanctuaries not identified as Heraia; see the map at de Polignac (1997) 114 for locations.

located near harbors; some of these have yielded dedications that speak to her relationship with traders and other seafarers. To this list I would now add Messon (for which, unfortunately, there is a dearth of archaic dedications). With Hera's role as helper or hinderer of seafarers attested in the archaeological as well as the literary record, it is clear that the speaker in the Charaxos Poem proposes the appropriate local god to supplicate for Charaxos' safe voyage home—and the song itself may have been performed or reperformed in that god's maritime sanctuary.

Hera and Zeus in the Charaxos Poem

I conclude by comparing Hera's role in the new song with that of her partner Zeus. Like Hera, Zeus is rarely named in Sappho. He appears, as we have seen, in fr. 17 when the Atreid kings, seeking a way home, approach 'Zeus of Suppliants' (17.9) and 'Thyone's alluring son' (17.10) along with Hera, the god whose festival they vowed to celebrate, and whom alone the speaker addresses in this song (17.2–4). Apart from the Charaxos Poem, the name of Zeus is attested elsewhere in Sappho only at fr. 1.2, where Aphrodite is addressed *inter alia* as 'child of Zeus' (παῖ Δίος), and at fr. 57, where the Charites are 'daughters of Zeus' (Δίος κόραι).[58] Zeus is never addressed by the speaker in the corpus of Sappho; only in the Charaxos Poem does he *act* (and even then, as we shall see, in very general terms).

Zeus appears twice in that song. First, critical of the interlocutor's vain chatter about Charaxos and his ship, the speaker says piously but dismissively: 'Zeus knows those things, I believe, and all the gods (τὰ μέν̣ οἴο̣μα̣ι Ζεῦϲ οἶδε ϲύμπαντέϲ τε θέοι). But you should not think about them …' (lines 6–8).[59] Second, she declares: 'Whomsoever the King of Olympos wishes a helpful *daimon* to turn away now from troubles, they become blessed and very fortunate' (κῆνοι μ̣άκαρεϲ[60] πέλονται καὶ πολύολβοι, lines 17–20).[61]

58 Obbink (2014b) 43 briefly contrasts Alcaeus' Zeus with Sappho's.

59 On this generalization see West (2014) 8 and Obbink (2014b) 43.

60 The term μ̣άκαρεϲ may have a special resonance on Lesbos, which is designated in *Il.* 24.544 as Μάκαρος ἕδος 'the seat of [King] Makar', in a reference to Lesbos as a prosperous and populous land. On early sources for Makar see Fowler (2013) 2.515–517.

61 I follow here the interpretation of Obbink (2014b) 44, further discussed by Lidov in this volume (ch. 3), rather than the *lectio facilior* that West (2014) 9 proposes in line 18 (changing ἐπάρωγον to ἐπ' ἄρηον).

Both statements about Zeus in this song are broad generalizations. In the first instance, 'Zeus knows those things, I believe, and all the gods'[62] concerns the gap between mortals and immortals. In saying this, the speaker implies that her interlocutor cannot really know about the return of Charaxos, and should not pretend to; she does not imply that Zeus will act on this knowledge. When Zeus reappears in the song, as one who can choose to turn away troubles, nothing is specified about the contents or recipients of his favor. Moreover, his blessing is granted not directly, but through an unspecified 'helpful *daimon*'.[63] A welcome turn such as this happens spontaneously, when it happens, through the will of Zeus; it is not presented as the result of human supplication. Similarly general is the hopeful statement (lines 13–16) that immediately precedes this passage, 'Everything else (τὰ δ' ἄλλα / πάντα) let us turn over (ἐπ̣ιτ̣ρόπωμεν) to the *daimones*, for from great gales clear skies quickly emerge'.[64] Here too, no specific request is made of the superior powers; they operate on their own, as it were.[65]

Certainly, the speaker and her audience (and we!) may well think that Zeus could send a *daimon* to help Charaxos, the interlocutors, or even Larichos—but despite the apparently critical situation in the poem's 'here and now', no such connection is made. Zeus is not supplicated to help with Charaxos' safe homecoming, or with anything else. This is especially noteworthy because we know that as *Antiaos* 'god of suppliants' Zeus shared with Hera (and Dionysus) the pan-Lesbian sanctuary where the prayer for Charaxos was most likey to take place (lines 9–13).

62 West (2014) 8 provides parallel expressions in *Il.* 3.308; *Od.* 14.119, 15.523; Pind. fr. 94b.33. See also Parker (2011) 65–67 for an illuminating discussion of the difference between a single god and '[all] the gods' in Greek religious language.

63 Bierl (ch. 14), Lidov (ch. 3), and Obbink (ch. 9) in this volume suggest that the unnamed *daimon* refers to Dionysus. In my opinion, 'a helper *daimon*' is an unlikely way for the speaker to refer to a major deity, and in particular to the third member of the 'Lesbian triad'. Unlike in this context, Dionysus is referred to unmistakably both times the group is mentioned in Lesbian lyric: Ζόννυσσον ὠμήσταν at Alcaeus fr. 129.9, and Θυώνας ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα at Sappho fr. 17.10. For an intriguing argument that the unnamed *daimon* may refer instead to the Dioscuri, see Kurke's contribution to this volume.

64 The weather metaphor is apt for the context of seafaring, but is also a commonplace. See West (2014) 8, who notes: 'The imagery recalls Solon (13.17–24) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.10, *Isthm.* 7.38), but the optimistic homely wisdom is characteristic of Sappho (cf. fr. 1.21–24 and 31.17⟨–20⟩)'.

65 See Stehle's contribution to this volume for a thoughtful discussion of *daimones* as agents who cannot be supplicated.

It is quite different with Hera. If the speaker's forceful instructions are followed, she will be sent to ply that goddess with prayers (πόλλα λ̣ίccεcθαι, line 10) to seek a defined result: bring Charaxos home with a safe ship and let him find us unharmed as well. Whereas the speaker generalizes about Zeus, 'all the gods', and the *daimones*, without making a request, here she uses emphatic, emotive language to describe how she should beg Hera for something specific. *Lissomai*, for which 'pray' is a pale translation, is a rare word in Lesbian lyric; its only other attestation in Sappho is in the (ironically) anguished prayer to Aphrodite (λίσσομαί σε, fr. 1.2).[66] Compared to the speaker's urgent errand and request, Zeus' power in this poem, while comprehensive, is remote and unspecific.[67]

For all these differences, Hera and Zeus balance each other in the Charaxos Song: specific vs. general, approachable vs. distant. Significantly, they also share the title βασιλ- 'sovereign' (another rare term in Lesbian lyric):[68] *Queen* Hera (line 10) and *King* of Olympos (17). Zeus is often called Ὀλύμπιος in Greek epic, although never with the exact title βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω/ου (or *metri gratia*, Ὀλύμπω/ου βαcίλευc) 'king of Olympus', as here. In light of the contrast I draw between the divine pair in this song, the designation is very evocative, as it suggests his panhellenic rather than local identity.[69] True, there is a Mount Olympus (a relatively common Aeolic place name) on Lesbos, some distance southeast of Messon, so there could be a local as well as a panhellenic valence in his title.[70] The mountain is not attested in Lesbian poetry, however, and I know of no evidence of cult practiced there. Barring any attested cultic associations with the local place-name, I believe that the Homeric, panhellenic overtones of the phrase would resonate more with Sappho's audience.

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66 The verb also occurs at Alcaeus fr. 374 (twice, perhaps in a Dionysiac context), and possibly at Alcaeus fr. 36.3. On the background of the root *lit-* see Benveniste (1969) 2.248–249, who argues that it means in origin (based on its use in Homeric epic) not simply to ask or supplicate, but to supplicate [a god] in atonement for an offense.

67 Ferrari (2014) 3–4 similarly notes the distinction between what Hera is asked to do and whatever else may happen. I am pleased to see that Kurke's conclusions (in this volume) about the relationship between Hera and Zeus in the Charaxos song, while based on rather different concerns and methodology, closely concur with my own reading.

68 Alcaeus refers to a τεῖχος βασιλήϊον at the Hera sanctuary where he is in exile (fr. 130a.15); a marginal note ad loc. explains this as 'the [wall] of Hera' (see Liberman [1999] 1.63). This phrase again connects the goddess at Messon with sovereignty.

69 Obbink (2014b) 44 remarks: 'In contrast to [line] 2, where Zeus is named, here Zeus' identity is paraphrased in terms of cosmic genealogy', and briefly discusses other instances of *Olympios* and *Olympos* in Sappho and Alcaeus. Cf. Obbink, ch. 9, this volume, pp. 213–214.

70 As suggested by Anton Bierl, *per litteras*.

In a valuable study of Zeus and Hera on Lesbos, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Gabriella Pironti also emphasize the special link between Zeus and Hera as *basileis* in the Brothers [or Charaxos] Poem.[71] They compare the pair's relationship in a Mytilenean civic inscription dated to 332 BCE (*SEG* 36.750).[72] This inscription concerns a vow by the Mytileneans to offer a sacrifice and procession if democracy and civic concord are re-established in their city, and names the gods to whom these honors are promised. Among these (Hera herself is not named) is 'Zeus Heraios and King and Concordant' (τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ἠραίωι καὶ Βασίληι καὶ Ὀμονοίωι).[73] The authors' observations about Zeus' epithet *Heraios* are most interesting, particularly their acute argument that because Zeus' relationship with Hera is often portrayed as combative, it is significant that his close relationship to—even dependence on—his spouse is emphasized in a prayer for the restoration of civil concord.[74] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti argue that in the Brothers Poem as well as the inscription, 'the presence of Hera is decisive (*déterminante*): Zeus is described first of all as spouse of Hera'.[75]

I concur that the two gods form a composite in the song, highlighted by their common epithet, but I find that the Charaxos Poem entails a different relationship between the pair from that in the inscription. The Hellenistic inscription is concerned with restoration of political concord in Mytilene, for which Zeus' close relationship to Hera is of utmost significance. Sappho's song, on the other hand, is formulated in terms of immediate personal (and probably familial) concerns; it brings to mind the maritime sanctuary with its 'pan-Lesbian triad', where Hera predominates (in Sappho and sometimes in Alcaeus) and is especially relevant in a prayer for a returning seafarer. The Charaxos Song distinguishes between Hera's immediate role on the one hand, and, on the other, Zeus' wide-ranging knowledge and unpredictable ability to change things for the better. (In these respects he is not clearly distinguished from the gods [*theoi*, line 7] or *daimones* [line 14] in general.) Overall, then, I find most striking the *complementary differences* in the roles Sappho assigns to the two gods; both are 'sovereign', but within very different parameters.

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71 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 29.

72 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30.

73 The full list is 'to the Twelve Gods, Zeus Heraios and King and Concordant, Concord (Ὀμονοίᾳ), Justice (Δίκῃ), and Accomplisher (Ἐπιτελείᾳ) of Good Things' (*SEG* 36.750, lines 6–8).

74 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30–31.

75 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30.

Moreover, the help this local Hera is begged to provide for Charaxos' return may also have implications in the concluding hope for young Larichos, if—as Lidov (ch. 3), Obbink (ch. 9), and Stehle propose in this volume (and Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti in their article[76])—his 'becoming a man', and 'freeing us from the many cares weighing down our hearts', includes his maturation and marriage, which are special concerns of Hera's. That would indeed help keep 'us' 'safe and sound' (ἀρτέμεας), with or without Charaxos' safe return.

To return the question with which I began this essay: why Hera in the Charaxos Poem? For Charaxos' safe return from sea and his reunion with those who await him safe at home, this local goddess, presiding in the shared sanctuary near the harbor at Messon, is decisively the *dieu juste* for Sappho's song.

76 See Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28–29, on Hera as πάντων γενέθλαν (Alc. fr. 129.6–7, discussed above), and likely concerned with the maturation of young men as well as girls on Lesbos.

CHAPTER 9

Goodbye Family Gloom! The Coming of Charaxos in the Brothers Song

Dirk Obbink

Not long after its publication, Peter Stothard and Mary Beard commissioned seven translators to produce English translations of the Brothers Song. These were printed side-by-side in the *Times Literary Supplement*, and included some surprising differences, anomalies, and nice touches. But none stood out like the following rendition by the poet Anne Carson:[1]

> There you go windbagging about Charaxos again—will he waft into port?
> will he not?—yawn. Let the gods simplify this. Or send me! I've got
> the holy socks and tang to bring Hera over to our side: presto
> Charaxos, cocktails all round!
>
> Now tip all that other worry into the box marked Looking for a Miracle.
> Red weather can die away on a dime (as you know)
> and if some god blows you a kiss, peacocks sweep the room
> handing out coupons.
>
> As for us—if lazyboy Larichos ever lifts his head
> and turns into a man who can whistle Dixie
> goodbye family gloom! We'll run our fingers
> through his beard and laugh.

Carson's rendering lends the English some of the excitement and color that had me wide-eyed for months when I first read the text in Greek, although it ultimately borders on caricature or parody—mocking, I take it, the whole interpretive tradition of preciousness. A poem of this exuberance and vibrancy could also be obtained by applying the 'wild' reading recently advanced by

1 Carson, Janko, McDonald and Stallings (2014). These were followed by an additional three in the *TLS* on May 2, 2014, p. 23 by Alistair Elliot, Andrew McNellie, and Rachel Hadas.

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Wright (2015), who finds sexual imagery in the first two lines of the poem. Rather than referring to 'a commercially successful venture', he argues that the first lines may indicate 'something more than simply a good business trip'. Wright notes that whenever Charaxos comes up in our sources, his relationship with a prostitute is inevitably mentioned ('this account seems to be fused to his identity'), and, in what he dubs an example of 'Iambic Sappho' (although the poem is in Sapphics),[2] he calls attention to nautical imagery used as a metaphor for sexual activity in Greek and Latin literature, including talking triremes in *Knights* who use aggressive sexual imagery, and ships being likened to women (*Eq.* 1300–1315). An ancient commentator claims that Alcaeus in a poem compares an aging hetaira to an old ship (Alcaeus fr. 306). Wright further reminds us that the 'language of filling' has been catalogued by Jeffrey Henderson as 'metaphorically sexual'.[3] Read in this way, we can thus 'perceive a possible allusion to the sexual misadventures of Charaxos' and, according to Wright, such an allusion would fit in with other 'sexually charged language' in Sappho.

Problems arise, however, in trying to integrate this into the rest of the poem. Wright is unable to work out a good answer to that, as this does not seem to be a theme that is followed up in the poem as it develops to its conclusion. It also seems unlikely that something this indirect would justify Alexandrian scholars labelling Sappho a writer of iambics.

However, one might add to Wright's analysis the point that the reference to a male's possessing or displaying 'full load' as a metaphor for sexual prowess, need, or arousal is a motif that is almost too common to need exemplification.[4] As a *double entendre* (*pace* Wright), this would not preclude the allusion from conveying economic considerations in addition, since structures of power are often written into the economic sphere as well as into the sexual. One parallel line of inquiry seems at least initially attractive. It seems obvious to all, for example, that 'Charaxos' coming' (ἔλθην) with his ship has *something* to do with Herodotus' story, which, after all, is one in a long series in the *Histories* of stories that are principally about women's bodies. Could the 'full ship' of the Brothers

2 Wright (2015) specifically indicates that he does not think that this is the 'aggressive poem' which Herodotus mentions in his digression on Rhodopis with the verb κερτόμησε. On the possible "iambic" stance of Sappho in the Brothers Song, see Martin, this volume.

3 Henderson (1975) 141, 161.49, 170.

4 See, however, Henderson (1975) 161–166 nos. 258–278 'Sexual Congress: Nautical Terminology'. This seems slightly more plausible than the scenario envisaged by Wright (2015), namely with the ship as the hetaira, "filled" by Charaxos, i.e. fucked by him.

Song be an allusion to the promise (or perhaps threat) of Charaxos' returning with his ship laden with his prize 'cargo', namely the woman, however notorious, he was going to marry?[5] It seems to have escaped the notice of everyone so far that Sappho, in a striking instance of what can only be called intertextual reference or self-citation (vis-à-vis the Brothers Song, line 5, where she *cites it* as being *frequently said* by someone), prominently uses elsewhere the same verb, ἔλθην, of Charaxos' 'coming'—namely at Sappho fr. 15.12 (end of poem): [εἰϲ] ἔρον ἦλθε (Hunt), 'come for (i.e. because of) desire' (i.e. for someone).[6] Here, as in the Brothers Song, Charaxos is probably the subject.[7] In fact, in all four of the occasions that Sappho sings about Charaxos, he is *always* said to 'come' or 'may come' or perhaps 'came': (i) Sappho fr. 15.12 [εἰϲ] ἔρον ἦλθε;[8] (ii) Sappho fr. 5.2 τυίδ' ἴκεcθα[ι];[9] (iii) Brothers Song 5 Χάραξον ἔλθην;[10] (iv) Brothers Song, line 11 ἐξίκεcθαι τυίδε.[11] The tradition is so univocal on this point,[12] that Χάραξον ἔλθην must have been something like a folk-tale (or song) motif, and we might even speak about a 'Charaxos-song', subject to a number of variations in meaning and story. Apart from the literal understanding of these verbs in their associated stories, Voigt in her apparatus on Sappho fr. 15, following Diehl, cites a fragment of the comic poet Anaxilas fr. 21.5–6 K.-A. ἑταίραc δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνειc ἐληλυθώc,[13] as a parallel for [εἰϲ] ἔρον (+ genitive) in what is clearly an example

5 A weaker form of this thesis would be that such a correspondence might have been posited by Herodotus and ancient readers of the Brothers Song, which was then picked up by the ancient biographical tradition as a fact of history.

6 Or [ἄψ]ερον ἦλθε ('come again'), restored by Diehl (1936) ad loc.

7 See Lardinois, this volume, on the (less likely) possibility that Doricha is the subject.

8 Subject uncertain, but likely Charaxos (see above); location uncertain, but presumably wherever Charaxos and Doricha could be together; time: (negative) wish for the future.

9 Subject 'my brother' (1–2 [μοι] / τὸν καcίγνητον), but almost certainly Charaxos (implied at line 2 χάραν γένεcθαι, the *figura etymologica* echoed by Posidippus *Epigr.* 17.3 Gow and Page = 122.3 Austin and Bastianini: τὸν χαρίεντα…Χάραξον; Ovid *Her.* 15.117 *gaudet … Charaxus*); location: τυίδ(ε), presumably Lesbos; time: wish for the future.

10 Subject: Charaxos; location unspecified; time: past or wish for future.

11 Subject: Charaxos; location τυίδε, presumably Lesbos; time: wish for the future.

12 Charaxos forever 'coming and going': Hdt. 2.135 Χάραξοc…ἀπενόcτηcε ἐc Μυτιλήνην; Strab. 17.1.33 Χαράξου…κατάγοντοc εἰc Ναύκρατιν; Athen. 13.596b–c Χαράξου…εἰc τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντοc; Ovid. *Her.* 15.65: (*frater*) *peragit freta caerula*; idem 117–118: *Charaxus / frater … itque reditque*.

13 Not in Henderson (1975), but roughly equivalent, and related in meaning to (also not in Henderson) LSJ s. v. φοιτάω, 'frequent' a lover (3) citing (among others) Lys. 1.19; compare ὁμιλλέω at Alcaeus fr. 117b.29 (with scholia).

of talk referring to 'going to' or 'visiting' (ἐλθεῖν) a prostitute.[14] Does ἔλθην perhaps mean Charaxos was going to 'visit' her at Naucratis,[15] as her client, or that he would 'come home' with her as his expensive bride? This might even lead to entertaining the first lines as being addressed to such a person, e.g. Doricha-Rhodopis, or generically to any such suitably alluring hetaira (named or not in the preceding lines) who might potentially attract Charaxos to a foreign port for a sexual liaison (or come home with him afterwards): 'You are always going on about his coming to (or 'with') you'.[16]

An additional consideration, set out below, will argue, however, against the presence of erotics per se in the Brothers Song, but without precluding a connection with the symposium which, it will be seen, has a oblique but significant side in Sappho's poetry,[17] thereby revealing one motivation for some of the unusual language of the poem, while affording a link with Herodotus' biographical account as well.

Sailing to Naucratis

The new fragments show conclusively the alternation in book 1 of poems about family and cult, on the one hand, and personal concerns about love on the other. This is due to their chronological arrangement of age-grouped poems within each alphabetically arranged series of poem beginnings.[18] A cycle of poems concerning sea-faring is revealed, centering on the drama of a mercantile family of wine-traders on 7th century Lesbos. The presence of Dionysus in the trinity of gods in the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon on the island is explained,[19] and the whole complex of ill-advised love, sea-faring, wine, and trade falls neatly into the context of Herodotus' story (2.135) of how

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14 For ἦλθε in a sexual sense (= 'to visit a lover'), see explicitly LSJ s. v. B.7, citing Hdt. 2.115, 6.68, Xen. *Oec.* 7.5; Henderson (1975) 155 no. 229.

15 Posidippus *Epigr.* 17 (Gow and Page = 122 Austin and Bastianini) may be taken to describe the all-night symposium celebrating the 'arrival' of Charaxos at Naucratis in Egypt with Doricha (the epitaph supposedly on her tomb, the third and smallest pyramid at Giza according to some at Herodotus 2.134), while the final line hints at Charaxos' return (ἔϲτ' ἂν ἴῃ Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ' ἁλὸς πελάγη, line 8).

16 See Bowie, this volume, for the proposal that Doricha is the addressee.

17 On Sappho and the symposium, see further Bowie and Schlesier in this volume.

18 See Obbink, ch. 2, this volume.

19 For the cult of Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus at Messon, see the contributions of Boedeker, Caciagli, and Nagy in this volume. For the location of Messon, see Fig. 8.1, p. 199.

Sappho's brother Charaxos spent 'a great deal of money' (χρημάτων μεγάλων) to free his lover, the courtesan Rhodopis (also known as Doricha), then a slave, at Naucratis in Egypt—for which Herodotus claims a pedigree in a poem of Sappho's. In Sappho frs. 15 and 5 and now the Brothers Song we can see the existence of a song type, a prayer for the safe return of the merchant-gone-to-sea (or going). The prayer may rehearse an occasion leading to the performance of a song (as in the Brothers Song), or its actual performance in the past or present (as in Sappho fr. 5). It suggests a ritual occasion, not as regular as the blessing of the fleet, but required on multiple occasions, each needing a new song for performance. A merchant would put the family capital at risk more than once, until he became really rich, or, as the 'plausible' stories of Menelaus and Odysseus suggest, these were multi-year voyages. The prayer for safe return, introduced as a matter of concern, then expands to envisage what such a return would mean for the family—wealth, and an enhanced social position in the community. The emphasis shifts almost imperceptibly from the envisaged distress that sparks the prayer to the envisaged happiness that comes with the prayer's fulfilment, as happens in the erotic sphere in Sappho fr. 1, except that here the desired good becomes more specific or personal in the end, and may in each of the cases include or imply marriage. In Sappho fr. 5 at any rate, a connection with the poems involving Aphrodite is suggested, since she is also typically invoked in seaside cult as a protector of sailors (as we can see at the end of fragment 5, perhaps associated with prostitutes and hetairae frequented by Charaxos).

But a separate sequence of poems from each group according to letter-incipit deals with love per se: Sappho fr. 16 on Anactoria who is longed-for by the speaker; Sappho fr. 16a on those who treat her badly, despite how well she treats them. So too the Kypris Song, addressed to Aphrodite, echoes Sappho fr. 1, insofar as it delineates a chain of experiences of love. Homeric themes are touched on in both age-groups: in the love poems, we get Homeric language of battle in Sappho fr. 1; Helen leaving Menelaus in Sappho fr. 16. But also the kings leaving Ilium and coming to Lesbos in Sappho fr. 17, which is associated with *nostos*, perhaps that of the brother.[20] Charaxos in the Brothers Song might be seen as an Odysseus figure (with Larichos as Telemachus) in a family drama with epic overtones.[21]

20 For this reading, see Neri (2014) and Caciagli, this volume.

21 Sappho = Penelope, Doricha-Rhodopis = Calypso or Circe. The correspondences are suggestive, but hardly exact.

An aspect of this would mean becoming head of a household: an ἄνηρ or husband, and in Sappho the word may well carry that connotation. The point is not that Larichos should survive and grow up: he should become an ἄνηρ in all senses. Presumably this would include marriage and the production of legitimate offspring. The paradigmatic importance of this to the community might even lead us to suspect that figures like Χάρ-αcκοc and Λάρ-ιχοc aren't real people in a historical or biographical sense, as it were, but rather perhaps cult figures in a wine merchants' ritual. They are also suitable names for a vinter's sons: λάροc is used of wine (sense 'sweet'); χάρα is the intoxicating joy and attractive grace that Dionysus brings.[22] Furthermore, Brothers Song, lines 4–5 clearly refers to someone's chattering (θρυλεῖν), repeated discourse about Charaxos' coming, as though a recognizable type or genre, and doing so in a particularly repetitive style. Sappho fr. 15 could well be the end of a 'Charaxos song'. Similarly Sappho sang a 'Phaon song', and one about a 'father' with the high-sounding Trojan-epic name Skamandronymos.

In the Brothers Song, Aphrodite doesn't appear. Instead we are told that Zeus, if he wills it, sends a special divinity as 'helper', ἐπάρωγον, to turn the distressed from their troubles.[23] M.L. West proposed to emend the relatively rare word ἐπάρωγον in line 18 to ἐπ' ἄρηον, 'for the better' (taking δαίμον(α) in the sense of 'one's fortune').[24] Fortunately, we are now in a position to resolve this crux. Albert Henrichs has pointed out that βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω in line 17 is in fact an extremely rare locution: a βαcιλεύc 'of Olympus' is mentioned nowhere earlier than Sappho in the present passage; and it occurs nowhere afterwards until Theocritus in his hymn (17) to Ptolemy II, in which in the closing climax, Zeus and Hera (in positive comparison with Ptolemy II and his wife Berenike) are styled as βαcιλῆαc Ὀλύμπου.[25] In the same lines, Theocritus praises Ptolemy

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22 For the brothers as stock figures in a ritual and/or traditional poetic entertainment, like Lycambes and the Lycambids in Archilochus, see Lidov, ch. 3, and Lardinois in this volume. For further etymologies of the names see Bierl, ch. 14, and Lidov, ch. 3, in this volume.

23 Eur. *Hec.* 163–164 (lyrics) ποῖ δὴ cωθῶ; ποῦ τιc θεῶν ἢ δαίμων ἐπαρωγόc may give a parallel for the variant ἐπάρωγον recorded in the papyrus (Obbink [2014b] 44) and, if not actually an intertextual allusion to this verse of the Brothers Song, shows at least that the expression was a conceivable one in lyric poetry of the fifth century.

24 West (2014) 9: 'Those whose fortune the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship for the better, they become …': ἐπάρωγον *post corr.*: ἐπάρηγον *ante corr.*: ἐπ' ἄρηον West (2014) 9: ἐπ' ἀρήον' sc. δαίμον(α) Liberman (2014) 9.

25 Henrichs (forthcoming). Theoc. *Id.* 17.132. Next at Verg. *Aen.* 5.533 where *voluit rex magnus Olympi* is a fair translation of βόλληται βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω at Brothers Song, line 17 (see *Aen.* 12.791). A related precursor may be *Phoronis* fr. 4.1 Bernabé Ὀλυμπιάδοc βαcιλείηc; compare Pind. *Pae.* *21.11 ἰὴ ἰὴ βαcίλειαν Ὀλυ[μ]πίω[ν] / νύμφαν ἀριcτόπο[c]ịν.

for having founded shrines (17.123 ναούϲ) to his mother and father (Ptolemy *Soter*) that are 'succouring': ἵδρυται πάντεϲϲιν ἐπιχθονίοιϲιν ἀρωγούϲ (17.125).[26] Given the rarity of the phrasing (βαϲίλευϲ Ὀλύμπω in line 17 at Brothers Song 17 and βαϲιλῆαϲ Ὀλύμπου at Theoc. 17.132), and the linking of Zeus and Hera with the same title (βαϲιλῆαϲ) in both passages, Theocritus' allusion thus vindicates *ἐπάρωγον* as an attested reading in the Hellenistic text of the Brothers Song.

βαϲίλειαν Ἤραν at Brothers Song 10 is obviously connected with 17 βαϲίλευϲ Ὀλύμπω, especially given the attested connections of this epithet with Hera in the Lesbian sanctuary of the three gods at Messon,[27] and the βαϲίληεϲ at Sappho fr. 17.4, where Hera is styled πότνι(α) in line 2.[28] Theocritus 17.132 βαϲιλῆαϲ Ὀλύμπου seems designed to draw attention to the link.

A Role for Dionysus

The linkage of Zeus and Hera, together with Charaxos' wine trading, raises the question of the absence in the Brothers Song of Dionysus, the third of the Lesbian trinity of deities in the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon. At the same time,

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26 Pointed out to me by Renate Schlesier (private communication). This important intertextual reference cements the link between the two passages, showing (i) that Theocritus (like Horace after him) knew the Brothers Song, and (ii) that his text read ἐπάρωγον at Brothers Song 18, not ἐπ' ἄρηον, as emended by West. Theocritus has slightly altered the epithet to ἀρωγούϲ at 17.125, which is generally recognized (e.g. by Gow in his commentary ad loc.) to be a transferred epithet synonymous with Cωτῆραϲ, i.e. the title conferred upon Ptolemy I already in his own lifetime, and which became part of the basis for his worship with divine honors. Positing ἐπ' <u>ἄρωγον</u> here—with ἐπ' as a post-positive preposition, i.e. δαίμον' … ἐπ' <u>ἄρωγον</u> (cf. line 6 νᾶϊ ϲὺν πλήαι) is tempting: taking it with ἐκ πόνων, cf. *Il.* 4.205 ἐπὶ ψευδέϲϲι πατὴρ Ζεὺϲ ἔϲϲετ' ἀρωγόϲ; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.70, exhorting Hieron in a prayer to δᾶμον γεραίων τράποι ϲύμφωνον ἐϲ ἁϲυχίαν, 'turn the citizens to harmonious peace through ruling them' which offers a parallel with τρέπειν and a prepositional phrase. But this would leave ἐκ πόνων awkwardly marooned in between. ἀρωγόϲ is familiar from Homer, but appears in lyric before tragedy only once (Pi. *Ol.* 2.45 Θέρϲανδροϲ … Ἀδραϲτιδᾶν θάλοϲ ἀρωγὸν δόμοιϲ); ἐπαρωγόϲ is not otherwise attested in early lyric or Pindar, and appears only once in Homer, at *Od.* 11.498 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπαρωγὸϲ ὑπ' αὐγὰϲ ἠελίοιο; then Eur. *Hec.* 164 (quoted above); frequently in Ap. Rhod. e.g. 4.196; Antipater, *Ath. Pol.* 6.219.21; Quint. Smyrn. 3.121.

27 As observed by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) and Ferrari (2014) 3. They point to the mention of Hera in the marginal scholium *ad* v. 15 in P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. i τὸ τῆϲ Ἥραϲ, referring to τεῖχοϲ βαϲιλήϊον in the text, placed between Alcaeus frs. 129 and 130b, two poems set in the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon.

28 See Sappho fr. 5.1 πότνιαι Νηρήιδεϲ; Kypris Song, line 2 Κύπρι, δέϲποιν'.

Larichos' wine-pouring, Charaxos' wine-trading and, according to Posidippus, wine-drinking at the symposion all point in the direction of Dionysus. Perhaps he is in some vague way related to the unnamed protective *daimon* of line 18. It is Dionysus who releases the Zeus-chosen from their troubles and sins (18–19 ἐκ πόνων…/περτρόπην; see Sappho fr. 5.5 λῦσα[ι; Brothers Song 24 λύθειμεν)—presumably in blessed sympotic mysteries outside of which it would be sacrilege, or perhaps improper for a female poet, to name him. For this reason, perhaps, he is not mentioned by name here, either because of his worship in mysteries, not to be divulgated to the uninitiated, or because Dionysus (as the principal god of the male symposium) was outside a female poet's social world or age group; or perhaps he is simply unnamed as a kind of poetic riddle: Zeus is likewise obliquely styled here as 'King of Olympus' (without being named, unlike in line 6); and at Sappho fr. 17.10, Dionysus is obliquely called Θυώναϲ ἰμ̣ε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα without being mentioned explicitly by name (as Hera and Zeus are in that poem).

Alcaeus fr. 129.8–9 reveals his name in Lesbian form, but describes him equally enigmatically, as τόνδε κεμήλιον … / Ζόννυϲϲον ὠμήϲταν—language with distinct connections to Orphic ritual and the Dionysiac mysteries.[29] Dionysus is depicted elsewhere (e.g. in *Hom. Hymn Dion.* [7]) as the protector of sailors, and as such is sometimes connected with Nereids (see Sappho fr. 5.1).[30] Similarly, Alcaeus fr. 34 is a prayer for helper-gods who save at sea; Sappho fr. 95 and Alcaeus 308, unless it narrated the same story as the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, contain prayers to Hermes, well-known as a helper god and escort. Through his protection, Dionysus confers the supreme status of the initiate: lines 19–20 μάκαρεϲ πέλονται / καὶ πολύολβοι. But these honors are also the perquisites of the happy dead,[31] so that, although the statement is framed in such a way as to apply to all humans, it is Charaxos who is offered this status as a recompense for death at sea—if the unnamed protecting deity-helper just happens to 'blow him a kiss' (Carson). Failure to name him makes fortune seem even more capricious—but also just as swiftly able to be turned to one's favor. Sappho's approach, instead, is a "sober" one, like wineless libations, offered to the protec-

29 Compare the *Agathos Daimon*, on whom see Burkert (1985) 180. He was worshipped in a heroic context in the cult of Dionysus. For Dionysus as δαίμων see e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 413: πρόβακχ' εὔιε δαίμον (translated by E.R. Dodds as 'Spirit who leadest my worship, master of my joy'), 417: ὁ δαίμων ὁ Διὸϲ παὶϲ χαίρει μὲν θαλίαιϲιν.

30 See Barringer (1995) 82, 149–151 who, quite apart from their mention in Sappho fr. 5, makes a case for the Nereids' connection elsewhere with Dionysus through their role in the ritual underworld eschatology of the Orphic Gold Leaves and the Dionysiac mysteries.

31 See Bierl, ch. 14, this volume.

tor guiding spirits of the netherworld, but without involvement in wine-making or drinking. Invoking Dionysus by name might be useful as a protector at sea, as he was by Alcaeus invoked as an avenger of Pittacus in the political sphere (and there is ample precedent for shipwreck as an emblem for political exile). But as a principal participant in adult male symposia, he may have been too far afield from the religious sphere of a young Sappho to warrant mention by name here.

In the coming of age of Lar-ichos in the final stanza (in addition to implications of class and marriage mentioned above), there may even be glimpsed a hope, expressed through a nautical allegory as in Alcaeus, for the success of the new crop and vintage and trading-voyage, and in the Char-axos story the passing away, through trade or sympotic consumption and enjoyment, of the old: a kind of Sapphic John Barleycorn, but with tokens of Dionysiac 'sacrifice' and reminiscent of the near contemporary 'Hymn to the Dyctaean Kouros' from Crete.

Apparently, the 'Charaxos song' can be sung either way, with the first line and a half of the Brothers Song perhaps spoken by someone else, addressed to Sappho, but partly quoting 'Sappho' (as Aphrodite does in Sappho fr. 1)—in tones ranging from 'violent railing' (κατακερτόμηϲε, Hdt. 2.135) to 'repetitively prattling' (θρύληϲθα, Brothers Song, line 5)—either about Charaxos' 'arriving (or not) with a full ship' and squandering the whole cargo on a whore in some port, and failing to come home with a ship full of spices and perfume—or, as a pious prayer for his safe and profitable return (as the Brothers Song continues, and in Sappho fr. 5). One version of the Charaxos song goes: 'Charaxos came (home once before), with a full ship', and another 'Charaxos came (to Naucratis) with a full ship (but didn't come home with one, or didn't come back)'; another goes: πότνιαι Νηρήιδεϲ ἀβλάβην μοι (Sappho fr. 5.1) or ἐξίκεϲθαι τυίδε ϲάαν ἄγοντα | νᾶα Χάραξον (Brothers Song, lines 11–12); still another goes: 'may he not come a second time for a longed-for desire' (Sappho fr. 15.11–12).

We might even see Charaxos and Larichos as helper-figures to sailors or a sea-going people, on the model of Castor and Pollux, as in Alcaeus fr. 34,[32] but attached to Dionysus (invoked obliquely in Brothers Song, line 18), who figure as characters in a drama centring on the trinity as gods of a mercantile city. For Sappho's audience, every "brother" at sea is a Charaxos, every youth at home is a wine-pouring Larichos, of ephebic status, on the verge of manhood (in the social sense; what for woman we now call a debutante). The notion of some element of social or ritual drama is an attractive one: every bride is a Helen—or: every maidens' chorus has a Helen (as Claude Calame has said)

32 Kurke, this volume, makes the case for this more fully.

to compete in the 'beauty contest' in Lesbos which is also a re-enactment of an event narrated in the poetry of the Epic Cycle. Every girl has a father with a high-sounding Trojan war sounding name like Skamandronymos, a brother with an epic compound name like Erigyios, and a tragic lover with a name like Phaon. The poetry would then in general be scripts for such drama, but the preparation of the performers and the choosing of the participants would be part of it, too (see Sappho fr. 23), as they seem to be in Alcman.

Sappho thus concludes the Brothers Song by challenging her audience to remember that Charaxos' success and safety is in the hands of the gods and attainable (if at all) only through the correct form of prayer in song. Against this is held up universal knowledge of all the gods and the cosmos by the speaker (perhaps of wrongdoing, perhaps of Dionysiac salvation), and the power of hymnic song, framed in the poem, to help secure Charaxos' safety, as well as the safety and prosperity of the family or community. She looks forward to his thus returning to Lesbos, and imagines and advises how one would have to pray to the gods to secure this, and what he himself would need to wish for in order to secure safe passage, and so exonerate himself—and in the course of which she herself does so: *i.e. performs this hymnic prayer*—putatively in the future, just as in Sappho fr. 1 she reperforms one that she narrates in the past, thus bringing it into the immediacy of the present.

How the Brothers Song Began

The absence of a named Dionysus leads us back to the question of the addressee in line 5. To whom is the first complete line of the Brothers Song addressed, and how did the poem begin? I think there are only two possibilities:[33] the first, considered at the beginning of this chapter, is an alluring, Siren-like hetaira: Rhodopis or Doricha, who might have led the sea-farer off-course or accompanied him home as prize 'cargo'. Who ever stood a greater chance to benefit from Charaxos' arriving 'with a full ship', than her?[34] The second is Sappho's

33 Despite the odd switch to the third person that would be required later in the poem, Stehle, this volume, argues that the addressee is Larichos. Lidov, ch. 3, this volume, considers the possibility of speaker change after the address in line 5, so that the speaker of the first complete stanza is the one addressed as 'you' in the second.

34 See Bowie, this volume. This would raise questions about the location of the addressee at the time she is addressed in the poem. Could a speaker in Sappho address someone of legendary status like Rhodopis, or anyone as far afield as Egypt, or in an uncertain location?

mother,[35] since she would have had a natural inclination to be concerned about both her son and the family's fortunes. She also seems to be addressed elsewhere in Sappho's poetry.

On this basis of the preserved traces, West further plausibly conjectures that the final adonian of the first stanza (P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 line 2) ended with the words cέ, μα̣̂[τερ.[36] It may be suggested (purely *exempli gratia*, but not without some support—see below) that the first line of the stanza similarly contained the word πάτηρ, as follows:

1 ⊗ [Πάτροc (e.g. ἀμμέων)
2 [*1 or 5 lines missing*]
3 [–̣̣ ⏑̣ .] Λα̣[ριχ-
4 [–̣ .⏑̣] cέ, μα̣̂[τερ
[–]
5 ἀλλ' ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
κτλ.

That Sappho mentioned her father (by name) in her poetry is known from references to him in Herodotus and ancient biographers.[37] The specificity of

35 As argued in Obbink (2014b) 41.

36 West (2014) 14 The letter after μ is not certain (the lower-most part of a diagonal rising from the line of writing in the lower left quadrant, as of α δ λ μ), but as West writes: 'The trace after μ can only be α, since a vowel is required by the metre'. The pronoun cέ is encouraged (if not guaranteed) by the presence of the accent in the papyrus, as it is at Sappho fr. 17.10 and Kypris Song = Sappho fr. 26.9. West notes that the space before cέ 'seems impossibly narrow to accommodate two syllables, and if there was only one the alpha has to be short'. Although the possibilities for the latter are thereby delimited, there are line beginnings with two syllables in three letters in Sappho book 1 (fr. 16.19, fr. 35), and there also may have been run-over from Brothers Song, line 3 (see below). A narrow word like ἶρα at the beginning of the adonian (originally restored by West, *Maia* 22 [1970] 327 = *Hellenica* II 49 in the same position in Sappho fr. 17.20, see West [2014] 5) e.g. 3–4 [εἰc | ἶρα] cέ, μα̣̂[τερ.], 'for/to/in rites' (of/for or celebrating Larichos?), or a similarly narrow word or words consisting of a long followed by a short syllable, including the possible run-over of a word beginning in verse 3 (frequent in the adonian: Sappho fr. 1.12, 2.4, 5.16 and probably 20, 16.4 and 16, 16a.32, 30.5, 31.4, 8 and 12) and divided disyllabically as at 39.2–3 Λύδι|ον—would suit to fill the space of two (or at most three narrow) letters allowed. This, of course, does not prove that μα̣̂[τερ] is the correct restoration, only that it is a possible one.

37 (i) Cκαμανδρώνυμοc or (ii) Cκάμανδροc: (i) Herodotus 2.135 (Charaxos son of Skamandronymos); Suda σ 107 (iv 322 f. Adler) (cf. Σ Plat. *Phdr.* 235c; Tzetz. *Proll. Com.* 2.8); Ael. *VH* 12.19 (p. 135 Dilts); (i) or (ii): P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1.1–35 = Sappho test. 252 = Chamaeleon 29 3T *CPF*

one distich in Ovid's *Heroides* (15.61–62) has led editors to infer an origin in her own poetry:[38]

> *sex mihi natales ierant, cum lecta parentis*
> *ante diem lacrimas ossa bibere meas.*

This distich introduces the section on Sappho's family and especially Charaxos that runs from lines 61–70, after which she returns to Phaon at line 71 and Charaxos is only vaguely alluded to (though named at lines 117–118). I suggest that the Brothers Song might have begun with a recollection of this sort. Such a chronology could account for how Sappho could have been young enough to have addressed her mother about her brothers, at a time when her younger brother was still young enough for his fortunes to be entirely uncertain. The sense will have been not 'Father is gone forever; move on!', but 'We've plenty to feel bad about; look on the bright side: do something pro-active!'.

Also missing from the opening, I think, must be something about Larichos (the name restorable in line 3). Otherwise, he comes out of the blue at the end of the poem.[39] Mention of him early in the poem, as a matter of concern or honor, will have formed a thematic frame with the end. We do not know what she said about him. But we are not without a clue. Horace alludes to Lar-i-chos in the

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(vol. I 1* pp. 406–409); Jacobson (1974) 279–280. Κάμων (one of the variants on the name of Sappho's father at Suda σ 107 = iv 322 f. Adler) is a hypochoristic form of the name. Connections of the name to the geography of the Troad and poetry about the Trojan war, and/or to Lesbian engagement in the Battle of Sigeum (cf. Alcaeus fr. 401b), may be relevant to Sappho frs. 16, 17 and 44 (among others).

38 'The information is so specific that it probably derives from some statement in her poetry': Knox (1995) 291 on *Her.* 15.61 *sex mihi natales ierant*, noting that the expression is unusual for 'my sixth birthday had passed', and that Ovid normally forms it with *ago* or *adesse* (*Met.* 2.497 *natalibus actis*, 13.753 and *Met.* 9.285 *cum iam natalis adesset*, *Tr.* 3.13.2). The latter consideration may be as relevant for inferring an earlier intertext as for establishing the authorship of *Her.* 15.

39 At Brothers Song, line 22. Professor Lidov compares Horace's *Ode* 1.4: *Solvitur acris hiems*, in which Lycidas suddenly appears at the end: 'These twists which cast the whole preceding poem in a new light seem very Horatian, but he may well have modelled it on a type he found' (private communication). But the ambiguity encountered in the expression κεφάλην ἀέρρῃ (as shown by modern commentators' and translators' uncertainty over it—the only expression in the poem rendered purely literally by Carson [2014], for example)—, shows that the later mention of Larichos at line 21 cries out for contextualization; and the fact that Horace makes Thaliarchos the addressee of his adaptation suggests a more prominent role for Larichos in Sappho's poem.

person of (Tha)l-i-archos, the addressee of *Odes* 1.9, as Gregory Hutchinson has shown,[40] as a *puer* who is also present at a symposium and exhorted to drink and not neglect love. Sappho will not have included the exhortation to drink, but the context of Alcaeus fr. 338 might well have been suggested to Horace (who had Sappho's poem in front of him) by Sappho's praise for Larichos as serving the city's elite as οἰνοχοῶν in the prytaneion of Mytilene: Cαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδλφὸν ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις.[41] Other than the exhortation to 'lift his head' in the new poem, this is the only thing we know that Sappho said in her poetry about her younger brother.[42]

It might be objected that there is little space at the beginning of line 3 before Λα̣[ριχ-. Although the line would start slightly to the right of the lines under it, the difference would not have been appreciable from one line to the next; and it must also be taken into account that Brothers Song, lines 3–4 'appear to be written smaller than the others' (Lobel [1951] 5), and so will have had slightly more letters than the same fragment has for Brothers Song, lines 5–8. So there is no problem with four letters at the opening of Brothers Song, line 3: line beginnings with two syllables in four letters (and word-break after the second syllable) are extremely common in Sappho Book 1, and thus nothing prevents restoring Λα̣[ριχ- in Brothers Song, line 3. Of course, it could have had only three, with one or two wide letters. So it would be possible to restore instead Athenaeus' πολ]λα̣[χοῦ here (with Lidov, ch. 3, this volume), especially if Athenaeus's source is a paraphrase or inference from an actual statement. However, it is hard to see how Sappho herself could have used the word as Athenaeus' speaker does (she is unlikely to have credited herself with praising Larichos 'often'). And had she praised Larichos here for 'often pouring the wine', Athenaeus' speaker might have been expected to have just said so

40 Hutchinson (2014) 288–289, noting *inter alia* that in Horace θαλία has been imported from pre-58 Cologne, lines 6–7, and that Horace, *Carm.* 1.9.9–12 covers Brothers Song, lines 13–16 (τὰ δ' ἄλλα, 13 = *cetera*, *Carm.* 1.9.9; Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad loc.: 'everything outside the symposium') + Alcaeus fr. 338.2–7; see Hutchinson in Obbink (2014b) 43, Phillips (2014), Morgan (2014) and in this volume.

41 Sappho test. 203a = Athen. 10.425a; test. 203c = Schol. T *Il.* 20.234 (V 41 Erbse): ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς καὶ Cαπφώ φηcι, νέους εὐγενεῖς εὐπρεπεῖς οἰνοχοεῖν.

42 According to P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1.1–35 = Sappho test. 252 = Chamaeleon 29 3T *CPF* (vol. I 1* pp. 406–409), Sappho τὸν δὲ Λάριχον ⟨νέον⟩ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἠγάπηcεν. Brothers Song, line 22: Λάριχος καὶ δή ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται now confirms the correctness of Hunt's supplement ⟨νέον⟩ in Grenfell and Hunt (1914) as the missing adjective before ὄντα, as noted by Liberman (2014) 3. The poem may have been the source of these testimonia.

instead of turning this into her 'often praising him' for doing so. If Sappho indeed, as Athenaeus says, 'often' praised him for pouring the wine, it increases the chances that she did so in this poem in which we, after all, now know that Larichos was mentioned.

References to wine per se are lacking in Sappho, unlike in Alcaeus, and references to wine-pouring are rare, but not entirely absent: in Sappho fr. 141, we get an elaborate description of Hermes as wine-pourer (θέοις' ἐοινοχόησε, line 3) at a divine wedding quoted by Athenaeus at 10.425d, not long after the mention of Sappho's praise for Larichos.[43] Sappho fr. 2.16 οἰνοχόαισον compares wine-pouring to 'nectar-pouring'.[44] Athenaeus 11.487a quotes Diphilus' *Sappho* (Sappho test. 26 Campbell) for a comico-symposiastic wine-pouring scene involving the poetess (doubtless reflecting how commonly her poetry was later performed at Athenian parties). Posidippus, on the other hand, specifically says of Doricha, carousing into the wee hours with Charaxos, that she 'grasped early morning cups of wine' (ὀρθρινῶν ἥψαο κισσυβίων),[45] which might derive from a reference in a lost poem Sappho's. Presumably Sappho said of Larichos that (something after the example of Ganymede) it was an honor to have been chosen as a wine-pourer, from which the family, perhaps under unusually trying circumstances, might benefit.[46] It would have been cause for celebrating, as the conclusion of the Brothers Song underscores.

A reference to the gaity and levity of the celebration, and of the banquets in the prytaneion at Mytilene, would not have been out of place. The events at which Larichos is envisaged as present would have been graced with the presence of attractive young boys for the enjoyment of the male elite. It would not be entirely out of place for Sappho to have said: 'Now Larichos will (have to) box with Eros', or 'Now they (sc. adult males) will find Eros a tough opponent'—a topos familiar from Anacreon.[47] A gentle tease of this sort would explain the

43 Suggested by Lidov (2002) 220 n. 39 as a possible place for Sappho's mention of Larichos' role as wine-pourer; see Sappho test. 203b = Eust. *Il.* 1205.17 ff.: Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ καλὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οἰνοχοεῖν φησι θεοῖς (= Sappho fr. 141 test.) … ἡ δ' αὐτὴ Σαπφὼ καὶ τὸν Λάριχον ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τῆς Μυτιλήνης.

44 See Sappho fr. 96.26–28 and perhaps also fr. 18a9 π̣ι̣να- (?).

45 *Epigr.* 17.4 Gow and Page = 122.4 Austin and Bastianini.

46 See Lardinois in this volume.

47 'The proposal to fight heightens the tension of eros' (P.J. Parsons, private communication). It feigns resistance, as it acknowledges risk: Larichos could get hurt, or may have already been hurt (or abused) by someone. See further MacLachlan (2001). For the image, Anacreon fr. 396: 'Bring water, boy, bring wine, bring me garlands of flowers: fetch them, so that I may box against Love' (φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, φέρε ⟨δ'⟩ ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμὶν /

odd exhortation to Larichos later in the poem at line 21, to κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η (‘keep his head up in the fray’). In fr. 346 Anacreon speaks of looking up and holding up his head after boxing with a difficult partner, Eros:[48]

χα]λεπ̣ῶ̣ι̣ δ’ ἐπυκτάλιζ̣ο̣[ν
]ανορέω τε κἀνακύπτω[
] ̣ωι πολλὴν ὀφείλω
]ν̣ χάριν ἐκφυγὼν Ἔρωτα[
?Διό]νυϲε παντάπαϲι δεϲμ[ῶν
]. χαλεπῶν δι’ Ἀφροδίτη[ν.
]φέροι μὲν οἶνον ἄγ{γ}ε̣[ι
]φέροι δ’ ὕδω[ρ] π̣άφλ̣[αζον,
] ̣ε καλέοι[. .]ιν[
]χαριϲ, ἄρτ̣[. .]ϲ δ[
] .[
. . . .

It is significant that whereas in Anacreon fr. 357 Eros and Aphrodite are named as playmates of Dionysus, fr. 346 may serve to pit Dionysus against the two erotic deities (reading an address Διό]νυϲε at the start of line 5 in fr. 346). It thus contains a conscious shift away from the inner, erotic struggles of the narrator and into the curative merrymaking of the celebration. For Larichos in the Brothers Song, it may be that Dionysus (in the guise of the unnamed *daimon*) interrupts the combative atmosphere of the brother’s fight with Eros, and aids our transition into the convivial context. At the same time the image would provide a plausible precedent for Horace’s advice to his addressee, Thaliarchos. The sequence of thought, then, as suggested above, would be as follows:

στεφάνουϲ· ἔνεικον, ὡϲ δὴ πρὸϲ Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω; ὡϲ δὴ 5th c. lexicographer Orion: ὡϲ ἤδη Et. Gen.: ὡϲ μὴ Athenaeus, Eustathius, and the 2nd century Anacreon portrait mosaic from Autun [see Blanchard (1975)]: ὡϲ ἂν Dobree). Campbell (1967) 326 compares Soph. *Trach.* 441–442: Ἔρωτι μέν νυν ὅϲτιϲ ἀντανίϲταται / πύκτηϲ ὅπωϲ ἐϲ χεῖραϲ, οὐ καλῶϲ φρονεῖ.

48 Anacreon fr. 346 (2) fr. 4 (P. Oxy. 2321 fr. 4), a hymn to Dionysus (?): ‘… and I was boxing with a tough opponent, (but now) I look up and raise my head again … I owe many thanks, (Dionysus?), for having escaped Love’s bonds completely, bonds made harsh by Aphrodite. Let wine be brought in a jar, let bubbling water be brought, let … be summoned … grace, (perfect?) …’ (tr. Campbell). See Anacreon fr. 396.2 Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω. I owe this suggestion to Renate Schlesier, who will develop it elsewhere. See also Lidov, ch. 3, and Bierl, ch. 14, in this volume.

⨂
[When I was six years old, our] f[ather's ashes drank my tears]
[before their time; now let us honor fair] La[richos], [for pouring the wine at elite banquets: with him, Eros wears boxing gloves (*vel. sim.*)]
[and] you [should celebrate, too,] Mo[ther], [P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5.2]
but you whine on endlessly about Charaxos coming, etc. [Brothers Song, line 5]

The boat and weather imagery that follow in the Brothers Song could have easily been understood by Horace and his Roman readers as part of a repertoire for thinking about the symposium. Horace's 'Soracte ode' (*Carm.* 1.9) will have been a creative rethinking of the Brothers Song, answering a Sapphic intertext with one from Alcaeus (fr. 338), and envisaging what he (or a symposiast) might have spoken to the young "Larichos" from Sappho's poem at the prospective banquet. Wine = Dionysus (the 'helping *daimon*') may also be hinted at in the poem as the antidote for Charaxos' love-troubles—or so Horace might have read Sappho's poem allegorically.

But how to integrate this into the rest of the poem? On the one hand, it makes these lines not sympotic (for Sappho will not have mentioned the symposium), but only convivial. The boxing lover is embroiled with (not frugally avoiding) boys or courtesans, and he is not a potential spouse for the daughters of the male aristocrats. One would have to infer from this image of the convivial life the social standing that would 'free us from sorrows' required for the last two lines despite the complete change of tone and substance.

But this is in fact what the Brothers Song goes on to do: the speaker contrasts the addressee's doldrums over the errant brother, with a correlative response: while young Larichos is teased about having it off with the aristocrats (into whose families he might marry, or from whom he could expect an introduction into elite society), Sappho bids her addressee engagement in a parallel celebration at a festival, including the performance of a prayer or hymn and the enactment of a rite. The uncertainty of events is balanced off against trusting in the gods' fore-knowledge of events, leading (Zeus willing) to blessed prosperity in this life or the next. βαρ̣υθυ̣μίαν̣ in Brothers Song, line 23 may thus have an ironic or mocking tone, comparable to the reference to her βάρυϲ δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμοϲ in the 'Tithonos Song' (Cologne Sappho, line 5). In this way, the Brothers Song would have a subtle but justifiably jubilant up-turn at the conclusion, after coping with dire circumstances, paralleled in a number of her other poems' endings.

But it would not be an erotic poem, any more so than Horace's 'Soracte ode' is an overt invitation to eroticism, and as such coheres with expectations for this

series of poems (Sappho frs. 17, 18, 18a, 5, and 9—which together stood at the beginning of the group with incipits in π-, and before the overtly erotic Kypris Poem). Its direction will have been for hopes for the family under uncertain circumstances, wishing into existence a better social, financial, and religious status, and the vanishing of family gloom, but parallelled by the manner in which Sappho's erotic poems frequently are couched as pleas for the relief of anxiety over love.[49]

49 Neri (2015) 56 n. 16 objects that this reconstruction of the opening strophe would be out of keeping with the anxious mood of the following verses (5–6), but those prattling concerns are those of the interlocutor, not of the speaker / Sappho, who counters them in an altogether different, more modulated tenor.

CHAPTER 10

Sappho and the Mythopoetics of the Domestic

Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi

In San Francisco's Palace of the Legion of Honor one can enjoy a typical work by Pieter de Hooch, a leading painter of the so-called Delft School and the Dutch Golden Age. The painting, entitled *A Woman Nursing an Infant with a Child and a Dog*, depicts one of the serene domestic scenes the Delft School is well-known for having repeatedly celebrated, especially around the middle of the seventeenth century (Fig. 10.1). It is a domestic interior, with a woman sitting by a window, where soft, glowing light comes in. Unlike his contemporary Vermeer, whose domestic settings with women sitting or standing by a window usually suggest a state of longing, Pieter de Hooch's nursing mother, with her infant in her lap and her other child beside her feeding a dog while catching a playful glimpse of the viewer, exudes blissful familial content.

No other representative of Dutch *genre* painting, with its renowned depictions of everyday life and predilection for interior settings, seems to have explored so persistently the pictorial possibilities not just of the domestic in general but of the familial more specifically.[1] A large number of Pieter de Hooch's interiors are marked by the unmistakable presence of familial snapshots: children of various ages interacting with their mothers in different spots within the Dutch household. More than just a moral commentary on and confirmation of the Dutch bourgeois household with the nuclear family at its core, these pictures raise broader questions regarding the construction, proliferation, and potential of artistic discourses about the "actual" and the "real" in a given society. Thus de Hooch's distinctive interest in the familial may be seen as an attempt to further expand on the prevailing Dutch mentality of his day, which encouraged the contemplation of contemporary culture as reflected in the *genre* images it continually inspired.

From the point of view of a classicist interested in the production, circulation, and interpretation of lyric genres, such phenomena in the history of cul-

1 On the domestic in Pieter de Hooch's works, see esp. Sutton (1998) 30–31 and 68–75. From the rich literature on Dutch genre painting Todorov (1997) 9–41 and Schama (1997) 375–562 are particularly relevant to the aspects briefly discussed here.

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FIGURE 10.1 *Painting of Pieter de Hooch. Interior with mother breast-feeding and child, 1658–1660. Oil on canvas, 68×56 cm.*
M.H. YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO. IMAGE RESEARCH: CENTRUM VOOR KUNSTHISTORISCHE DOCUMENTATIE, RADBOUD UNIVERSITY.

ture are significant. Despite the obvious historical divergences between archaic Greece and Golden Age Holland, the taste of both eras for discourses (verbal in the former case, visual in the latter) involving the representation of what appears to be the current reality is noteworthy, especially if one takes into

account the fact that in both cases preexisting, well-established art was engaging with larger, heroic or religious, mythological themes.

Hence Pieter de Hooch's fascination with the familial provides a tempting comparative stimulus when one contemplates how Sappho's poems that presumably refer to her brothers may have been culturally vital in her times. For among the lyric poets of the archaic period who favored compositions anchored in the so-called *hic et nunc* (the alleged current reality in which the first-person speaker appears), Sappho seems to have experimented eagerly with the potential presented by a poetics of the familial. Such an approach would explain not only the cluster of poems relating to her brothers, but also poems where she seems to have referred to her own daughter.[2]

Questions about the correlation between the production and consumption of artistic discourses in a given period are of importance here. If in the Dutch Golden age a tranquil, domestic scene by Pieter de Hooch had the soothing effect of cultural self-assurance for a contemporary viewer, while also suggesting the tremendous aesthetic potential hidden in the most banal aspects of the mundane, how are we to think about the cultural consumption of a poem by Sappho in the archaic period, revolving around her brothers? To raise the question more specifically in regards to the recently published papyrus, why would an audience on Lesbos or elsewhere enjoy listening to a poetic dialogue that, far from evoking generic familial coziness, brims with a very specific type of familial crisis apparently induced by the delayed *nostos* of one brother and the lingering maturation of another? What might have been the cultural premises behind Sappho's confidence that such discourses about one's own domestic calamities and struggles are a valuable poetic enterprise, attractive to contemporary listeners?

There are two underlying and interrelated issues in question. First, the manner in which audiences in a given period, spectators or listeners, may associate with and enjoy visual or verbal representations depicting an artist's current reality; and, second, the manner in which such expectations on the part of audiences both shape and are shaped by the representational modes employed by the artists themselves. To return to the visual poetics of the familial as practiced in Pieter de Hooch's work, the consensus is that the figures in his domestic settings would have been perceived by his viewers as generic personae and not as persons with individual biographical identities, despite

2 For references to her daughter, Kleis, see fr. 98b and fr. 132. See also Hallett (1982) 21–31. For other poems relevant to her brothers, see fragments 5, 7, 15 and most probably 3. See also Lardinois, this volume.

the fact that the painter might have used actual members of his own family as models for his work.[3] This strategy of underplaying individual identity while at the same time glorifying contemporary reality was, of course, typical of Dutch genre painting in general. It probably facilitated a mechanism of abstraction on the part of viewers, whereby the essentials of the real, its hidden eternals, could be grasped and contemplated promptly. Thus, looking at Pieter de Hooch's *A Woman Nursing an Infant with a Child and a Dog*, far from arousing a viewer's curiosity about a potential invisible story behind the visible figures, would instead instill an apprehension of the overall sensuousness of the scene that, even though it is inherent in the actual domestic routine, can be most fully disclosed through the tranquility of pictorial representation.

The representational strategies of the "current" and the "real" in Greek lyric poetics differ, however, for here named figures, meant to be perceived as existing contemporaries of the first-person lyric speakers, inhabit a large part of this poetry.[4] This is a distinctive mechanism of early Greek lyric which, as is well-known, proved to be quite durable in the centuries to come, not only in the many transformations of Greek lyric poetry but in Roman lyric poetics as well. It is reasonable to imagine that its intended tenor of specificity affected the formation of audiences' expectations and the registers of apprehension and enjoyment, both of which were linked to its key role in the construction of lyric mythopoetics.

While several such named figures appear as second-person addressees restricted to the beginning of a poem, there are other cases where they become part of a peculiar lyric *mise-en-scène*. It seems that Sappho was very interested in the potential of such compact scenes made to sound like parts of an ongoing larger narrative stemming from her current environment. A most illuminating instance is the quite complex *mise-en-scène* of fragment 96 that involves Atthis.[5] It is helpful to focus briefly on this fragment as it presents us with a good example of a "staging" strategy, variations of which Sappho repeatedly favored in her poetry and that can be quite illuminating in the case of the newest Broth-

3 On this issue, see esp. Sutton (1998) 30.

4 Proper names such as Pericles, Glaukos, Melanippos, Bycchis, Agesilaides, Kleoboulos, Euryalos, are encountered in Archilochus', Alcaeus', Anacreon's and Ibycus' poetry, not to mention Theognis' much discussed fondness for Kyrnos. See respectively Archilochus frs. 7, 56; Alcaeus frs. 38, 130B, 335; Anacreon frs. 357, 359; Ibycus fr. 288; Theognis esp. 19–26 and throughout the corpus. Naming, as opposed to non-naming or mixed strategies in Sappho's and other lyric poetry, is an illuminating aspect of lyric poetics beyond the limits of this paper.

5 Atthis is mentioned in frs. 49, 96, 130. The name also seems to appear in frs. 8 and 90d (10a) 15. See also fr. 214C Campbell.

ers Poem: triangular arrangements. Here a first-person speaker and a second-person listener are fixed in the "hic" while, on the other hand, there is an absent and much longed for third woman in the far "illic", imagined as suffering from a reciprocal longing for the other two. By the end of the fragment one realizes that the eventually named Atthis plays the role of the second-person listener while also being presented as the marked object of longing for the woman stranded in a distant land (most probably—and quite specifically—Lydia). In other words, as Ezra Pound rightly sensed in his own modernist Sapphic snippet, Atthis probably appeared in several Sapphic poems as one of the poet's peculiar lyric characters, half-palpable in her specific traits and half-evanescent in her figurative role as an object of desire.[6]

My claim is that the recently published Brothers Poem not only presents us with what looks like a variation on the triangular *mise-en-scène* (here we have a first-person speaker, a second-person listener, and a situation caused principally by the absence of brother Charaxos that eventually prompts a reference to brother Larichos as well) but also—and more importantly—it gestures towards a similar, if more outstanding, register of specificity.[7] In such cases, then, we have named figures who appear as originating from specific circumstances within the first-person speaker's real world while at the same time they are part of narrative strategies that retain, spotlight, or blur traits of personal identity according to their own representational economies.

I am employing the term "lyric mythopoetics" in order to capture precisely these peculiar narratives that appear to emanate from the present spatiotemporal coordinates of the first-person speaker, the lyric *hic et nunc*. Though such narratives do not always involve figures other than the first-person speaker, their mythopoetic power can be sensed more clearly whenever they do so. Despite their prominent spatiotemporal anchoring these narratives are autonomous verbal representations, detachable from their real or simulated original context and bearing a strong imaginary potential. Hence their perpetually oscillating status, sometimes as records of reality, other times as constructs of fiction. In fact, they may participate in both worlds at the same time, for their success lies in their capacity to reimagine the real in line with the economies of the verisimilar.[8]

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6 See fr. 49. For Ezra Pound's modernist snippet inspired by Sappho's Atthis, see Ιμέρρω, *Poems of Lustra* (1913–1915) in Pound (1990) 116.

7 Here I am interested in the Sapphic triangular mise-en-scène *beyond* her much discussed erotic triangle in fr. 31, for which see esp. Carson (1986) 12–13, 78–79, 86 and *passim*.

8 For a different approach to the concept of mythopoetics, see Bierl (2007a).

I will return to the particulars of these alternative mythopoetic practices, which must have been crucial in molding the broader cultural mindset within which poems such as the one recently discovered were circulating. For now, it is important to investigate further the specific premise with which I started. In an era that was generally attentive to the poetic transformations of the "real", what other factors could have contributed to Sappho's interest in the mythopoetic potential of one's own familial stories? Since the bulk of available evidence in Sappho's poetry, including the latest find, indicates a richer production of one particular aspect of the familial, namely relationships between siblings as experienced from the viewpoint of a sister, it is useful to think of other sisterly discourses that were likely available to both Sappho and her audiences in some form or another.

Certainly, in larger epic narratives such as the *Odyssey* or, later, in drama parental relationships were foundational. Next to, or inside, such grand narratives, however, one encounters smaller instances with less grandeur but delightful lightness, such as that in Book 6 of the *Odyssey* where Nausicaa, in a rare moment of peaceful domesticity in Homeric epic, runs from her bedroom through the house to find her parents performing their everyday morning tasks (her mother by the fireside with the women weaving and her father ready to step out the door to go to the council) and says (6.57–65):

Πάππα φίλ᾽, οὐκ ἂν δή μοι ἐφοπλίσσειας ἀπήνην
ὑψηλὴν εὔκυκλον, ἵνα κλυτὰ εἵματ᾽ ἄγωμαι
ἐς ποταμὸν πλυνέουσα, τά μοι ῥερυπωμένα κεῖται;
καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔοικε μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντα
βουλὰς βουλεύειν καθαρὰ χροῒ εἵματ᾽ ἔχοντα.
πέντε δέ τοι φίλοι υἷες ἐνὶ μεγάροις γεγάασιν,
οἱ δύ᾽ ὀπυίοντες, τρεῖς δ᾽ ἠΐθεοι θαλέθοντες·
οἱ δ᾽ αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι νεόπλυτα εἵματ᾽ ἔχοντες
ἐς χορὸν ἔρχεσθαι· τὰ δ᾽ ἐμῇ φρενὶ πάντα μέμηλεν.

Daddy dear, will you not have them harness me a wagon,
the high one with the good wheels, so that I can take the clothing
to the river and wash it? Now it is lying about, all dirty,
and you yourself, when you sit among the first men in council
and share their counsels, ought to have clean clothing about you;
and also, you have five dear sons who are grown in the palace,
two of them married, and the other three are sprightly bachelors,
and they are forever wanting clean fresh clothing, to wear it
when they go to dance, and it is my duty to think about this.

Translation by R. LATTIMORE

This moment is indeed relevant to the present discussion. For here the cutely lying young Nausicaa, excited by the prospect of her own marriage, feigns concern not just about her father's dirty clothes but also about those of her bachelor brothers in case they need to go to dance—dance being here a metonymy for courting and eventually marriage. Not many times in Greek literature is one made to think about the domestic occasions in which sisters would step into and even manipulate the romantic prospects of their brothers. No matter how parenthetical and lighthearted Nausicaa's reference to her brothers' potential courtship is here, it reminds us that Sappho's saga about her brother Charaxos' romantic life would indeed belong to this background of domestic concerns and debates.

Such familial matters, along with their quite prominent gender aspect, bring to mind the case of another female author—quite distant from Sappho in time and space—Jane Austen. All sorts of intrigues involving sisters and brothers are key to her plots, yet several of these episodes were indeed transformations of her own experiences as a sister, especially in *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*. As early as 1906 John and Edith Hubback published a book entitled *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers*—a title, of course, particularly suggestive in light of the newest poem about Sappho's sailor brother. It is a thorough study of various sources, mainly letters, which show how Jane Austen's sailor brothers, Sir Francis Austen, Admiral of the Fleet, and vice-admiral Charles Austen, permeated the sisters' life—sisters here in plural for we know that Jane and Cassandra were frequently exchanging notes and letters about their brothers. The book also shows how "real" episodes described or alluded to in these letters are transferred to and transformed in Jane Austen's novels. Serious concerns about the brothers' prolonged absences and gossip about their intermittent periods of presence *and* romance are recurrent themes in the sisters' written exchanges.[9]

Unfortunately, we hear nothing about a sister of Sappho—the second-person addressed in the recent poem (quite possibly a woman) is probably not the equivalent of the Cassandra figure in Jane Austen's life.[10] And, in any case, we should not be looking for perfect symmetries. Yet for a modern reader, Jane Austen's case, with its dim and indirect but existing correspondences between the real world of a sister and the fictional one, offers yet another interesting lens through which to detect (and distinguish) Sappho's recently published poem.

9 Hubback and Hubback (1906) esp. 1–14, 49–51, 91–93, 94–110.

10 For a female figure as Sappho's addressee in the brothers-poem, see Obbink (2014b) 41, as well as Obbink, ch. 9, and Kurke in this volume.

Another passage from Greek poetry, a quite famous one from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* (235–243), presents an illuminating case of sisterly discourse:

ὦ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός,
δακρυτὸς ἐλπὶς σπέρματος σωτηρίου,
ἀλκῆι πεποιθὼς δῶμ' ἀνακτήσηι πατρός.
ὦ τερπνὸν ὄμμα τέσσαρας μοίρας ἔχον
ἐμοί, προσαυδᾶν δ' ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον
πατέρα σε, καὶ τὸ μητρὸς ἐς σέ μοι ῥέπει
στέργηθρον, ἡ δὲ πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται,
καὶ τῆς τυθείσης νηλεῶς ὁμοσπόρου·
πιστὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ' ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων·

> Dearest one [*philtaton melêma*], treasure of your father's house! The seed we wept for, in the hope it would sprout and save us! O joyful light, as you fill four roles for me. I must needs address you as father, and the affection I owe to a mother falls to you—for her I hate, with every justification—and also that of the sister who was pitilessly sacrificed; and you were a faithful brother, the only person who has shown me respect.
>
> Trans. A.H. SOMMERSTEIN

This is Electra, finally convinced that the young man before her eyes is her brother, Orestes, absent for a long time and now returning to take revenge for their father's death. Given the solemnity of the plot in Aeschylus' play, Electra's speech is ponderous but also bittersweet. The sweetness of her initial address, *philtaton melêma*, is particularly notable, *melêma* being a charged word expressing the disquieting concern that goes with loving someone.

Indeed, *melêma* is a word Sappho seems to have used, although we will probably never know if she ever employed it in relation to her own long-absent brother.[11] Similarly, we might never learn if a reunion between her and her brother was ever part of her repertoire. I single out these two speeches, Nausicaa's and Electra's, because they are both uttered by young women displaying different aspects of sisterly concern and bringing up diverse but comparable facets of the domestic. The scene involving Nausicaa represents a moment of domestic routine; the scene involving Electra represents a moment of domes-

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11 Sappho fr. 163. For a discussion of this term in Greek aesthetics, see Peponi (2012) 107–114.

tic collapse. For all their differences, they both demonstrate what seems to be a well-established and developed sisterly discourse in archaic and early classical ancient literature.

What is crucial for the point made here is Sappho's plausible familiarity with sisterly discourses in the established poetic repertory of her times, especially that associated with the epic cycle.[12] For that matter, it is not at all necessary to assume that Nausicaa or Electra were her specific or only possible sources of inspiration, although it is reasonable to suppose that she was aware of and intrigued by both characters. As far as Nausicaa is concerned, it is not hard to imagine that versions of what we know as the *Odyssey* were in circulation in Lesbos. Moreover, Alcman, with whose poetic and cultural heritage Sappho must have been (directly or indirectly) in touch, is very likely to have elaborated on other aspects of Nausicaa's role, an additional and important detail to be considered in respect to Sappho's familiarity with her poetic profile.[13] As for Electra, there seems to be unanimous consent that Aeschylus' famous *anagnôrisis* between the two siblings in the *Libation Bearers* was actually modeled upon a major lyric poet's work, Stesichorus, whose own *Oresteia*—probably a quite long lyric narrative—included a similar scene.[14] Whether or not Sappho was a contemporary of Stesichorus, as the *Suda* states clearly and puzzlingly, is part of an ongoing debate regarding Stesichorus' *floruit*.[15] Nonetheless, a link connecting and contrasting Sapphic and Stesichorean poetics would open up possibilities for numerous tempting hypotheses that cannot be pursued here. For our present purposes, though, it is important to note that a poetic version of the *Oresteia* story was very likely in circulation even before Stesichorus and was attributed to the poet Xanthus.[16] Such evidence reinforces the possibility

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12 For other aspects of Sappho as a sister, see Bierl, ch. 14, and Nagy in this volume.

13 For Nausicaa in Alcman, see esp. frs. 4A and 81. See also Brown (1978) 36–38. For the broader associations between Nausicaa and female choruses, see Calame (2001/1997) 31, 42, 87, and *passim*. For Sappho and Alcman, see for instance Nagy (1996) 7–103; Calame (2001/1997) 207–263; Stehle (1997) 262–318.

14 For another detail possibly connecting Sappho's poem with Electra's diction in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*, see Obbink (2014b) 42. On Stesichorus' *Oresteia*, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 488–491. For the *anagnôrisis* scene, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 508–510.

15 For a slightly later chronology, see West (1971): *contra* Burnett (1988) 135. For a recent account of the debate, see Finglass in Davies and Finglass (2014) 1–6, whose conclusion on p. 6 indicates that Stesichorus' dates (with his career covering 'some of the period between 610–540') might have indeed overlapped partially with Sappho's.

16 For Xanthus as a lyric poet predating Stesichorus and as the composer of an *Oresteia*, see

that Sappho and her contemporaries could have been familiar with narratives engaging with Electra's profile as a sister.

Be that as it may, we can be quite confident that discourses *about* and *by* siblings were in circulation in Sappho's time, in established narratives including versions of the Trojan saga and especially the *Nostoi*. My suggestion so far has been that we can better understand the newest Sapphic discovery if we contextualize the first-person speaker's discourse about her brothers within this broader literary tradition of discourses about the domestic and, even more specifically, with sisterly *logoi* about and to brothers.

Yet unlike the stories of Nausicaa and Electra, who are promptly identifiable characters in established plots, Sappho's recently discovered poem seems to lack a straightforward narrative context. What we have here is a brief and unframed domestic vignette of probably no more than 6 or 7 stanzas.[17] Several external sources, on the other hand, as for instance those by Herodotus, Athenaeus, and Strabo, indicate that Sappho's repertoire involved not one but several poems relevant to her brothers and there are surviving Sapphic fragments that corroborate this fact.[18] The possibility of recognizable lyric cycles in Sappho's repertory, involving shorter compositions that contained loose but perceptible thematic linkages, opens up a wide range of considerations. For our present purposes one ramification is particularly important: the ways in which such song cycles, a key instance of which is associated with the representation of the domestic, became an important part of Sappho's mythopoetics and played an important role in the conception of an alternative type of plot-making.

In other words, the addition of the newest poem to the extant Sapphic corpus allows us to see with increased confidence how individual "lyric instantanés," "lyric snapshots," or "lyric vignettes" were meant to operate as distinct and self-standing facets of a narrative that was never explicitly organized as such. It was an implied, *ex silentio* longer narrative that never made its appearance as a continuum, as a Homeric-like plot with carefully arranged sequences of events. It is likely that this peculiar mythopoetics, with its technique of sculpting certain episodes like high reliefs in the midst of long, blank, chiselled backgrounds, was a poetics eagerly advanced by Sappho. This is a profoundly non-Aristotelian type of *muthos*. Contrary to what the philosopher would later

Athenaeus' testimony (fr. 699). Aelian also refers to Xanthus' earlier date and to some details of his rendering of Electra's myth (fr. 700). See Davies and Finglass (2014) esp. 484–488 and 508–510.

17 See Obbink (2014b) 34 and ch. 9, this volume; Kurke, this volume.

18 See Lardinois, this volume.

recommend in his discussion of tragedy, eliminating one episode would absolutely not affect the understanding and pleasure deriving from another.[19] At the same time, because this mythopoetic model was clearly exploring the autonomy and efficacy of verbal representation while also displaying itself as rooted in a personally experienced reality, its reception was by definition open to a dual register. A number of sources throughout antiquity indicate that listeners and readers could appreciate a Sapphic vignette for its own artistry but would also be tempted to imagine it as part of underlying stories involving the poet herself.[20]

Perhaps more than any other poem, or sets of poems, by Sappho, the recently published Brothers Poem prompts us to think about the compelling potential of this dual-reception-register as strongly encouraged by the poet's own mythopoetic strategies. Admitting this inherent duality might help us disentangle ourselves from such thoroughly and richly discussed disjunctions in the relevant scholarship as person vs. persona, biographical vs. poetic, personal vs. generic.[21] Sappho's "mythopoetics of reality," with her "mythopoetics of the domestic" as its leading edge, suggests that this type of lyric invited its audiences to enjoy individual poems *both* as independent gems *and* as tesserae of a life-story mosaic.[22] In doing this, it probably welcomed a synergy between poem and audience, whereby audiences played an active role in the formation and dissemination of the lyric imaginary surrounding a poem's circulation. It is likely that this lyric imaginary, while elaborating on the dormant links supposedly connecting Sappho's vignettes, often took the form of oral (and later compiled) exegetic *scholia* attached to the traveling poetry itself. And it is reasonable to believe, as well, that along with legitimate and perhaps authentic

19 Arist. *Poet.* 1450b–1451a; esp. 1451a27–35 in relation to Homeric *muthos* as a model for the tragic *muthos*.

20 On interpretive traditions focusing on Sappho's artistry, see for instance those reflected in the aesthetic appreciation expressed by literary critics such as Demetrius *De eloc.* esp. 127, 132, 166, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De comp. verb.* 23.32–79, and Longinus *De subl.* 10.1–3. For the various biographical traditions associated with Sappho, esp. earlier ones, see for instance Lidov (2002) and Yatromanolakis (2007); see also Pitts (2002) for Sappho's biographical traditions throughout antiquity.

21 From the vast and important literature on this problem those more relevant to the present discussion are: Johnson (1982) esp. 1–75; Nagy (1990a) 339–381; Calame (1995) 3–57; Lardinois (1996); Kurke (2000) 58–87; Calame (2005) 1–16.

22 For a different approach see Miller (1994) esp. 51, 88, 99, who thinks that such implications 'of possible narrative relations' concerning the poetic ego first occurred in the first century BC with Catullus and the establishment of the collection.

elements this lyric imaginary also incorporated alien fantasies. This latter possibility, however, should not obscure the fact that such proliferation of stories around Sappho and the figures of her poetry (most importantly those of her family and her brothers) was indeed encouraged by the dual-reception-register of her own mythopoetic practices.

Hence Sappho's "mythopoetics of the domestic" may have enhanced lyric sensibilities in two interrelated directions. On the one hand, like Pieter de Hooch in the Dutch Golden Age, Sappho is likely in her own era to have explored persistently the familial as an essential aspect of the representational potential inherent in one's own reality. On the other hand, with her detachable vignettes, themselves flashes of an underlying but rarely ever articulated storyline, she emulated established mythological treatments of the familial as these were shaped principally in the heroic narratives of her times. Her own "lyric mythopoetics" suggested that not only can one's real life be successfully re-imagined as part of a different yet equally important narrative; it can also be molded and thus shared in alternative yet equally enjoyable manners. We will never know if Sappho was familiar with the version of the *Odyssey* that came down to us, where the idea that one's own life can be contemplated in the world of song and that a listener may thoroughly apprehend his own representation in a skillfully structured narrative is persistently examined through Odysseus' character.[23] Nevertheless, her own mythopoetics, and especially her "mythopoetics of the domestic", suggest a possible way in which the trivialities of the ordinary and the concerns of the mundane may have an equal share in the world of representation. Within this world, they can establish their own conceptualizations and modalities of aesthetic experience.[24] If considered this way, then Sappho's and Pieter de Hooch's explorations into the domestic can indeed be mutually thought-provoking, despite their evident differences.

An Oxyrynchus papyrus dated to either the 1st or 2nd century AD and clearly relevant to Sappho's domestic themes can serve as a reassuring but also intriguing epilogue to our discussion:[25]

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23 On this issue and its representation in the *Odyssey* see Peponi (2012) with further bibliography.

24 Considered this way Sappho's mythopoetics and especially her "mythopoetics of the domestic," with its explorations of the representational potential that underlies one's own reality, should be distinguished from modernist lyric and its interest in creating "masks" of the self. On this modernist anxiety see for instance Bates (1985) esp. 91–92 and Ellmann (1978) 174–179.

25 Test. 213A h (P.Oxy. 2506 fr. 48, col. iii, 36–48) = test. 14 Campbell.

χα̣
***

δε[.]ε[
θεπο[Λάρι-]
χος .[...]α.[
κων.[.]φιλτ̣[Ἐρί-]
γυιος [ ]π̣ε̣ρ̣ ἐμμάτ̣[ω]ν. ταῦ[-
τα γαρ[ ].ιν ὅτι ἦν [οἰ]κου-
ρὸς καὶ[ ] φίλεργος.[ ] σα
Σαπφω[ ]ι περὶ τῶν[ ]ἀδελ-
φῶν ε̣[ ]ωδητιν[ ].οσε
[ ].τα
]δρας
].ιδε

Cha(raxus?) ... (Lari)chus ... dearest ... (Eri)gyius for his clothes (π̣ε̣ρ̣ ἐμμάτ̣[ω]ν). This (shows?) that she was a good housekeeper and industrious. (As?) Sappho (says) in a poem about her brothers ...

Trans. D.H. CAMPBELL

We have here a snippet of both a Sapphic poem (the Aeolic form π̣ε̣ρ̣ ἐμμάτ̣[ω]ν leaves no doubt that these were lines of an actual poem) and an exegetic comment, the latter interpreting the former. On the one hand, the scene in the poem seems to revolve around somebody's clothes, most likely clothes belonging to Erigyios, though in all probability the other two brothers are named in the same context. On the other hand, the ancient commentator seems to be preoccupied with acknowledging or emphasizing Sappho's (or her brother's?) housekeeping efficiency, thus reminding us of the various ways in which ancient listeners and readers might have engaged with Sappho's "domestic mythopoetics" on the level of its alleged factual data. For us, however, the fragmented scene along with the fragmented comment carries subtle reminiscences of Nausicaa's feigned interest in her unmarried brothers' dirty clothes. If so, it serves as one more incentive to think about the manner in which Sappho might have been responding to established narratives while creating her own, thus prompting her audiences to reflect on the mythopoetic potential of their own most trivial concerns.[26]

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26 This paper is an expanded version of a talk delivered at Berkeley, in May 2014, and in Basel, Switzerland, in June 2014. Many thanks to Toni Bierl and André Lardinois for their suggestions and to Karen Bassi, Deborah Boedeker and Richard Martin for their comments.

CHAPTER 11

Gendered Spheres and Mythic Models in Sappho's Brothers Poem

Leslie Kurke

What is striking to me about the newest Sappho, the Brothers Poem, is its complex combination or interpenetration of two levels or spheres.[1] For here, we find the quotidian—we might even say, a view 'behind the scenes'—progressively infused with mythic models or resonances. We see something of the same interpenetration of the individual with the divine or with epic or mythic resonances in several of Sappho's love poems. Thus Sappho fr. 1 combines an individual's love travails with an epiphany of Aphrodite and distinctive Homeric echoes to expand the poem's significance, while Sappho fr. 16 weaves together the individual's longing for Anactoria with the mythic exemplum of Helen and the vast perspective of the serried ranks of Lydian cavalry and foot soldiers.[2] Even in Sappho fr. 31, if we accept Jack Winkler's reading, the poem's progressive shift inward and anatomization of the *ego*'s physical symptoms is deftly interwoven with echoes of Odysseus' first encounter with Nausicaa in *Odyssey* Book 6.[3] Still, the quality of the quotidian or behind-the-scenes view is not represented in these poems to the same degree; it is perhaps something that distinguishes Sappho's poems about family, politics, and day-to-day life in Mytilene.

To get at these two levels or aspects within the poem, I will consider separately (1) gendered spheres, and then (2) epic or mythic models, along the way in each part paying careful attention to the structure and movement of the song. This division of topics (though to some extent it tracks the development of the poem) is simply a heuristic devise to aid analysis, since what seems distinctive and unusual here is the interpenetration within a single poem of these

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1 In addition to the editors and all the contributors to the volume, I would like to thank the following for ongoing conversations, the reading of various drafts, and invaluable input: Kate Gilhuly, Mark Griffith, Barbara Kowalzig, Donald Mastronarde, Kathy McCarthy, Melissa Mueller, Richard Neer, Nelly Oliensis, Alex Purves, Mario Telò, and Naomi Weiss. One of the great pleasures of a brand new Sappho poem is that the work of interpretation is necessarily collaborative and 'choral'.

2 This reading of Sappho fr. 1 follows Marry (1979), Rissman (1983), Winkler (1990b) 166–176.

3 Winkler (1990b) 178–180.

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two spheres. I will therefore return to this double quality at the end of my discussion and attempt to knit these two strands together.

Gendered Spheres

Dirk Obbink notes that based on the layout of the Brothers Poem on P. Sapph. Obbink, we can be certain that we have lost only one, two, or at most three stanzas at the beginning of our song. And if we accept M.L. West's proposal that P. GC fr. 1 represents the remains of the missing column (col. v) between the rest of P. GC (coll. i–iv) and the papyrus that contains the Brothers Poem (col. vi), the extent of the lost opening is narrowed to one to two stanzas (for a total of six to seven stanzas for the Brothers Poem).[4] What we have starts with the *ego* reproaching somebody for the wrong kind of speech: 'But you are always chattering about Charaxos coming with a full ship'.[5] Θρυλέω is a striking word in this context; it appears nowhere else in lyric and seems to be mainly a prose word—even colloquial.[6] And at least down through Theocritus, it designates negatively-marked speech—babbling, silliness, common talk; speech not to be trusted.[7] Because of this verb, I am strongly inclined to think that the *ego* (whom I will henceforth refer to indiscriminately as Sappho) is addressing a female within her own family sphere; I find it almost impossible to believe that Sappho is addressing a man, using this verb to characterize his speech.[8] At the

4 Obbink (2014b) 34, West (2014) 1–2, 8, Obbink (2015b) 3–5.

5 The infinitive ἔλθην, although aorist, must signify a future event; thanks to Donald Mastronarde for discussion and clarification of this point. He explains that the future infinitive is an Attic usage, which only spreads slowly to other dialects, and offers the following parallels for an aorist infinitive used to designate future time: Hom. *Od.* 20.120–121, Sappho fr. 147, Aesch. *Ag.* 674–675. See the full discussion of the possibilities in Obbink (2014b) 41–42; cf. West (2014) 8, 'Charaxos' arrival is something hoped for, not something that has already happened; the aorist ἔλθην is purely aspectual, not temporal'. See Ferrari (2014) 3 and Lardinois' contribution to this volume, pp. 174–175.

6 Cf. Obbink (2014a) and Lidov, ch. 3, this volume.

7 Cf. Obbink (2014b) 41, Bettenworth (2014) 15, Ferrari (2014) 3. The verb θρυλέω is rare in poetry: see Ar. *Eq.* 348, Eur. *El.* 910, fr. 285.1 Kannicht, Anaxippus fr. 1.4 K.-A., Theoc. *Id.* 2.142; for prose occurrences, see Pl. *Phd.* 65b (of poets), Isoc. 12.237, *Ep.* 6.7, Dem. 1.7, 2.6, 19.156, 19.273, 21.160, Arist. *Rh.* 1395a10, 1415a3, *Hist. an.* 620b11.

8 But cf. Lardinois ([2014] 191 and this volume) who suggests the possibility that Sappho may be addressing her third brother, Erigyius, who was presumably, in the absence of Charaxos, her *kurios*. Lardinois' suggestion is based on the assumption that the person sending the *ego* to supplicate Hera must be male and therefore himself not an appropriate suppliant to Hera

same time, the *ego* is speaking to someone who has the authority to send her on a religious mission into the public sphere and who is equally concerned with the fate of Charaxos and Larichos—so her mother, older sister, or perhaps sister-in-law. Initially, these considerations led me to the conclusion that the speaker was addressing her mother, and I note that Dirk Obbink and M.L. West have come to the same conclusion.[9]

Indeed, the first two preserved stanzas seem to be all about a contrast in ways of speaking, both the style of speaking and the content of what is said.[10] Thus Sappho contrasts the mother's silly chattering with the proper, correct kind of speech to be offered by the *ego*, which should be supplication and prayer (λί̣σσεσθαι, line 10).[11] At the same time, Sappho implicitly corrects the *content* of the mother's chattering, since νᾶϊ σὺν πλήαι in line 6 is pointedly contrasted with σάαν ἄγοντα νᾶα in lines 11–12 within the *ego*'s projected prayer to Hera.

(as Sappho's mother would be). But we cannot know the familial, cultic, or performance exigencies that dictate this 'sending'; for me, the issue of θρύλησθα trumps speculation on the gender of the addressee based on πέμπην. As a parallel for the derogatory tone of θρύλησθα used in address to a brother, Lardinois (this volume) cites the evidence of Hdt. 2.135.6, that Sappho 'heavily criticized' (κατεκερτόμησε) her brother Charaxos 'in song' (ἐν μέλεϊ). But surely Herodotus (and Ovid, *Heroides* 15.68, '*libertas*') comment on Sappho's 'abuse' or '[excessive] freedom' in poems addressed to or concerning Charaxos because these are exceptional, rather than being the norm of the address of a sister to a brother.

Contrast also Stehle's contribution to this volume, pp. 268–269. Stehle contends that the addressee of the poem is Larichos, citing Sappho fr. 96 for a parallel shift from second-person address to third-person naming of Atthis. I find Stehle's argument very difficult, however, since there is nothing in the language of the Brothers Poem to justify or palliate the shift from second-person address to third-person naming. In Sappho 96, this is achieved by explicitly shifting the focalization to the thoughts and longings of the 'other woman' in Lydia; there is nothing comparable to this in the Brothers Poem.

9 Obbink (2014b) 41–42 favors the idea of Sappho's mother or other family member; cf. West (2014) 8, Ferrari (2014) 4. I will therefore henceforth simply refer to the second-person addressee as 'mother', while leaving open the possibility that it might be some other older female relative or in-law; see below, notes 26, 38. In addition, throughout this essay, I will make no reference to the whole Rhodopis/Doricha tradition that begins with Herodotus 2.135 in relation to the Brothers Poem. This is because I am persuaded (at least for now) by the arguments of Lidov (2002) that this tradition is likely to derive from portraits of Sappho on the Athenian comic stage, rather than from her own poetry. In general, I find the attempt to map Herodotus' relationships onto the Brothers Poem something of a red herring; it seems better simply to read the new poem on its own terms for what can be extracted about the family relationships.

10 Thanks to Richard Neer for this point (private conversation).

11 Cf. Obbink (2014b) 35, 37, 42.

The emphasis in the latter passage is thus on Charaxos' safe return, rather than on the abundance of cargo he will bring home.[12] In terms of the structure of the poem, the name of Charaxos frames the first two surviving stanzas with a neat chiasmus: NAME—ship—adj. in lines 5–6, then adj.—ship—NAME in lines 11–12. This chiastic structure (as Mario Telò points out to me) iconically renders Charaxos' wished-for safe return home within the movement of the poem.

Next, in the only significant enjambment within what we have preserved of the poem, we get part of a line opening stanza three that expresses a reciprocal relationship of safety—'that Charaxos arrive here leading his ship safe [STANZA BREAK] And find us safe and sound'. Thereafter, with a strong syntactic break (τὰ δ' ἄλλα) at line 13, we turn to the second movement of the poem, building up to the sudden appearance of Larichos and the wish for his success at the poem's end. These structural features strongly encourage me to think that perhaps only a single stanza has been lost at the beginning. In that case, we would have a perfect balance—three stanzas about Charaxos, three stanzas about Larichos, with the reciprocal relation of 'our' safety at the exact center of the poem, suturing the two halves together.[13]

On this reading of the opening of the fragment, there is a strict maintenance of gendered spheres within the poem, even if, in a sense, the speaker as poet has the power to mediate between male and female spheres; and between domestic, civic, and divine (as we shall see). Thus, Sappho here talks about the doings of men out in the public world—one brother's engagement in maritime trade, the other's (wished-for) full involvement in the world of the polis[14]—but all of this is filtered through the intimate domestic sphere of the family and

12 Cf. Nünlist (2014) 13, who likewise notes the contrast between 'full ship' and 'safe ship'. Nünlist also observes that the adjective 'safe' is usually applied to people in Greek; so here, it is a kind of transferred epithet that reinforces the contrast between the two modes of speaking and content of what's said. Mueller (2016) suggests that we might read this contrast meta-poetically—as a generic contrast between an epic/Odyssean voyage (where the goal is to get as much stuff as possible), and a modest 'lyric' voyage.

13 This proposal for the structure of the poem meshes well with Obbink's observation (2014a): 'The remarkable thing is that both texts—damaged as they are—read almost as though they were complete poems today, partly due to the unique qualities of a poet who cannot have forseen her poetry's survival in fragmentary form'. On this reading, what assists our ability to read the Brothers Fragment as though it were a complete poem is the loss of only a single opening stanza, which included a second-person address.

14 For ἄνηρ used of Larichos as a very charged word for full participation in the polis, see Obbink (2014b) 34, 35, 45; cf. West (2014) 9.

women's proper religious activity of prayer.[15] She addresses an older female relative, and wishes for the well-being, safety, and success of her two brothers.

This same maintenance of strictly separated gendered spheres characterizes the correct form of speech and ritual action the *ego* proposes. After contrasting the mother's empty babbling with what 'Zeus and all the gods know' in the first stanza, Sappho prescribes what the mother ought to do in the second: 'send me and bid me pray to Queen Hera many times that Charaxos arrive here leading his ship safe' (lines 9–12). It is notable that the gender segregation continues in the addressee of the prayer—so in contrast to Zeus and all the gods, mentioned for their omniscience in the first stanza, Sappho should supplicate Hera specifically.[16] Like many scholars, I am inclined to connect this proposed supplication of Hera with the shrine at ancient Messon (modern Mesa), which seems to be the setting for both Sappho fr. 17 and Alcaeus fr. 129.[17] Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Gabriella Pironti have recently argued that Hera, 'the glorious Aeolian goddess, mother of all' (Alcaeus fr. 129, lines 6–7) was in fact the primary divinity worshipped at Mesa, noting that she alone is addressed in the second person in both Sappho fr. 17 and Alcaeus fr. 129.[18] I agree with this conclusion, and yet there still seems to be a significant pattern of gender differentiation in aetiological narrative, invocation, and prayer. Thus, in fr. 17 (as Claude Calame has noted), in its aetiological narrative for the foundation of a

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15 There is also a distinction here between women's direct discussion of politics and their proper mediation in the public sphere through religion; for this pattern of distinct modes of gendered action in the public sphere, see Foley (1982).

16 Several scholars have noted that Hera is invoked here, as in Sappho fr. 17, for protection in a sea voyage: thus Lidov (2004) on Sappho fr. 17, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28 on both poems, and Boedeker's contribution to this volume; cf. de Polignac (1997) for archaeological evidence for this role of Hera at other sites throughout the Aegean and in Southern Italy.

17 On the identification of the shrine in Sappho fr. 17 and Alcaeus frs. 129, 130a, and 130b with Mesa, see Robert (1960b), Nagy (1993), Nagy (2007b) 213–228, 263, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 27–28. For the connection between that shrine and the prayer to Hera in the Brothers Poem, see Obbink (2014b) 43, (2015b) 7; Lardinois (2014) 192, 194 (suggesting that these two poems may be part of a 'song cycle'); and Bierl (ch. 14), Boedeker, Lardinois, and Nagy in this volume. In support of this identification, Nikolaos Papazarkadas (private conversation) points out that the location of the shrine at Mesa would account for the use of the verb πέμπην in the Brothers Poem line 9, since the *ego* must be sent on a kind of pilgrimage or *theoria* outside the city of Mytilene to reach Hera's precinct. For πέμπην as the *terminus technicus* for sending a *pompe*, see also the contributions of Bierl (ch. 14) and Nagy to this volume. For the location of the shrine, see fig. 8.1, this volume, p. 199.

18 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 27–28.

cult of a triad of divinities—Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus—Sappho foregrounds Hera, whereas Alcaeus fr. 129, focusing on the same triad of divinities, significantly begins with Zeus.[19]

At the same time, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti warn against the too hasty association of 'Queen Hera' and Zeus 'King of Olympus' of the Brothers Poem with the 'Lesbian Triad' of divinities worshipped at Mesa. They propose instead a local, civic representative of the 'glorious Aeolian goddess', perhaps paired with her spouse, and they cite as a striking parallel for the divine couple including a potent Hera a later public inscription from Mytilene.[20] And yet, here too, the pattern of strict gender segregation in prayers is rigorously maintained. For we find the same gendered opposition between Sappho's intended prayer in the Brothers Poem and the public inscription cited by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti. This civic inscription from Mytilene, set up probably in the 330s in the aftermath of war and civil strife, includes a prayer to a string of divinities:[21]

> [ἔγ]νω βόλλα καὶ δᾶμος. περὶ τῶν ọị [--------]
> [ε]ἰσάγηνται ὤς κεν οἰ πόλιται οἴκεị[εν τὰμ π]-
> [ό]λ̣ιν ἐν δαμοκρατίαι τὸμ πάντα χρόνοṿ [ἔχον]-
> [τ]ες πρὸς ἀλλάλοις ὠς εὐνοώτατα· τύχαι ἀγ̣[άθ]-
> αι, εὔξασθαι μὲν τὰμ βόλλαν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον τ̣[ο]-
> ῖς Θέοισι τοῖς Δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τῶι Δὶι τῶι Ἠ-
> ραίωι καὶ Βασίληι καὶ Ὀμονοίωι καὶ τᾶι Ὀμο-
> νοίαι καὶ Δίκαι καὶ Ἐπιτελείαι τῶν Ἀγάθων,

19 C. Calame, 'Greek Myth, Poetry and Pragmatics: Between (French) Structuralism and (US) Performative Arts' (lecture delivered at Stanford University, Oct. 13, 2012); cf. Boedeker's contribution to this volume. Note also Obbink (2014b) 43, observing that Zeus is 'rarely named in Sappho' in contrast to Alcaeus. Note that the same argument about gender segregation also applies to prayers for safety at sea in the corpus of Sappho and Alcaeus: thus Sappho invokes the Nereids alone (as we now know; fr. 5, line 1) and Hera (Brothers Poem), whereas Alcaeus prays to the Dioscuri (fr. 34). Perhaps this gender segregation is one reason that Sappho's identification/alignment of her two brothers with the Dioscuri (for which I argue below) can only be implicit?

20 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 29: 'Il serait aventureux d'affirmer que les prières à adresser à Héra *Basilêa* pour le retour de Charaxos devaient l'être dans le sanctuaire de Messa'. Contrast Obbink (2015b) 7–9, who is inclined to use the identification of the shrine with Mesa to advocate for Dionysus being the 'helper *daimon*' of the Brothers Poem line 18—thus ensuring that all three gods of the 'Lesbian Triad' figure in this poem as well.

21 For the full text of the inscription, see Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 85 (pp. 424–430).

> The council and people decided. Concerning the things which the … have introduced, in order that the citizens might dwell in the city in democracy for all time, as well disposed as possible toward each other: For good fortune, let the council and the people pray to the Twelve Gods and to Zeus *Heraios* and *Basileus* and *Homonoios*, and to *Homonoia* and Justice and the Fulfillment of Good Things,

Note that this inscription recording a public prayer invokes 'the Twelve Gods' and then Zeus significantly characterized by three epithets—'of Hera', *Basileus*, and *Homonoios*—together with a set of transparent personifications, to ratify and endorse civic 'concord' or 'likemindedness'.[22] As Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti note, Hera is crucial here as well,[23] but she is represented only in the form of an adjective built from her name attached to Zeus as the primary object of prayer. Where men in the public sphere invoke 'Zeus of Hera and *Basileus*', Sappho's song shows us women in the domestic sphere praying exclusively to 'Queen Hera', while gesturing toward the 'King of Olympus' only in the generalizing gnome of the fourth complete stanza.

But within this system of strict gender segregation within the poem, there is a striking crux or tension to which Anja Bettenworth has called our attention. Bettenworth has objected to the assumption that the addressee could be Sappho's mother on the grounds that θρύλησθα introduces a markedly disrespectful tone to the *ego*'s response to the *su*. Bettenworth notes that all other addresses and references to a mother within the Sapphic corpus are distinctly affectionate and respectful, even where we might expect some tension (e.g. frs. 98a, 102).[24] She contends that θρύλησθα could only be addressed to a lower-status figure and therefore suggests that Sappho is instead speaking to a slave member of the household, an aged nurse and confidante akin to Eurycleia in the *Odyssey*. Indeed, Bettenworth offers some excellent parallels for the combination of sharp remonstrance and deep affection in the speech of a mistress/for-

22 Thus I follow the interpretation of these lines offered by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30 (vs. that of Rhodes and Osborne [2003] 431). Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti assume that the female divinities named are transparent personifications, not objects of actual cult worship. Note also that Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 425 mistakenly translate Βασίλῃι as 'Queen' here.

23 Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30: 'Un tel processus met certes l'accent sur le théonyme, en l'occurrence, l'époux divin, mais cet agencement subtil signifie aussi que Zeus est souverain et maître de la concorde *en tant qu'époux d'Héra*' (emphasis in original).

24 Bettenworth (2014) 15–16, followed by Nünlist (2014) 13.

mer charge to a lower-status nurse figure.[25] But her argument for a nurse figure as addressee to my mind founders on the language and content of the second stanza: 'but you [should] send me and bid me pray many times to Queen Hera that Charaxos come back here leading his ship safe …'. As M.L. West has emphasized, only a figure of authority like the mother is in a position to send or dispatch the *ego* on a religious mission outside the home; I find it hard to imagine that a slave nurse could have the power to 'send' the *ego* and 'command' or 'bid' her what to pray.[26] Nonetheless, Bettenworth's point about θρύλησθα is important and should not simply be dismissed; there is a real tension between the colloquial, derogatory tone of this verb addressed to the *su* and the implication of authority over the *ego* encoded in the language and content of the second complete stanza.

Rather than trying to explain away this tension within the poem, I would like to acknowledge it by invoking a model of 'behind the scenes'—or even 'space-off'. Kate Gilhuly borrows the latter term from the feminist film critic Teresa de Lauretis to characterize the odd moment early in Plato's *Symposium* when Eryximachus proposes dismissing the flute-girl: 'Let her play for herself, or, if she wants, for the women within, but let us consort with each other today through speeches' (τὴν μὲν ἄρτι εἰσελθοῦσαν αὐλητρίδα χαίρειν ἐᾶν, αὐλοῦσαν ἑαυτῇ ἢ ἂν

25 See especially *Od.* 23.11–82 and Herondas *Mime* 1, cited by Bettenworth (2014) 16–17. In fact, the salient comparandum provided by these passages may instead be the frankness with which women (are imagined to) speak to each other when no men are present; see Mossman (2001) for a reading along these lines of the *agon* of Clytemnestra and Electra in Euripides' *Electra*, and see discussion below in the text. Thanks to Melissa Mueller for discussion of these issues, and for the Mossman reference.

26 Thus West (2014) 8: 'It is the family (the "us" of line 9) that pins its hopes on the merchant son's return from overseas with a rich cargo; it is his chattering mother who is counting her chickens before they are hatched; and it is only she who might "send" Sappho on a religious mission, much as Clytemnestra sends Electra in Aesch. *Cho.* 22 ff. and as Helen sends Hermione in Eur. *Or.* 107 ff.' Bettenworth (2014) 18 attempts to palliate this problem by assimilating the second complete stanza to the nurse's typical role of advising the mistress, but this does not acknowledge that the specific language of the poem suggests someone with authority over the *ego*. As a thought experiment, we might imagine how different the tone would be if this stanza instead began, 'but you [should] bid me go and pray to Queen Hera', etc. As an alternative, Bettenworth's arguments about θρύλησθα being inappropriately disrespectful toward the speaker's mother might encourage us instead to reconstruct the second-person addressee as the speaker's sister-in-law (i.e., Charaxos' wife; see below, note 38). This would then still be an older female with some authority in the household, but one with whom Sappho might imaginably have a somewhat more tense relationship.

βούληται ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἔνδον, ἡμᾶς δὲ διὰ λόγων ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι τὸ τήμερον, *Symp.* 176e6–9). As Gilhuly notes, the dismissal of the flute-girl/courtesan from the party effectively banishes the materiality and bodiliness the female slave here represents as the necessary precondition for constituting a space for pure male philosophical discourse. At the same time, the tantalizing reference to 'the women within' conjures an entirely inaccessible 'other' space, like that characterized by de Lauretis as 'a view from elsewhere … it is the elsewhere of discourse here and now, the blind spots, or the space-off, of its representations. I think of it as spaces in the margins of hegemonic discourses, social spaces carved in the interstices of institutions'.[27] In effect, I suggest, we find moments in Sappho's poetry that offer us a view from the other side of Plato's 'women within'—that deliberately expose that 'space-off' and set it in juxtaposition to the wider public world and public transcript. This is precisely one striking and unusual feature of the Brothers Poem I am trying to elucidate.

A Sapphic parallel will help clarify what I mean, while also furnishing a possible counter-example to Bettenworth's contention that the mother is otherwise consistently treated with the utmost respect—even reverence—in Sappho's poetry. In the same volume of *ZPE* as Bettenworth's article, M.L. West proposes a partial reconstruction of the poem he thinks preceded the Brothers Poem in the sequence of Sappho Book 1, noting that 'Two poems in which Sappho remonstrates with her mother turn out to have been consecutive'.[28] Here is the opening of Sappho fr. 9, heavily reconstructed by M.L. West based on the new readings of P. GC:

> [π-]
> π]ạρ̣κάλειϲ̣ι τας ἐλ̣[
> πάμ]παν οὐκ ἔχη[ϲθα πόθεν δυναίμαν,
> μ]ᾶτερ, ἐόρταν

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27 De Lauretis (1987) 25, quoted in Gilhuly (2009) 62–64 in discussion of this passage of the *Symposium*. Cf. Mossman (2001) for the ways in which private female-female speech is marked and characterized in tragedy.

28 West (2014) 2; see 7. According to West's reconstruction, it is possible that this juxtaposition of similarly-themed poems is entirely accidental, simply because both begin with a word that starts with the letter π. But West (2014) 1 n. 3 also allows for the general possibility that similarly-themed poems were deliberately clustered, contravening proper alphabetical order by the first letter of the first word. This might apply to the Brothers Poem itself (whose *incipit* we have lost); the next poem in sequence (the Kypris Poem) certainly begins with πῶς. See also Obbink, ch. 2, this volume.

φαιδί]μαν ὤραι τέλε[σαι; τὸ δ' ἐστί
χάρμ' ἐ]π̣αμέρων· ἔμ[ε δ' εὔφρον' εἴη
τυγχά]ν̣ην, θ̣ᾶς ἄμ[μι θέοι δίδωσι
φθόγγ]ον ἄκουσαι

πακτίδ]ω̣ν.

… call upon us … completely. Mother, do you not have the means with which I might celebrate a fine festival at the due time? That is a joy for [us] mortals who live for the day. As for me, may I ever be cheerful, so long as the gods grant us to hear the sound of harps.[29]

If we accept West's reconstruction, the opening of this poem shares three themes or elements with the Brothers Poem. First, in what I would describe as a similar 'behind-the-scenes' vignette of the preparations for a festival, we have a moment of initial tension between mother and daughter, as the *ego* addresses a somewhat impatient question to her mother.[30] Second, that 'behind-the-scenes' tussle of mother and daughter is juxtaposed in context with proper religious activity in the public sphere—here in fr. 9, the song and dance that are essential elements of the festival; in the Brothers Poem, the *ego*'s projected supplication and prayer to Hera. Third, in both poems the segue between these two spheres is accompanied by or finessed through a generalizing gnome or universalizing statement of truth. In fr. 9 this transition is accomplished by

29 Text and translation from West (2014) 7–8. As West observes, lines 8–21 are too fragmentary for reconstruction, though note δ' ἔγω in line 16 and perhaps μελλ]ίχαν γλῶσσα[ν in line 17 (suggested by West [2014] 8). The text of West (2014) which I follow diverges from that of Obbink (this volume) at two points: (1) West reads ἀμ[rather than ἐμ[in line 6 (this is the reading of the 2nd-c. CE P. Oxy. 2289 rather than that of the 3rd-c. CE P. GC); (2) West proposes πακτίδ]ων as a supplement at line 8, but Obbink notes ']ω cannot be read'. (This means that this is not the correct supplement, and that there is less textual evidence to support it than West supposes.)

30 Thus West (2014) 7: 'We have the impression that Sappho, whose love of festivals is attested in other poems … is remonstrating with her mother Kleïs (as probably in fr. 9a below). The issue is some lack or shortage in connection with a due celebration for which certain persons have issued a call or invitation. Perhaps Kleïs has said she cannot afford an expense that Sappho regards as appropriate. The motif is paralleled in fr. 98, where Sappho herself is the mother, telling her daughter that she cannot buy her a fashionable Lydian μιτράνα'. We might regard this kind of behind-the-scenes moment of preparation for a festival as itself a literary topos particular to partheneia and other women's genres, given Alcman fr. 3.5–10 and Eur. *El.* 167–212.

the simple statement [τὸ δ' ἐστί/ χάρμ' ἐ]π̣αμέρων ('which is a pleasure for [us] creatures of a day'); in the Brothers Poem by the nautical-themed conclusion of the third stanza, 'For periods of fine weather come straightway from great stormblasts' (lines 15–16).

These parallels in turn allow us to see a further commonality. In fr. 9, the shift from the separate, estranged *ego* and *su* (represented by the verbs οὐκ ἔχη[σθα vs. [δυναίμαν] and ἔμ[ε of line 5) to a unified, harmonious 'we' (ἄμ[μι, line 6) is effected through imagined religious activity—mother and daughter together enjoying the festival 'sound [of harps]' for as long as the gods grant them this pleasure. We find the same movement in the Brothers Poem. Here the strongly marked opposition between *su* and *ego* in the first two preserved stanzas (θρύλησθα vs. οἴομαι and ἔμε in line 9) is transformed via the proper activity and content of prayer—in which the *ego* basically teaches the *su* behind the scenes what to tell her to say—into the unity of 'us (κἄμμ', line 13) as the first word of the third complete stanza. Thus, just as in West's reconstruction of the opening lines of fr. 9, the action of prayer—of imagined or projected proper religious speech in the public sphere—works to reconcile and unite mother and daughter.

But in the much better preserved Brothers Poem, we can track this movement further. Here, as a result of the proper form of prayer the *ego* has taught the *su* to teach her, the two continue united in the first-person plural hortatory subjunctive ἐπιτρόπωμεν of line 14 and in the following generalizing gnome that rounds out this stanza. Given the progression of the Brothers Poem so far, we might be tempted to wonder where exactly the quoted prayer ends. Thus far I have assumed (as I think most scholars do) that the instructed prayer is completed with the enjambed words κἄμμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτ̣έ̣μεας in line 13. And yet, the words of the prayer the *ego* teaches the *su* to teach her could imaginably extend to the end of the poem, moving through the resigned hortatory subjunctive of line 14 and the gnomic wisdom of lines 15–20 to return to 'us' and a final wish for our release from 'great heavinesses of spirit' in the poem's last stanza.[31]

On this reading, the poem's language morphs imperceptibly from behind-the-scenes verbal tussling to public performative utterance, which is effica-

31 For parallels for the shift from accusative + infinitive to direct discourse within quoted utterance, see Sappho's Tithonus Poem, lines 9–12—at least on one construal of this passage. For this interpretation (which reads the final lines of the poem as entirely dependent on ἔφαντο in line 9), see Edmunds (2009). Alternatively, the translation offered in Obbink (2009) 15 assumes a break between ἔφαντο + acc. and infinitive and the final ἀλλ' αὖτον ὔμως clause that follows. Note an analogous shift in Sappho fr. 1 from repeated ὄττι clauses as object of Aphrodite's verb of questioning to direct questions and direct speech starting at line 18.

cious in at least a couple of different senses. As prayer, the poem deftly reaches out through Hera to Zeus as 'King of Olympus', without ever invoking the high god directly. At another level, the language of the poem as imagined prayer itself accomplishes the reconciliation of *ego* and *su* as 'we' it appears merely innocently to represent. And here it is noteworthy that the poem's last stanza is entirely framed by first-person plurals, κἄμμες (line 21) and λύθειμεν (line 24), as *ego* and *su* are fully united in family solidarity and hope for Larichos' saving intervention. In other terms, if we read the quoted prayer as extending through the whole poem, we must imagine its words doubled and voiced simultaneously by *ego* and *su*, the two voices fusing as a kind of chorus, even as the language of prayer shimmers between and imperceptibly merges private and public spheres.[32]

Mythic Models

At this point let me return to the enjambed line at the center of the poem—κἄμμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας (line 13)—to consider Sappho's evocation of mythic models for her own family drama. As many scholars have noted, the wish for Charaxos' safe return from a sea voyage in the first two preserved stanzas inevitably conjures up general associations with the *Odyssey*.[33] But it is this phrase in line 13 that pinpoints a specific Odyssean intertext. To begin with, ἀρτεμής ('safe and sound') is a very rare word, occurring before Sappho just three times in Homer—in a line repeated twice in the *Iliad* and at a significant moment in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 13.38–46).[34] Here at the beginning of *Odyssey*

32 In relation to *ego* and *su* fused as a kind of harmonious chorus at the end, I note Melissa Mueller's suggestion (*per litteras*) that the βαρυθύμιαι of the last stanza (like the βάρυς…ὀ θῦμος of Sappho's Tithonus Poem, line 5) signifies the heaviness of limbs that prevents full participation in choral dance. For this specific significance of θῦμος, see Lidov (2009) 95–96; for more on the 'virtual chorality' of the Tithonus Poem, see Bierl (2016). Thus in our song, if Larichos 'raise his head and become a man', mother and daughter both might return to the proper activities of choral dance and festival celebration.

33 Thus Obbink (2014a); cf. Nünlist (2014), West (2014) 9, Whitmarsh [Online], as well as Boedeker and Stehle in this volume.

34 See *Il.* 5.515 = 7.308. As Mario Telò points out to me (*per litteras*), *Il.* 5.515 may also furnish a significant intertext: 'since in this passage it's a specific god, Ares, who, complying with Apollo's request, makes Aeneas safe (ἀρτεμής). Ares saves Aeneas, but also instills μένος in him, and the Trojans are happy to see him both safe (ζωὸν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα) and μένος ἐσθλὸν ἔχοντα (514–516). This reminds me of the end of Sappho's poem, where Larichos' becoming a "man" (ἄνηρ) is seen as a source of relief and joy … for Sappho and the family'. See also

Book 13, Odysseus addresses his last words to his Phaeacian host, Alcinous, before finally boarding the magical ship that will provide him safe passage home:

> Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
> πέμπετέ με σπείσαντες ἀπήμονα, χαίρετε δ' αὐτοί·
> ἤδη γὰρ τετέλεσται ἅ μοι φίλος ἤθελε θυμός,
> πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τά μοι θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες
> 42 ὄλβια ποιήσειαν. ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν
> νοστήσας **εὕροιμι** σὺν **ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν.**
> ὑμεῖς δ' αὖθι μένοντες ἐϋφραίνοιτε γυναῖκας
> κουριδίας καὶ τέκνα· θεοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν
> παντοίην, καὶ μή τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη.

> Lord Alcinous, pre-eminent among all people, having poured libation send me on my way without grief, and you yourselves fare well. For already all my dear heart wished for has been fulfilled for me—escort and welcome gifts—which may the Ouranian gods cause to prosper for me. And having returned home, may I find a blameless wife together with my near-and-dear ones safe and sound. But you in turn, remaining behind, may you cheer your wedded wives and children; and may the gods bestow every sort of success on you, and may there be no evil among the people.

In the context of Odysseus' wish for a successful *nostos* (νοστήσας, *Od.* 13.43), we find the collocation of a form of the verb εὑρίσκω with the rare adjective ἀρτέμεας to characterize the condition in which he hopes to find his φίλοι at home.[35] This connection, in turn, invites us to notice a whole sequence of suggestive echoes of this passage in Sappho's Brothers Poem. There is of course the theme of *nostos*, but also of πομπή—in Sappho's song, significantly transferred from the man en route to the action of the women at home (πέμπην,

Stehle's contribution to this volume for extended discussion of the meaning of ἀρτεμής with a focus on these *Iliad* passages, and Boedeker's contribution to this volume.

35 Nünlist (2014) 13–14 also notes this likely intertextual echo of *Odyssey* 13 in line 13 of Sappho's poem, pointing to the shared themes of *nostos*, finding, and 'those at home safe and sound'; cf. Ferrari (2014) 3. Nünlist, however, does not pursue the further implications of this Odyssean intertext for a reading of the Brothers Poem, but see the perceptive comments of Prauscello *apud* Ferrari (2014) 3 n. 6.

line 9).[36] In addition, there is Odysseus' acknowledgment that ultimately the gods alone can confer *olbos* and success (*Od.* 13.41–42, 45–46; cf. Brothers Poem lines 10–11, 17–20), and his wishes for the reciprocal happiness and safety of those left at home. To be sure, in the Odyssean case, the families at home are doubled, since Odysseus is at this point in transit, suspended between his own family ideally 'safe and sound' on Ithaca and his wish for the future happiness and blessing of Alcinous and his women and children left behind in Phaeacia. We might say that Sappho's poem gathers in and appropriates all Odysseus' good wishes for the family Charaxos has left behind in Mytilene. Finally, it is suggestive that Odysseus completes the list of blessings he wishes for Alcinous and Co. by expanding to the civic level: 'And may there be no evil among the people' (καὶ μή τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἴη, *Od.* 13.46). For Dirk Obbink has detected precisely the same shift in Sappho's closing prayer that Larichos 'at some point indeed become a man' (καὶ δή ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται, line 22). That is, Obbink interprets this as a wish for Larichos' full engagement and participation in civic affairs, rather than merely a prayer that he survive to adulthood.[37] Thus this phrase at the center of our poem invites us to hear a whole set of Odyssean echoes, as well as subtle variations on Odyssean themes. As such, it fully justifies the scholarly impulse to read the newest Sappho in the framework of the *Odyssey* myth, casting Charaxos as a kind of Odysseus figure and the younger brother Larichos as 'a potential Telemachos'.[38]

36 Cf. Mueller (2016), who emphasizes the ways in which Sappho's song 're-centers' the *Odyssey* narrative by focusing on the efficacious activity of the women at home.

37 Thus Obbink (2014b) 34, 35, 45; cf. West (2014) 9. For a similar interpretation, with a more iambic inflection, see Martin in this volume.

38 Quotation from Obbink (2014a). Cf. West (2014) 9: 'Her younger brother Larichos, who might be expected to take some initiative, remains inert and submissive, rather like Telemachos at the start of the *Odyssey* before Athena activates him. He has yet to assert himself and "become a man"'. Indeed, Obbink (2014a) goes further, suggesting that Sappho herself fills the Penelope role. In contrast to this equation, the particulars of Odysseus' wish here, with its pointed separation of a wife hopefully 'blameless' and φίλοι 'safe and sound', might encourage us to think that the addressee of the Brothers Poem is Sappho's sister-in-law—that is, her older brother Charaxos' wife. If the addressee were the sister-in-law, that might account better for the derogatory tone of θρύλησθα in the first stanza; on this model, the goal of the development I tracked in the first part of the paper might then be the merging or collapse of these two distinct categories, wife and φίλοι, into a single harmonious 'we'. On the other hand, the emphasis on Larichos and his saving role for the family still inclines me to think that the addressee is a family member equally invested in both brothers—so again, more likely Sappho's mother than her sister-in-law.

But this very obvious epic connection has tended to obscure another mythic model the Brothers Poem seems to me to evoke—and this starts from the imagery of lines 15–16, 'For periods of fine weather (εὐδίαι̣) come straightway from great storm blasts'. The imagery of the passing of a storm at sea, significantly applied in this stanza to 'us', reinforces the reciprocal relationship of wished-for safety between Charaxos and those at home I have already suggested.[39] But simultaneously this imagery sets up for a movement in the last three stanzas that implicitly equates or aligns Sappho's two brothers with the Dioscuri, *daimones* who save beleaguered ships at sea. To demonstrate the kind of language that tends to be used to describe the saving intervention of the Dioscuri for storm-tossed sailors (both real and metaphorical), I will consider several parallel passages (full Greek texts provided in the Appendix to this chapter): (1) Alcaeus fr. 34, a prayer to the Dioscuri; (2) the longer of the two Homeric Hymns to the Dioscuri (no. 33); (3) two characteristically densely metaphorical passages that frame Pindar's fifth *Pythian* Ode; and (4) a later adaptation of these same motifs in Theocritus' Hellenistic hymn to the Dioscuri (*Idyll* 22, lines 14–22). To clarify: I am not claiming specific intertextual links with any of these poems, but rather using the ensemble to build up a set of characteristic themes or motifs associated with the saving action of the Dioscuri at sea.[40]

I will first lay out the parallels, and then consider the application of this mythic model (which may seem *prima facie* implausible) to Sappho's disparate or asymmetrical brothers. Let me begin with the closest parallel, Pindar's *Pythian* 5, lines 5–10:

ὦ θεόμορ᾽ Ἀρκεσίλα,
σύ τοί νιν κλυτᾶς
αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο
σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ μετανίσεαι
ἕκατι χρυσαρμάτου Κάστορος·
εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.

O Arcesilas, favored by heaven, you, to be sure, have been pursuing [wealth] from the earliest steps of your glorious life, together with good

39 Noted also by Nünlist (2014) 14.

40 Thus the dating of Homeric Hymn no. 33 is not an issue for my argument. For discussion of its date relative to Alcaeus fr. 34, see Page (1955) 267–268, contesting the early (pre-sixth c.) date proposed by Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936) 436.

> repute, thanks to Castor of the golden chariot, who sheds good weather after wintry rain down upon your blessed hearth.

Here, it is Castor who ‘sheds εὐδίαν (fine weather) after wintry rain down upon the blessed hearth’ of the victor, Arcesilas, King of Cyrene.[41] In this context, Pindar is playing on or conflating multiple different associations of Castor, as the divinity who presides over horse and chariot racing (the event in which Arcesilas won his Pythian victory), but who also, together with his brother, offers salvation from storm at sea.[42] Pindar returns to this latter association at the end of the poem, weaving a complex metaphor within his prayer for the ongoing success and political stability of Arcesilas’ reign:

θεός τέ οἱ
τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν,
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοῖα, Κρονίδαι μάκαρες,
διδοῖτ’ ἐπ’ ἔργοισιν ἀμφί τε βουλαῖς
ἔχειν, μὴ φθινοπωρὶς ἀνέμων
χειμερία κατὰ πνοὰ δαμαλίζοι χρόνον.
Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
δαίμον’ ἀνδρῶν φίλων.

> And the god, kindly disposed now, brings his [sc. Arcesilas’] power to fulfillment, and in future, blessed sons of Cronus, may you grant him to have like success upon his works and about his counsels, so that no fruit-destroying stormy blast of winds make havoc of his lifetime. To be sure the great mind of Zeus steers the personal fortune of men who are dear to him.

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41 The metaphorical use of εὐδία is not that common overall, though it is clearly a favorite image of Pindar’s; see Pind. *Ol.* 1.98, *Pyth.* 5.10, *Isthm.* 7.38, frs. 52b.52, 109.1; Aesch. *Sept.* 795; Soph. *Ichneutai* 346; Xen. *An.* 5.8.20; Herondas *Mime* 1.28. Cf. Obbink (2014b) 43, and especially Stehle’s contribution to this volume for extended discussion of the metaphorical meanings of εὐδία in Pindar.

42 At *Isthmian* 7.38, Poseidon figures in a similar conflation of functions—he is both giver of victory and bringer of calm after metaphorical storm—again through the imagery of εὐδία. Much of the difference between my interpretation of Sappho’s song and that of Stehle’s contribution to this volume might be characterized by saying that she regards *Isthmian* 7 (with its use of εὐδία) as the crucial comparandum for Sappho’s Brothers Poem, whereas I consider it to be the Castor/εὐδία nexus of *Pythian* 5.

Here the storm from which Castor has saved Arcesilas at the beginning of the ode clearly emerges as the threat of political turbulence, to be fended off by Zeus and his 'blessed' sons, the Dioscuri. (That is to say, I suggest that Pindar's invocation of the Κρονίδαι μάκαρες at line 118 includes not just Zeus, but also his sons, the Dioscuri.)[43] And I emphasize the political implications of this passage because many scholars likewise read Alcaeus' prayer to the Dioscuri (fr. 34) as a political allegory for the foundering 'ship of state'.[44] I would suggest that these same civic, political associations are also relevant for Sappho's artful evocations of the Dioscuri in her Brothers Poem.

But let me return to the Brothers Poem itself, to track its progressive evocation of the saving Dioscuri for Sappho's mortal brothers—and here, we need to be attentive to the precise syntax and connections of thought in the poem. First, there is a striking asyndeton in line 17, at the beginning of the fourth complete stanza. I take this to be explanatory or causal, linking the thought here to the imagery of calm from storm that immediately precedes.[45] So:

> Periods of fine weather straightway come from great blasts of wind. *Since* of whomever the king of Olympus wishes a *daimon* as helper now to turn [them] round from toils, those men become happy and richly blessed.

The notion of a *daimon* sent by Zeus to be a 'helper' for men, who changes the weather from storm to calm, almost inevitably, I think, conjures up the Dioscuri. And this association helps explain the rare and striking word Sappho uses in this context—ἐπάρωγον, 'a helper'.[46] This unusual word occurs only once in all of Homer, used by the shade of Achilles in the *Nekuia* of *Odyssey*

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43 Note also κυβερνᾶι, which continues the maritime imagery and connects it with Zeus' particular favor to 'men who are dear' (ἀνδρῶν φίλων) in the final lines of the ode.

44 For the 'ship of state' in general in Alcaeus, see Page (1955) 179–197; for the extension of this allegorical interpretation to Alcaeus fr. 34, see Campbell (1982b) 289, Burnett (1983) 129, Robbins (2013) 248–249.

45 Cf. Obbink (2014b) 44, who notes the asyndeton, observing that such asyndeton is 'uncommon' in Sappho. For 'explanatory asyndeton', see Kühner and Gerth (1904) II.2 344–345. In contrast, such explanatory asyndeton is not infrequent in Pindar's 'austere style': see (for example) *Pyth.* 3.110–112, *Pyth.* 6.29, *Nem.* 3.44–46, *Nem.* 7.48–50. On asyndeton between propositions in Pindar, see Hummel (1993) 368–376; for explanatory asyndeton in particular, ibid. 372. Hummel also notes that asyndeton frequently occurs at the beginning of a triad or a strophe (375).

46 This is the correction by a second hand on the papyrus of ἐπαρήγον', although the η is not crossed out; see Obbink (2014b) 44.

Book 11 to bemoan the fact that his father Peleus lives bereft, without a 'helper' such as he himself was when alive (*Od.* 11.494–500; ἐπαρωγός at 11.498). Thus in its single Homeric occurrence, the 'helper' is son to the father. ἐκ πόνων in line 14 of the Brothers Poem also resonates strongly with language associated with the Dioscuri; thus note πόνου (line 16) and πόνοιο (line 17) in the Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri (no. 33).[47]

Then the fifth complete stanza begins with a strong connective: κ̣ἄμμες—that is, καὶ ἄμμες. This καί links the general proposition of the previous stanza to 'our' specific situation, so we might slightly over-translate, 'just so for us'.[48] In this last strophe of the poem, as the poet develops the parallel between general and specific, it emerges that it is Larichos himself who will be the savior, who by 'raising his head' will release 'us' from 'many βαρυθυμίαι' that are like a storm at sea. The parallelism between the many 'heavinesses of spirit' from which we 'would be released' and the calm after storm of lines 15–16 is underscored by their occupying the same position in the third and fifth complete stanzas, a responsion made even more conspicuous by the repetition of αἶψα ('straightway') in exactly the same metrical *sedes* in each stanza.

Finally, it is worth noting that the last stanza is all about vertical movement, up vs. down. If Larichos should raise his head, we would be released from the heavinesses of spirit that drag us down.[49] Intriguingly, this same emphasis on up vs. down motion characterizes the saving epiphanies of the Dioscuri in both Homeric Hymn 33 and in Alcaeus fr. 34. Thus in the former, lines 10–13 register that even the highest point of the stern—the poop deck—is ominously 'under water' (ὑποβρυχίην, line 12), before the sudden appearance of the saving gods 'rushing through the upper air on swift wings' (line 13). In like manner, Alcaeus' hymn describes the Dioscuri 'leaping upon the heights of ships' (θρῴσκοντ[ες ἐπ'] ἄκρα νάων, line 9), and 'running up the forestays' (πρό[τον' ὀν]τρ[έχο]ντες, line 10). We might also note the emphasis in both descriptions on the speed and

47 There may be a textual corruption in πόνου in line 16 of the Homeric Hymn, but πόνοιο in the next line is secure; see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936) 442. Cf. Obbink (2014b) 44 on ἐκ πόνων: 'i.e. such as Charaxos might experience at sea', and also Mueller (2016) on the poetics of ἐκ and ὑπέκ here.

48 Cf. West (2014) 9: 'In the closing stanza the general adage is applied to the present circumstances. "*So we too*, if Larichos will hold his head up and finally behave like a man, might soon find release from our hearts' heavinesses, however many"' (emphasis added).

49 Thanks to Richard Neer for this point. For the same imagery of 'raising the head' in a context of storm at sea, see Soph. *OT* 22–24 (cited as a comparandum by M.L. West *apud* Obbink [2014b] 45).

suddenness of the Dioscuri's saving interventions. Thus (just to focus on the Homeric Hymn) ἐξαπίνης (line 12), ἀΐξαντες (line 13), αὐτίκα (line 14), as well as the 'swift horses' the Dioscuri ride in the hymn's final *envoi* (line 18). We find this same emphasis on sudden transformation together with up-and-down motion in the repeated αἶψα of the Brothers Poem.

We might note how artfully the implicit pattern of Sappho's two brothers as the saving Dioscuri emerges as the poem progresses, starting to form first with the nautical adage of lines 15–16 and crystallizing only with the very last stanza in what is a veritable epiphany of Larichos raising his head and becoming a man.[50] Implicitly Sappho conjures up a vision or after-image of two different or asymmetrical brothers whose mutual χάρις and cooperation will make both immortal.[51]

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50 In relation to this veritable epiphany of Larichos at the end of the poem, cf. Morgan this volume, who suggests significant echoes of the Brothers Poem in the second half of Horace *Odes* 3.29. Note especially the last two strophes of Horace's ode, which introduce the imagery of storm at sea and end with the sudden epiphany of 'twin Pollux' saving the *ego* amidst 'Aegean storms':

non est meum, si mugiat Africis
malus procellis, ad miseras preces
decurrere et votis pacisci,
ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces

addant avaro divitias mari:
tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
tutum ***per Aegaeos tumultus***
aura *feret* ***geminusque Pollux****.*

If Morgan is correct in seeing echoes of our song in Horace *Odes* 3.29, the ending of the latter suggests that Horace might have recognized an evocation of the Dioscuri as saviors from storm at sea in the last two strophes of Sappho's song.

51 For χάρις and shared immortality as powerful motifs of the Dioscuri legend, cf. Pindar *Nem.* 10. And on the weird collapse of mortal and immortal brothers in our poem, cf. Obbink (2014b) 44, who notes that the words μάκαρ and πολύολβος in Sappho most commonly refer to divinities (for πολύολβος, see Sappho fr. 133.2). So here he notes of lines 15–16: 'In the present case a collapse of the distinctions [between human and divine] is anticipated'. See also Robbins (2011) 240–242, 250 on the Dioscuri as generally close to men and on Pindar's *Olympian* 3 as another poem where we find a doubling of the divine brothers with the human brothers Theron and Xenocrates as hosts of the Dioscuri at a Theoxeny in Acragas.

If this argument about the evocation or implicit identification of Sappho's brothers with the saving Dioscuri is accepted, it has several significant implications for our reading. First, such a subliminal identification would help explain and justify the somewhat awkward syntax and confusing imagery of the song's fourth complete stanza. M.L. West goes so far as to emend the papyrus' ἐπαρήγον'/ἐπάρωγον (line 18) to ἐπ' ἄρηον, defending his editorial choice thus:

> In 14 [18] the papyrus has επαρηγον, with an omega written above the eta: 'helper', whether ἐπαρήγονα or ἐπάρωγον. But all attempts to translate the clause with this reading have inevitably been tortured and strained. As Obbink makes it, 'Of whomsoever the King of Olympus wishes a divinity as helper now to turn them from troubles', and he glosses κῆνοι as 'those mortals assigned a special guardian divinity by Zeus'. My emendation to ἐπ' ἄρηον simplifies the theology and produces a more natural sentence. τῶν then depends on δαίμονα, which is used in the sense of 'their fortune'. This, not they, is what is 'turned around', and it is Zeus himself who does it, he does not delegate it to a lesser deity. 'Those whose fortune the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship for the better, they come out blessed and prosperous'.[52]

Other scholars likewise have objected to these lines' tortured syntax and a theology that strikes some as weirdly Neo-Platonic, with its hierarchy of different levels of gods and *daimones*.[53] ἐπ' ἄρηον undeniably simplifies the syntax, but does so at the cost of eliding the vivid and consistent imagery of the second half of the poem, which progressively conjures for 'us' at home the threat of storm at sea to be allayed by a 'helper *daimon*' sent by Zeus. Likewise, ἐπ' ἄρηον 'simplifies the theology', as West notes, but not necessarily correctly. For in fact, there is nothing strange or 'Neo-Platonic' about the hierarchy of divinities here evoked; that they are 'sent by Zeus', and subject to the will of Zeus and the greater gods is another traditional element of the Dioscuri myth. Thus in addition to their close identification with Zeus in Homeric Hymns 17 and 33, and at the end of Pindar's fifth *Pythian* ode (cited above, p. 253), we might consider the epiphany

52 West (2014) 9, followed closely by Ferrari (2014) 2–3. See Obbink (2015b) 6 for other arguments against West's emendation, the most significant of which is an echo of the Brothers Poem in Theocritus *Idyll* 17, lines 123–132, detected originally by Albert Henrichs (*apud* Obbink).

53 Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (*per litteras*); Lardinois (2014) 190 alternatively suggests a parallel with the *daimones* who are 'watchers from Zeus' in Hesiod *Op*. 122–126.

of the Dioscuri that closes Euripides' *Helen*.[54] In Euripides' play, the chorus of Greek slave women call upon the Dioscuri to come as 'saviors of Helen' at the end of their last choral ode (*Hel.* 1495–1505):

μόλοιτέ ποθ' ἵππιον οἶμον
δι' αἰθέρος ἱέμενοι
παῖδες Τυνδαρίδαι,
λαμπρῶν ἀστέρων ὑπ' ἀέλ-
λαις οἳ ναίετ' οὐράνιοι,
σωτῆρε τᾶς Ἑλένας,
γλαυκὸν ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἅλιον
κυανόχροά τε κυμάτων
ῥόθια πολιὰ θαλάσσας,
ναύταις εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων
πέμποντες Διόθεν πνοάς,

> May you come at some time along your horsey path, rushing through the upper air, sons, Tyndaridai, you who inhabit the heavens under the whirling motions of the bright stars, saviors of Helen, over the grey salt swell and the dark-blue and white breakers of the waves of the sea, sending for sailors favorable blasts of winds from Zeus,

This miniature inset hymn to the Dioscuri includes several topoi we have already noted—it registers the brothers' speed, the calming of storm at sea, and (thereby) their saving of beleaguered sailors. What Euripides' hymn crucially adds is that it is *Zeus* who works through his sons; this is the force of the climactic Διόθεν in line 1505.

Then, when the Dioscuri finally appear as *dei ex machina* (as if in response to the chorus' summons), Castor(?) pauses to explain the lateness of their intervention (*Hel.* 1658–1661):

πάλαι δ' ἀδελφὴν κἂν πρὶν ἐξεσώσαμεν,
ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς Ζεὺς ἐποίησεν θεούς·
ἀλλ' ἥσσον' ἦμεν τοῦ πεπρωμένου θ' ἅμα
καὶ τῶν θεῶν, οἷς ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν ὧδ' ἔχειν.

54 Thanks to Mario Telò for calling my attention to the Dioscuri at the end of Euripides' *Helen*.

> And long before now we would have saved our sister, since Zeus made us gods. But we were weaker than fate and the gods, who wanted these things this way.

As William Allan notes, it is not uncommon for a Euripidean *deus ex machina* to offer some excuse for his/her non-intervention, but here Euripides seems to be exploiting—and therefore unpacking—a traditional element of Dioscuri theology to do so.[55]

But it might be objected that the Dioscuri model does not in fact fit Sappho's two brothers, since only Larichos is represented as a savior within the song, whereas Charaxos, suspended in the limbo of a sea voyage, is himself potentially in need of saving intervention. And of course it is noteworthy that the 'helper *daimon*' sent by Zeus in line 18 of the Brothers Poem is singular. But here I get back to the Dioscuri as disparate or asymmetrical brothers. By that I mean to reference first and foremost the fact that Castor and Polydeuces have different fathers and therefore (at least originally) different fates—one originally a son of Zeus and immortal; the other a son of Tyndareus and mortal. In fact, Pindar's *Nemean* 10 shows us Polydeuces (the immortal one) as savior first and foremost of his own mortal brother Castor, in a narrative that includes many of the elements of what I have identified as 'Dioscuri theology'. Thus Polydeuces comes at great speed (ταχέως, *Nem.* 10.73) to his mortally wounded brother and saves him through the special dispensation of 'father' Zeus (*Nem.* 10.73–90). We might even see an extreme version of the Dioscuri's characteristic up-and-down motion in Pindar's repeated references, framing the mythic narrative of *Nemean* 10, to their shared split immortality, since for Pindar this is all about the regular alternation of locations—'underneath the earth' and 'in the golden

55 For excuses for non-intervention offered by Euripidean *dei ex machina*, see Allan (2008) 341, citing parallels. The language of Euripides' *Hec.* 159–164 also supports the argument for keeping the papyrus' ἐπάρωγον, in place of West's emendation ἐπ' ἄρηον (as Mario Telò points out to me). For here, precisely in the context of bemoaning the fact that she has lost all her family ('husband' and 'children', lines 159–161), Hecuba cries out in despair, ποῖ δὴ σωθῶ; ποῦ τις θεῶν ἢ δαίμων ἐπαρωγός; Obbink (2014b) 44 suggests that this might be a deliberate echo of the Brothers Poem, but even if we assume that τις θεῶν ἢ δαίμων ἐπαρωγός represents merely a conventional topos, the use of the phrase δαίμων ἐπαρωγός by a mother in the context of a threat to or loss of her children is very suggestive. Note that earlier in the play, Hecuba had referred to Polydorus, whom she believes to be her sole surviving son, as 'the only anchor of my house' (lines 79–80), and that when they bring the news of the planned sacrifice of Polyxena, the chorus of Trojan slave women urge Hecuba, 'but go to the temples, go to the altars' (line 144) to pray for her salvation.

halls of heaven' (*Nem.* 10.84–88; cf. 55–58). And lest we regard all these elements as Pindar's invention, Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* shows that this story was traditional.[56] If we apply this primal scene of salvation to Sappho's Brothers Poem, it suggests that one brother (Larichos) can choose to act in such a way as to make both brothers μάκαρες and πολύολβοι. As for the reference to a singular *daimon* in the Brothers Poem line 18, it is a striking feature of the Dioscuri in Pindar's rendering that they are an inseparable pair, and yet one can stand in for both (as Castor does in *Pythian* 5).[57]

Other implications of the Dioscuri paradigm must remain more speculative, since we lack the broader context of what André Lardinois suggests might be a whole 'song cycle' on Sappho's brothers and family life.[58] Here I would simply note that the Dioscuri model is a flexible one that could accommodate different constructions of Charaxos and Larichos and the speaker's relation to them. Thus, if we follow Dirk Obbink's suggested reading that Charaxos is characterized negatively as a commercial trader in contrast to the positive valuation of Larichos as (potentially) a fully-engaged political actor,[59] this opposition could be mapped onto the original asymmetry of the Dioscuri which I have already noted. Alternatively, if we follow Richard Martin's suggestion that we should read the newest Sappho as an example of her 'iambic' mode, deftly skewering both brothers within the ostensible frame of a wish for *nostos* and prayer, we might say that the hovering after-image of the Dioscuri sharpens the blame for both under-achieving human brothers by contrast.[60]

Finally—and most speculatively—if the poem hints at an identification of Charaxos and Larichos with the Dioscuri, it thereby also aligns the *ego* with their sister Helen.[61] This implicit identification could also play out in different

56 For the *Cypria* version, see Proclus *Chrest.* 80 Severyns (= p. 40 Bernabé). Note that even in this brief summary, we have all the same elements of a cattle raid by Castor and Polydeuces; Idas killing Castor; Polydeuces killing Idas and Lynceus; and finally, Zeus' dispensation of 'every-other-day immortality' for the two brothers (καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτοῖς ἑτερήμερον νέμει τὴν ἀθανασίαν).

57 Cf. again the last line of Horace *Odes* 3.29, *aura … geminusque Pollux*, where, as Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 364 note, Horace's 'brachylogy' implies Castor as well as Pollux without naming him.

58 Lardinois (2014) 192, 194 and in the present volume.

59 Thus Obbink in his talk at Berkeley in September 2014.

60 See Martin's contribution to this volume; for Sappho's iambic mode, see also Rosenmeyer (2006).

61 Scholars have detected an alignment or identification of the poetic *ego* with Helen in other Sapphic compositions—most obviously Sappho fr. 16. For this alignment, see duBois (1984), Winkler (1990b) 176–178.

ways, depending on the broader narrative of which our poem forms a part. Of course in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Helen functions as a poet figure, so that the alignment of the *ego* with Helen is particularly apt.[62] But otherwise we might feel that the different tonality of Iliadic and Odyssean Helens would significantly change and inflect our readings of the Brothers Poem. If we imagine the more comic Odyssean Helen behind our poem, she provides a point of intersection for the two different aspects or spheres I identified at the outset. By this I mean to capture two aspects of Helen in the *Odyssey*. First, within the domestic setting of Sparta, she twice preempts Menelaus' speech with her own authoritative utterance, essentially teaching him what he should say in significant contexts.[63] Second, Helen functions here as a seer figure, a powerful mediator between divine and human spheres and skilled reader of divine signs.[64] In the former role, Helen furnishes an epic model for the θρύλησθα—κέλεσθαι…λίσσεσθαι dynamic of our poem,[65] while in the latter capacity, she might be said to model the way the *ego* of our poem reaches out in prayer through Hera to Zeus, 'King of Olympus', and to his 'helper' *daimon*. Alternatively, we might imagine the speaker of the Brothers Poem in relation to the more somber Helen of the *Iliad*, longing in the *Teichoskopia* to see her two brothers before her on the plain of Troy, poignantly unaware that they are already dead and buried far away.[66]

Even allowing for these contrasting tonalities, the epic Helen is a powerful figure who effortlessly slips between and mediates different spheres—domestic and public, male and female, human and divine. As such, she offers

62 See *Il.* 3.125–128 (Helen weaves a figured robe that doubles the *Iliad* narrative); *Od.* 4.235–264 (Helen tells a story that doubles the *Odyssey* narrative), 4.277–289 (Helen's uncanny mimetic abilities, imitating the voices of the wives of all the Greek warriors hidden in the wooden horse). There is of course a vast literature on the Homeric Helen as a poet figure; for excellent early discussions of these aspects in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, see the essays collected in Bergren (2008) 43–57 and 111–130.

63 See *Od.* 4.116–122, 137–154, where Helen jumps in to identify Telemachus while Menelaus is pondering what to say, and *Od.* 15.166–178, where, after Peisistratus specifically asks Menelaus to adjudicate the target audience for a bird omen, Helen 'anticipates him, speaking a μῦθος' (15.171).

64 See *Od.* 15.172–178, Helen's authoritative (and entirely accurate) interpretation of a bird omen.

65 Though admittedly, within the exquisitely maintained decorum of epic/Sparta, Helen is always unfailingly polite to her ineffectual husband as she jumps in to speak for him (so no θρύλησθα moment). Cf. *Od.* 4.263–264, where Helen ends her tale of Odysseus by graciously noting that Menelaus as husband 'lacks nothing, either in wits (*phrenas*) or in form'.

66 See *Il.* 3.234–244, with thanks to Richard Martin for this suggestion.

an effective model for the *ego* as speaker of our song, with her protean and elusive verbal skills interweaving or fusing the poem's disparate spheres.[67]

Appendix (Dioscuri Passages)

1 *Alcaeus Fr. 34*

δεῦτε μοι νᾶ]σον Πέλοπος λίποντε[ς
παῖδες ἴφθ]ιμοι Δ[ίος] ἠδὲ Λήδας,
εὐνόω]ι θύ[μ]ωι προ[φά]νητε, Κάστορ
καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες·

οἳ κὰτ εὔρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν
παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἴππων,
ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε
ζακρυόεντος,

εὐσδ[ύγ]ων θρώσκοντ[ες ἐπ'] ἄκρα νάων
π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι πρό[τον' ὀν]τρ[έχο]ντες
ἀργαλέᾳ δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες
νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίναι·

Here for me, having left the Peloponnese, mighty sons of Zeus and Leda, appear with kindly heart, Castor and Polydeuces, you who go over the broad earth and the entire sea on your swift horses, and easily save men from chilly death, leaping on the heights of their well-benched ships, bright from afar as you run up the fore-stays, bringing light in grievous night to a black ship;

67 Thus the Brothers Poem offers us a remarkable and largely unexpected new view of the range of Sapphic poetics. In its abrupt shifts of tonality, juxtaposition of different spheres represented, and complex genre amalgam, all in the service of conjuring a fragmented 'storyworld' of 'everyday life', the Brothers Poem exhibits forms of artistry we had thought distinctive to Latin poets like Catullus, Horace, and Propertius. For the complex narrative effects produced by these poets, I have been particularly inspired by McCarthy (2010) and (2013).

2 *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* (*No. 33*)

Ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους ἑλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι
Τυνδαρίδας Λήδης καλλισφύρου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀμώμητον Πολυδεύκεα,
τοὺς ὑπὸ Ταϋγέτου κορυφῇ ὄρεος μεγάλοιο
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
σωτῆρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν, ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι
χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν
εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο
ἄρνεσσιν λευκοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες
πρύμνης· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κῦμα θαλάσσης
θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην, οἱ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν
ξουθῇσι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος ἀΐξαντες,
αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας,
κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι,
ναύταις σήματα καλὰ †πόνου σφίσιν†· οἱ δε ἰδόντες
γήθησαν, παύσαντο δ' ὀϊζυροῖο πόνοιο.
Χαίρετε Τυνδαρίδαι ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

Whirling-eyed Muses, tell about the Tyndarid sons of Zeus, shining children of lovely-ankled Leda, horse-breaking Castor and blameless Polydeuces, the sons whom she bore under the peak of the great mountain Taygetos when she had been mixed in love with the black-clouded son of Cronus, as saviors of men upon the earth and of swift ships, when wintry stormblasts rush over an unfriendly sea. But they, praying from ships, call upon the sons of great Zeus with [sacrifice of] white lambs, when they have gone up to the poop-deck. But it [the stern] both great wind and the swell of the sea have caused to be submerged. But they [sc. the Dioscuri] suddenly appear, rushing through the air on swift wings. And immediately they stop the blasts of grievous winds and they smooth out the swells of white salt water on the plains of the sea, as noble signs of toil(?) for sailors; but they [sc. the sailors] rejoice when they see [them], and they cease from grievous toil. Hail Tyndaridai, riders of swift horses! But I will remember you and another song.

3 *Pindar* Pythian *5, Lines 1–11, 117–123*

Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ
βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
πολύφιλον ἑπέταν.
ὦ θεόμορ' Ἀρκεσίλα,
σύ τοί νιν κλυτᾶς
αἰῶνος ἀκρᾶν βαθμίδων ἄπο
σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ μετανίσεαι
ἕκατι χρυσαρμάτου Κάστορος·
εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.
....
θεός τέ οἱ
τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν,
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοῖα, Κρονίδαι μάκαρες,
διδοῖτ' ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφί τε βουλαῖς
ἔχειν, μὴ φθινοπωρὶς ἀνέμων
χειμερία κατὰ πνοὰ δαμαλίζοι χρόνον.
Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων.

Wealth is broad in strength, whenever any mortal man leads it forth mixed with pure excellence, when fate has transmitted it to him as an attendant that has many friends. O Arcesilas, favored by heaven, you, to be sure, have been pursuing it from the earliest steps of your glorious life, together with good repute, thanks to Castor of the golden chariot, who sheds good weather after wintry storm down upon your blessed hearth.

....

And the god, kindly disposed now, brings his [sc. Arcesilas'] power to fulfillment, and in future, blessed sons of Cronus, may you grant him to have like success upon his works and about his counsels, so that no fruit-destroying stormy blast of winds make havoc of his lifetime. To be sure the great mind of Zeus steers the personal fortune of men who are dear to him.

4 *Theocritus* Idyll *22, Lines 14–22*

πολὺς δ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὄμβρος
νυκτὸς ἐφερπούσης· παταγεῖ δ' εὐρεῖα θάλασσα
κοπτομένη πνοιαῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήκτοισι χαλάζαις.
ἀλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς γε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἕλκετε νῆας
αὐτοῖσιν ναύτῃσιν οἰομένοις θανέεσθαι·
αἶψα δ' ἀπολήγουσ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὴ δὲ γαλήνη
ἂμ πέλαγος· νεφέλαι δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι·
ἐκ δ' Ἄρκτοι τ' ἐφάνησαν Ὄνων τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἀμαυρὴ
Φάτνη, σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλόον εὔδια πάντα.

And there is much rain from heaven as the night comes on, and the broad sea roars as it is struck by blasts of wind and relentless hails. But still you [sc. the Dioscuri] drag ships even from the depth [of the sea], together with their sailors, who think they will die. And straightway the winds cease, and there is bright calm upon the plain of the sea, and the clouds scatter in different directions here and there. And the Bears appear, and in the middle of the Asses the dim Manger, signifying that all is good weather for sailing.

CHAPTER 12

Larichos in the Brothers Poem: Sappho Speaks Truth to the Wine-Pourer

Eva Stehle

We now have a new poem by Sappho on the subject of her brothers, previously attested only by two fragmentary poems and several testimonia.[1] The testimonia report that Sappho mocked the first brother, Charaxos, a merchant sailor, for spending his earnings to free a courtesan named Rhodopis or Doricha and that she praised the second, Larichos, who poured wine at the town-hall of Mytilene.[2] The new poem mentions both brothers, but not for the specific activities that the testimonia describe. It therefore gives substance to the idea that there was a series of 'brothers poems' involving Charaxos and Larichos.[3] It also opens a window on familial gender dynamics from a woman's perspective. This is an exciting new aspect of Sappho's poetry.

The first question is whether we should read the poem biographically: did Sappho compose this poem as her response to an actual situation at a particular moment? Our approach to reading the poem depends on the answer. Since Charaxos in this poem is like the merchant seaman in Herodotus and the 'brother' in poem 5 whose return is envisioned—and since he has no recorded activities apart from coming home after trading abroad (and buying a courtesan's freedom)—he seems to be a type.[4] His role reflects what must have been

1 I want especially to thank Dirk Obbink not only for bringing us these papyri but also for patiently answering my questions about them. I also thank André Lardinois for organizing the panel and co-editing this volume, Joel Lidov, Diane Rayor, and Deborah Boedeker for helpful comments, Glenn Most for asking a question that I needed to answer, and Anton Bierl for serving as co-editor.

2 Larichos: Ath. 10, 425a (= test. 203a); schol. *Il.* 20.234 (also test. 203c). The second cites Sappho as saying that it was the custom for good-looking aristocratic youths to pour wine. For Charaxos see note 4.

3 A third brother is mentioned in *P. Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 lines 1–35 (= test. 252), where his name is restored as [Ἐρ]ι̣[γυιον, and in Suda C 107 s.v. 'Sappho' (= test. 253), where his name is given as Eurygios. Nothing is known about Erigyios.

4 Hdt. (2.135) tells the story of Charaxos buying the freedom of Rhodopis. Test. 252 and 254 refer to this episode. Two of them, *P. Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 lines 1–35 and Ath. 13, 596bc, give the name Doricha for the courtesan.

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a common experience for the women of Lesbos, awaiting the next homecoming of the men on whom their families depended. Larichos does not appear in Sappho's previously-known poetry, but given that his role in this poem is compatible with his being young, attractive, and at home in the symposium, as the testimonia report, he is probably a type as well. The two "brothers" then represent different aspects of the life of the prosperous class of Lesbos, with its symposium culture of leisure and its mercantile adventuring over the sea.[5]

Since they appear to be types, I do not think that this poem can be read as biographical. Sappho may or may not have had brothers, but these figures have at a minimum been abstracted from real relatives. Similarly, one might note that in the only mention of her own mother (98) Sappho portrays her as recommending simple adornment for women's hair in contrast to the luxurious Lydian *mitra* that seems to be the current fashion. Thus she too could be a type, one representing a now-lost way of life, less driven and wealth-seeking. Certainly Sappho's attitude toward riches in this poem is aligned with hers.[6] However, we would need more passages mentioning her to see whether that really is her role.

Likewise, the first-person voice in the "personal" poems is a creation of the poet. Perhaps I should call this figure "Sappho" with quotation marks, but I also do not want to suggest that the speaker is a fiction only. That Sappho the poet reflected on her life and society by representing herself in relationship with others seems to me to emerge from her themes, which combine realia like festivals and dress with scenarios depicting women's emotional experience in a male-dominated culture. The continuity between the persona and the poet gives Sappho's poetry its power, for her dramatic narratives distilled those experiences and expressed them as her own to audiences that knew her.[7] So I

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5 See Raaflaub in this volume on some kinds of trade being compatible with elite status. He points out that one shipload could bring tremendous riches in this period.

6 Kurke (1992) 96 describes both Sappho and Alcaeus as claiming allegiance to an elite lifestyle through their use of ἁβρός ('luxuriant') and other forms of the stem. For Sappho, she observes, it represents 'a certain sensuality'. Unfortunately, the most significant line of Sappho's on the subject (58.25–26), 'And/but I am fond of ἀβροσύνα …', has no larger context to show us what it is paired or contrasted with, although the quotation containing it goes on to say something like, 'and *erōs* has allotted me the light of the sun and the beautiful'. So Sappho deeply enjoyed the sensuous and alluring but did not necessarily embrace wealth as power. Kurke (idem: 101, n. 43) thinks she was ambivalent about it.

7 Morrison (2007) 41 speaks of the 'pseudo-intimacy' of Sappho's (and Alcaeus') poems in explaining why audiences outside the original one would find them attractive, and (48) comments that in archaic lyric the narrator becomes a subject for narration.

will not use quotation marks in referring to the speaker as Sappho but do stress that she is presenting a fictionalized self. And now that we have the 'Brothers Poem' we can see another facet of her fiction, a woman commenting on the behavior of male relatives.

These considerations frame my approach to the poem. But they do not in themselves generate a reading of the poem. And at first glance it seems dull. Gautier Liberman, for instance, calls it a 'poème assez prosaïque' that 'contient des signes potentiels de composition hâtive', although he praises some aspects of it.[8] M.L. West had a similar reaction.[9] But the problem is not just poetic quality; it is hard to make any sense of the train of thought. No logic seems to connect the successive stanzas: you should not keep saying that Charaxos will come with wealth; you should send me to pray (but not for wealth); and (to pray) that Charaxos find us in good shape, and let's entrust the rest to the gods, for good weather can spring up suddenly; the gods give wealth to whomever they wish; if Larichos becomes a man we will be released from sorrow. Sappho seems to be unhappy with two different people, criticizing one for a mental fault and commenting that the other needs to change his behavior, with bits of conventional wisdom about fortune in between.[10] Her major poems are tightly constructed and, when we can tell (1.25, 16.15–20, maybe 31.17 and 96.18–20), they bring the train of thought to a close in a stanza that adds a new twist and simultaneously caps the whole logical sequence.[11] This new poem seems conspicuously to fail at doing that.

I will argue that, on the contrary, the poem is a good example of Sappho's poetic style and does have a striking shift of perspective at the end that simultaneously completes the whole train of thought. What makes it snap into focus is taking the addressee to be Larichos. The addressee is clearly a family member who would have a stake in Charaxos' success. It seems likely that the addressee was male, since Sappho asserts that this figure should 'command' her to go pray

8 Liberman (2014) 8.

9 Reported by Obbink, ch. 2, this volume, citing an email from M.L. West to Mary Beard before publication of the discovery in the *Times Literary Supplement*.

10 Obbink (2014) 35 (and cf. 45) suggests that once Charaxos has brought riches home, Larichos will be able to take his place as a wealthy aristocrat.

11 For new support for the view that 16.20 is the end of that poem see Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 5. The end of poem 31 is missing, but if 17 is the first line of the last stanza then 'all must be dared / endured' is the new twist on the thought that the man seems like a god and Sappho seems to herself to be near death. Poem 96 plausibly ended at 20, since the following stanza is in asyndeton and on a different subject, although the papyrus does not indicate as much.

to Hera.[12] A male family member would have the authority to direct her. She could have urged him to go himself, but she recognizes that he would find it easier (given his inaction so far) and perhaps more appropriate to send her. What little evidence there is suggests that women were major celebrants at Hera's shrine at Messon.[13] Moreover, there is a hint that Larichos' name stood in the largely missing first stanza, for the letters ΛΑ are preserved in line 3. They most likely formed the third syllable of the line, so the full name would fit the meter if a word beginning with a consonant (or, in the case of the vocative, two consonants) followed.[14] Dirk Obbink in fact restores Λα̣ριχ-. The letters ϲε in line 4 are read as the pronoun 'you' in the accusative, so the exiguous remains are compatible with the idea that she addressed him there.

But the most compelling reason for assuming that Larichos is the addressee is that he is the subject of the final stanza. A poem's addressee should have something to do with the poem, and the last stanza should be connected to what has preceded. If Larichos is addressed in the first stanza then the entire poem concerns his response to family pressure arising from Charaxos' absence; it depicts Sappho's (fictional) attempt to persuade him to take some responsibility. However, most of the scholars who have dealt with the poem resist this solution because they see the reference to Larichos in the third person at the end as ruling it out. Camillo Neri adds that κἄμμ' in line 13 will then include Larichos whereas κἄμμεϲ in line 21 will exclude him, which he finds unacceptable.[15]

For my part, far from seeing these features as a problem, I think they are one source of the poem's power and drama. The addressee is a rhetorical figure, the foil for Sappho's play of brother-sister relations.[16] The actual audience (on which more below) hears her trying to persuade him and deduces his position from what she says. When she ceases to speak to him in stanzas five and six, the audience can hear the change in her attitude and construe the development

12 Lardinois, in this volume, also proposes a male addressee, Sappho's third brother, Eurygios.

13 See Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 10 for an expanded text of poem 17 that mentions (13–14) 'a throng of maidens … and women' addressing Hera; the first-person-plural verb in 11 must belong to this throng. On 5–6 the authors suggest that the performance of this song could have been at the festival of Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus celebrated by women at Messon, to which Alc. 130b.17–20 refers.

14 See West (1982) 17 n. 31, 18 for Lesbian poets' treatment of double consonants that are sometimes treated as single in other poetic traditions.

15 Neri (2015) 58 n. 32. Kurke (personal communication) similarly objects.

16 Peponi, this volume, also stresses the sister-brother relationship but sees the poem as a vignette of daily life.

of their encounter accordingly.[17] On hearing the third person in stanza six it realizes that from her new position Sappho is explicating reality not just at the cosmic level but also at the human level of Larichos' relationship to the family (κἄμμες, 21). It also realizes that this perception is what has been behind her tactful attempts to persuade him all along and that the κἄμμες here may exclude him if he does not act to join them. This revelation is the new twist that simultaneously caps the whole logical sequence. In sum, the poem is not disjointed or aimless but a miniature drama. There is a suggestive, though partial, parallel in poem 96 to Sappho's change of perspective here, which I will examine when I get to that point in my detailed discussion below.

A number of the scholars who have written on the Brothers Poem identify the addressee as Sappho's mother, as Dirk Obbink tentatively suggested in the original publication.[18] Leslie Kurke further argues that verb θρυλεῖν (usually translated 'babble', but see below) is too rude to use to a man's face—which means also dismissing the remark of Herodotus that Sappho 'mocked' Charaxos for his involvement with the courtesan.[19] Anja Bettenworth on the contrary thinks that Sappho would hardly use θρυλεῖν in speaking to her mother, but she

17 One striking characteristic of Sappho's poetry is her sudden shifts of speaker and/or perspective, as in frs. 1, 16 (where Helen is object then subject of desire), 94 (if Sappho speaks line 1), 96 (on which see below).

18 Obbink (2014): 41. West (2014) 8 and Ferrari (2014) 4 approve of the idea early on. The letters that follow ΣΕ in the fragmentary first stanza are ΜΑ. So West (2014) 9 further says it is tempting to supplement them as some form of μάτηρ but that the space before the extant letters is not large enough to contain two syllables, which would be necessary since the Α of μάτηρ is long. However, Obbink (2015b) 2 takes it up as a plausible suggestion, disagreeing with the view that there is not enough space for two syllables and supplementing with the vocative μᾶτερ. It is important to understand that the idea that the mother must be the addressee preceded the supplement and is its only justification. So when Obbink says that the supplement adds support for the hypothesis that the person addressed is the mother he has it backwards. A quick look in LSJ produces as possibilities (with a short α, the easier view), e.g., some forms of the aorist of μανθάνω (perhaps with *se* and infinitive), some forms of μαίομαι, some cases of μάταιος, the feminine μάκαιρα (all used in early poetry), and so on. My point is not that any of these is especially plausible but that μᾶτερ is no more so.

19 Kurke, this volume. On Herodotus she cites Lidov (2002). But the name 'Charaxos' comes from Sappho's poetry, and it is more economical to suppose that Sappho 'mocked' Charaxos in a poem (whether or not she actually named a courtesan) that was then perceived as fodder for a tale of courtesan seduction than to suppose that the name Charaxos (but not Larichos) was taken up and attached without motivation to a courtesan story in a comedy about Sappho's sexuality. The idea that Herodotus was drawing on comedy is itself fragile.

suggests a different female, a slave attendant of Sappho's, as addressee.[20] There are other suggestions, too: Camillo Neri, who argues that it is the mother, gives a list of eleven candidates.[21]

My objections to taking the mother as the addressee are that it does not illuminate anything in the poem; that instead it makes the criticism of the addressee in the second stanza trivial and the addressee's resistance to sending Sappho to pray inexplicable; that it makes Sappho's use of ἀρτέμεας puzzling; that it requires reading the last stanza as an optimistic prediction in the face of its dubious tone; that the addressee's focus on the full ship does not sort with the advice Sappho attributes to her mother in poem 98, her only mention of her mother (see above); that Sappho very probably used a past tense in referring to her, which suggests that she is not to be thought of as a participant in Sappho's family dramas; and that θρύληcθα is not language that Sappho would depict herself using to her mother.[22] Identifying the mother as the addressee seems to have been arrived at by a process of elimination among known or proposed figures linked to Sappho's biography rather than by thinking about the poem.[23]

Another issue at work here is lack of attention to the question about who the actual audience is, as opposed to the addressee. Elsewhere Sappho clearly addresses someone who is not her actual audience, for instance in poem 31, whose addressee is sitting beside a man, talking and laughing with him, so we should see these as separate.[24] Kurke interestingly refers to this poem being set in 'space-off', a publically-inaccessible location in which women speak to each other, but does not say what relationship she thinks this internal setting had to the actual audience.[25] Yet in addition to the addressee we must take into account the audience to whom Sappho presented her poem, for

20 Bettenworth (2014) 15–16. Nünlist (2014) 13 also objects to it because of the derogatory tone of θρύληcθα and the implication that the addressee cares mainly about the cargo.

21 Neri (2015) 57–58.

22 Neri (2015) 59–60 gives the latest and most extensive argument for the mother as addressee. But he glosses over the first problem mentioned by suggesting (56 and *passim*) that this poem is a prelude to a poem of prayer and the second problem by suggesting (62) that Sappho really means 'let us go to pray'. He proposes that the difficulty being discussed in the poem is that there is no man in the house to take charge (an idea with which I agree) but argues (59) that therefore all the men of the family are excluded as addressees, ignoring the possibility that Sappho is speaking to one whom she wishes would take charge. For the past tense in fr. 98 see Voigt app. crit. ad loc.

23 See Obbink (2014b) 41; cf. Neri (2015) 59–60, who does the same with a larger field of possibilities.

24 Archilochus does the same, e.g., in epodes addressed to Lykambes, frs. 172 and 173.

25 Kurke, this volume. In such a space a sister could also speak to a brother.

she is speaking to them in a different way. As for who that was, the most plausible social context for regular performance of her poems is a group made up of sympathetic women from her extended family and allied families on Lesbos, a quasi-counterpart to the symposium.[26] If this is right then she is in fact speaking to women in a 'space-off', and her 'us' and 'we' in the Brothers poem could notionally include some of those listening to the poem. Within such a circle she could speak freely by creating "true" fictions as a way to assess the behavior of others, negotiate relationships, and (as I have argued elsewhere) try to counter, emotionally, women's lack of control over their fate.[27] Commenting on men's behavior within such a gathering was probably one of the ways women had of exerting social pressure on male family members, and such a regular audience would provide the context for an ongoing series of brothers poems—a topic that would no doubt be appreciated by her female audience.

So now let us turn to the 'Brothers Poem'. The largely-missing first stanza must have indicated the nature of the problem that Sappho and Larichos face, the situation bringing on the βαρυθυμίαν ('heavy-heartedness') that she mentions in the last stanza. It must have concerned Charaxos' not having returned and the impact on family resources. To anticipate the analysis of the following stanzas, their logical structure consists of a repeated sequence in which Sappho first objects to Larichos' solution to the problem, and then promotes her alternative solution. This pairing of objection followed by alternative recurs four times and occupies the whole poem from line 6 to the end. Each successive pair expands the context of objection plus alternative until it lays bare both cosmic and large familial dynamics. The drama of the poem lies in Sappho's tactics as she tries to induce Larichos to adopt her solution.

Sappho begins the second stanza by identifying what is clearly the addressee's solution: 'but you always insist on Charaxos' coming with a full ship'. The verb provisionally translated as 'insist on' is the relatively rare θρυλεῖν; it is worth looking at it a little more closely. In what used to be its two earliest appearances before it surfaced in the Brothers Song, Euripides' *Electra* 910 and Aristophanes' *Knights* 348, it means obsessive, repeated rehearsal in anticipation of speaking openly under the right circumstances. In the tragedy Electra uses it of herself as she berates the head of the murdered Aegisthus (909–912):

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26 See Stehle (1997) 276–277, 282–287 on the setting and dynamics of Sappho's political poetry.

27 Stehle (1997) 288–311, although I would not now say that the 'circle [of Sappho's friends] was not their primary setting' (288); I would say that the songs had a function that went beyond that setting by serving also as repositories of memory for other women.

'and certainly through every morning's dawning I never left off rehearsing (θρυλοῦσ') what I wanted to say to your face if I were really to become free of my earlier fear'. What Electra describes is the opposite of babbling (the received translation), if babbling implies speaking at random: she is repeating her grievances and insults over and over as she imagines the pleasure of being able to say them to him. In her mouth θρυλεῖν is descriptive of a compulsive state of mind. The Aristophanic passage uses it mockingly, referring to someone rehearsing all night in preparation for a trivial court case.[28] Since these two passages are closest in time to Sappho and also poetic, they constitute the best guide for the verb's meaning in the Brothers Poem.

So, when Sappho depicts Larichos as 'always' rehearsing his line, she means that he is constantly, urgently repeating it in anticipation of saying it under the right circumstances. In his case the content of the line and the circumstances under which he wishes to say it are the same: he wants to announce truly that the ship has come in laden with goods. The verb shows that he is deeply invested emotionally in this solution but feeling pressure from the difficult situation, which he wards off by repeating this mantra whenever the problem is mentioned.

Further indicating the mantra-like quality of his line is the fact that it contains an aorist infinitive (ἔλθην) rather than the expected future infinitive. As a declarative infinitive in an indirect discourse construction it would have to be translated '(Charaxos) has come', but that appears to make no sense. It has therefore been analyzed as a dynamic infinitive in a construction of willing, which my translation, 'insists on Charaxos' coming', attempts to capture.[29] This explanation fits very well with the state of mind represented by the verb θρυλεῖν. Yet if we want to press 'rehearsing' it is also possible to understand that Larichos is repeating 'Charaxos has come' over and over in anticipation of its being true.[30] For him Charaxos' having come is already the answer, before it happens. With either reading of the infinitive, he is treating it as (about to become) fact, so he is clearly convinced that his solution is inevitable. And this attitude of his explains why in the rest of the poem Sappho makes an effort to discredit his

28 LSJ gives 'repeat over and over' as a meaning for the Euripides passage only, but it has the same meaning in Aristophanes. The villain Paphlagon insults the hero by saying he cannot debate but 'perhaps you argued well in a minor case (δικίδιον) against a metic, rehearsing (θρυλῶν) all night and talking (λαλῶν) to yourself in the streets …, so you thought yourself a capable speaker' (*Eq.* 347–350).

29 Ferrari (2014) 3 makes the point about the construction and calls attention to ἄϊ ('always'). West (2014) 8 calls the infinitive 'purely aspectual'.

30 Neri (2015) 57 suggests this as a possible interpretation but prefers the other one.

solution as a prelude to each of her attempts to win acceptance for her solution: he is so closed to any suggestion that he should cope with the problem in some other way that Sappho must undermine his *idée fixe* before she can get him to hear what she is proposing. Moreover, as will emerge, her solution is for him to step up and become active in support of the family himself, so he has a strong motive for not hearing it.[31] He was known as a wine-pourer at civic symposia, and we can easily deduce that his insistence that Charaxos' arrival will solve the problem stems from his wanting to prolong his pleasurable ease.

Sappho first counters his mantra by pointing out that, while Zeus and the other gods know whether that will happen, it is not Larichos' prerogative to know. With cὲ δ'οὐ χρῆ ταῦτα νόηcθαι ('but *you* should not perceive this') she is saying both that he cannot know the future and that he is usurping the privilege of the gods when he claims to see what will happen.[32] The pronoun cέ ('you') is fronted to make the contrast with the preceding word θέοι ('gods') explicit. Then, continuing the construction with χρῆ, she urges that he send her to pray. Praying contrasts with claiming to know. If he does follow her advice, he will be admitting that he does not already know the future. So the first pairing of objection and alternative is about the kind of speech that is appropriate in the situation and the kind of action that it entails.

The second pairing appears in Sappho's proposed prayer. She includes it in indirect discourse as the two requests that he should 'order' her to make, namely 'that Charaxos arrive here guiding a ship that is safe' and 'that he find us ἀρτέμεαc'. The first request replaces Larichos' 'full ship' with 'safe ship' as the desideratum, and also describes Charaxos as guiding the ship.[33] Implied by both of these changes is criticism of Larichos for treating Charaxos as the instrument by which the wealth will be delivered. In place of cargo, she pictures Charaxos as the active one who leads his vehicle and expresses concern that they not lose this most valuable resource of man and ship.

Sappho's second prayer-request is a surprise addendum at the beginning of the fourth stanza: 'and that (Charaxos) find us ἀρτέμεαc'. This half of the prayer, which reflects Sappho's alternative solution, shifts the focus to those at home, Larichos and the rest of the family. But to see specifically what she is advocating, we need to investigate the adjective *artemēs*.

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31 Ferrari (2014) 4 suggests that Sappho is promoting Larichos to be the new family head.

32 Cf. *Hom. Hymn Merc.* 548: Apollo predicts failure for one who 'stupidly wants to find out my prophecy and perceive more than the ever-living gods (νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων)'.

33 Nünlist (2014) 13 points out that the adjective 'safe' is not usually applied to objects rather than people, so its use here is emphatic.

The word is very rare, known primarily from Homer. Its etymology is unknown, and its precise meaning must be deduced from its contexts.[34] The two instances in the *Iliad* are in a formulaic line and a half that is repeated (5.514b-15, 7.307b-8): τοὶ δὲ χάρησαν, / ὡς εἶδον ζωόν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα ('And they rejoiced / when they saw him coming forward, alive and *artemea*'). In each case what the Trojans see is a warrior, Aeneas and Hector respectively, returning from a dire situation. Each is 'safe and sound' (LSJ's translation of *artemēs*). But the combination of the hero's unexpectedly dodging death and his 'coming forward' (to resume fighting immediately in Aeneas' case) suggests a stronger meaning than σόος ('safe').[35] In the book 5 passage, the narrator emphasizes Aeneas' recovery of self-confidence three times: in line 448, where he says that Leto and Artemis 'were healing him and giving him glory (κύδαινον)'; in line 513, where Apollo 'put strength (μένος) into his breast' as he sent him back out to the battlefield; and in line 516, where an extra half-line, 'having good strength', is added after the formula. G.S. Kirk describes this half-line as 'a unique and surely a feeble phrase', but it could be read as a gloss on *artemea*, a confirmation that Aeneas was visibly eager for battle.[36] I therefore propose 'steadfast' or 'unshaken' in spirit as well as flesh as the best translation.

This interpretation of the meaning gives greater point to the adjective in its only appearance in the *Odyssey*. Here it is plural and alludes to a different kind of dire situation. Just before he leaves the Phaeacians, Odysseus expresses a wish in his farewell address to the assembled nobles (13.41–43):

> τά μοι θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες
> ὄλβια ποιήσειαν· ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν
> νοστήσας εὕροιμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν.

> May the Olympian gods make [your gifts]
> richly-enjoyable for me, and may I find my wife blameless in the house
> on my arrival, together with *artemeessi* friends.

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34 So Kirk (1990) ad *Il.* 7.308–310, who says that it 'clearly means something like "unharmed," the graze [that Hector has sustained] of 262 being ignored'.

35 In 7.307–310 the Trojans see Hector coming *artemea* away from his duel with Ajax, 'having escaped the strength and irresistible hands of Ajax, / and they led him toward the city, not having expected him to be safe (σόον)'. Although they did not expect him to emerge unwounded from the duel, Hector is not only 'safe' but 'unshaken', as his speech to Ajax (284–302) indicates.

36 Kirk (1990) ad *Il.* 5.514–516. He does remark that it shows that Aeneas is ready for action.

Our adjective is paired here with ἀμύμων ('blameless', 'excellent'), whose meaning is expanded on by Athena in a later passage, 15.14–23. There Athena warns Telemachus to go straight home, 'so that you find your mother ἀμύμονα in the house. For already her father and brothers call on her to marry Eurymachus … Take care lest she carry possessions from the house against your will. For you know what sort of spirit is in the breast of a woman; she wants to make rich that house into which she weds and no longer remembers her earlier children and dear husband, now dead, or asks about them.' The wife who is not ἀμύμων transfers her loyalty away from the old house. Odysseus is hoping that his wife has remained loyal and surely wishes to find his friends steadfast in their allegiance as well. In fact the scholia on the passage offer exactly this interpretation. The scholion of Q glosses it as τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἀκεραίοις ('the trustworthy and incorruptible ones') and explains that it derives from ἄρτιος ('ready'), while V gives ὑγιεῖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ('healthy and trustworthy').[37] When he does get home, Odysseus' prime concern, up to the moment of taking revenge on the suitors, is to find out who is loyal and prepared to fight at his side and who is not.

So Sappho's second request to Hera is that Larichos along with the rest of them be steadfast in support of Charaxos (and each other). In this pair she highlights the behavior she is looking for more generally, broadening its scope from the single action of sending her to pray to an overall posture of activity on behalf of family interests. She now also locates the source of the problem on Lesbos. After her implied criticism that Larichos does not value his brother for himself, Sappho implicitly asks him (by endorsing her prayer) to recognize the importance of a politically active family's standing together. She further emphasizes mutuality—and avoids sounding critical—by using the first person plural, 'find *us* steadfast'.

But the very fact that she wishes to pray for the family's loyal support of Charaxos delicately raises the possibility that Larichos might not be steadfast. Given his attitude, what happens if his solution fails? René Nünlist suggests that with ἀρτέμεας Sappho is alluding to the *Odyssey* passage cited above, which would set up a parallel between Odysseus and Charaxos.[38] Since Odysseus

37 Dindorf (1855) vol. 2 ad loc. See Pontani (2011) 329, 435–438 on ms. Q, which descends via Z from H, pp. 208–217 on H ('perhaps the most important in absolute terms for a future editor of the *Odyssey* scholia', 217), and pp. 183–192 on the oldest ms. of the V family. Dindorf, he points out (332), often cited Z, or rather Q, because of his imperfect knowledge of H.

38 Nünlist (2014) 13. To call it allusion perhaps assumes that Sappho had the same text we do, but Sappho's use of a rare word that expresses Odysseus' need so well could be

appears to come home resourceless, as a beggar, he finds out perforce who remains loyal to him personally. The parallel raises the question: if Charaxos comes back empty-handed, will Larichos embrace his brother or turn against him and defect to another political grouping that can better support him?[39] By outlining her prayer to him Sappho is indirectly posing that question and asking him to commit to her solution. (In this connection it is worth noting that in poem 5.5–7 Sappho expresses a similar wish for Charaxos' loyalty, also in the form of a prayer [to the Nereids this time]: 'And [grant] that he undo all the things that he did wrong, and may he become a joy to his friends and a grief to his enemies …'.)

Each of the first two pairs objects to Larichos' solution and offers an alternative, the first one criticizing his hubristic speech and proposing prayer as an alternative, the second criticizing his attitude toward a family member and proposing a different one. The first pair points *sotto voce* to Larichos' dangerous hubris, while the second points in the same veiled way to danger to the family from his behavior. In her third pairing, which takes up the rest of the fourth stanza, Sappho expands the scope of the contrast again to divine influence on human life. In the first half of this pair Sappho retains the first person plural from the beginning of line 13 and uses a hortatory subjunctive clause to encourage Larichos directly to abandon his idea (13–14), 'and let us entrust (ἐπιτρόπωμεν) all the rest to the δαιμόνεσσιν'. 'All the rest' clearly includes the rich cargo for which Larichos hopes. But her use of the word *daimones*, which occurs only once or twice in her extant fragments, is surprising. Seeing the full implications of what she is proposing involves asking who these *daimones* most likely are.

Sappho's *daimones* have been taken by most scholars to mean the Olympian gods. In Homer *daimōn* is most frequently used, in the singular and usually by characters rather than the narrator, to designate the nameless agent of a sudden change of fortune or feeling, often for the worse, or to identify the bringer of one's fate.[40] Occasionally the *daimōn* can be identified with an Olympian god acting in hostile or coercive fashion.[41] In two passages it seems to be linked to

meant as a reference to him without pointing to a particular text. Nünlist also describes the adjective in the *Odyssey* passage as referring to the 'Unversehrtheit des sozialen Umfelds'.

39 Cf. Alc. 70. 10–11: 'Let us let go of the heart-devouring strife and battles within the family (ἐμφύλω)'.

40 See *LfgrE* s.v. 1a, which notes that a *daimōn* may be called κακός ('evil') or στυγερός ('hateful'), whereas a *theos* ('god') never is. For 'bringer of fate', see, e.g., *Il.* 7.291–292.

41 *LfgrE* s.v. 1b: *Il.* 3.420, where Aphrodite is called a *daimōn* when she is forcing Helen to go

the Erinyes.[42] The plural evidently denotes the Olympian gods in two passages (*Iliad* 1.222 and 6.115); however, the latter, which is very problematic, is the only place in Homer, Hesiod, or the *Homeric Hymns* in which the term is used of Olympian gods in relationship to humans.[43] Hesiod uses the plural of minor but beneficent creatures: members of the golden race become *daimones* after death through the will of Zeus, 'good, above-ground, guardians of mortal humans … givers of wealth (πλουτοδόται)'.[44] (That last adjective is suggestive for Sappho's poem.) In the two epics, in short, "*daimones*" is neither a category nor a catch-all term for divine powers. What seems to distinguish them (and Hesiodic *daimones*) conceptually from *theoi* is their mode of interaction with humans: by and large *daimones* are not figures to whom it is beneficial (or even possible)

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to Paris, and 3.166, where presumably Zeus is meant (cf. 160); *Od.* 5.421, where Odysseus refers to Poseidon or some other hostile power and adds that he knows that Poseidon hates him. In *Hom. Hymns* the singular is used of either an Olympian or a non-Olympian god. At *Od.* 15.261 Theoklymenos supplicates Telemachos ὑπὲρ θυέων καὶ δαίμονος; it is assumed that the latter noun refers to Athena, to whom Telemachus is sacrificing, but Theoklymenos has no idea who that is, so he merely uses the widest term for divine figures.

42 In *Il.* 19.188 Agamemnon says he will not swear falsely in the face of the *daimōn* and later swears by several divinities, including the Erinyes, 'who under the earth punish men who swear falsely' (259–260); in *Od.* 2.134–136 Telemachus says that various figures will give him difficulties if he sends his mother out of the house, Ikarios some of them, 'a *daimōn* others, since my mother will invoke the hateful Erinyes if she leaves the house'.

43 In *Il.* 6.113–115 Helenos has advised Hector to return to the city and ask their mother and the other elder women to pray to Athena. Hector then announces to the troops that he is going to tell 'the old councillors and our wives to pray to the *daimones*'. The word βουλευτής ('councillor') occurs nowhere else in epic, and the βουλὴ γερόντων (2.53) is the Greek council; we never see a Trojan council unless one counts the δημογέροντες ('old men of the city') watching from the wall in 3.149. The third passage usually cited is at best ambiguous: in *Il.* 23.595, Antilochus says that he does not want 'to be culpable in the view of the *daimones*' (δαίμοσιν εἶναι ἀλιτρός); the idea of being in the wrong suggests that he is thinking of avenging figures rather than Olympians. *Hom Hymn Ap.* 11, *Hom. Hymn Merc.* 381, and *Hom. Hymn Cer.* 338 have the plural referring to gods of the upper air, but only in *Hom Hymn Ap.* are the Olympians specifically designated. This passage and *Il.* 1.222 are not enough to support the assumption that the Olympians must be meant in Sappho.

44 *Op.* 121–126. See West (1978) ad 122–123: *Daimōn* and *theos* were not explicitly distinguished until the fifth century, but Hesiod probably did not think of these spirits as *theoi*. Cf. *Op.* 249–255 for Zeus' innumerable immortal watchers over humans, *Od.* 17.485–487 for *theoi* who similarly roam the earth observing humans.

to pray.[45] After Homer they are often subordinate to Zeus and do his bidding.[46] Thus in Sappho's poem the *daimones* are plausibly so-named in contrast to the *theoi* of line 7.

If this is indeed what Sappho means by *daimones* (and her meaning for *daimōn* in line 12 strongly suggests that it is), then the *daimones* are less accessible than Hera, and the verb ἐπιτρόπωμεν ('relinquish') is in opposition to λίσσεσθαι ('pray').[47] Her point is then that Larichos should arrange prayer for those things for which one can entreat the gods and abandon his stubborn desire for what comes by arbitrary divine will. Moreover, by asking him to relinquish his fixation she is implying that it is the heart of the problem. Yet she phrases it in a positive way: she proposes that 'we' give up the idea, offering a kind of catharsis that will release him from his obsessive state.[48]

In the last two lines Sappho offers an image of the pleasure that catharsis would bring him: 'for εὔδιαι (plural) out of great winds suddenly appear'. This, we may deduce, is the reward that he will gain by adopting her solution. In question, however, are both the meaning of *eudia* (this being its earliest occurrence) and its relationship to the *daimones*, for the clause is connected by γάρ ('for') to the preceding one. To begin with the meaning of *eudia*, it is literally 'good weather'. Sappho's statement about *eudiai* in the plural is a generality, however, so she must mean more than that Charaxos might have good sailing weather (and one would have to assume that great winds are blowing as she

45 *LfgrE* s.v. offers 'Schicksalzuteiler' ('assigner of fate') as an overall meaning. Thgn. 341–350 begins by asking Zeus to answer his prayer and give him good to replace the bad; he then rehearses his grievances against those who harmed him and ends with 'may it be possible to drink their black blood, and may a good *daimōn* rush at them, and may it accomplish these things in accord with my wishes'. We could say that Theognis prays to Zeus to send an implacable *daimōn* against an enemy or (perhaps better) that the passage moves from prayer to a curse-like wish for vengeance. See also Burkert (1985) 180–181 on the nature of *daimones*. I do not want to claim that this distinction is more than a strong tendency, and it did generate its opposite. Agathos Daimon, on whom see Sfameni Gasparro (1997) 78–82, later received cult.

46 For *daimones* in early Greek poetry more generally and the pre-Socratic philosophers, see Darcus (1974); Sfameni Gasparro (1997) 70–71 on the two directions in which understanding of *daimones* moves, toward their autonomously intervening at will and toward their being subordinate to Zeus. She also discusses their relationship with fate and fortune.

47 The term *daimōn* is found only once in Sappho, fr. 67a.3, with no context except a few words that suggest blame or complaint. A commentary, fr. 90a col. II, 13, has δαιμ[.]ν̣α̣θ.

48 Cf. the opening stanza of the new fragment 16A as reconstructed by Obbink in this volume: 'it is not possible for a human being to become completely endowed-with-all-that-is-good (ὄλβιος) but it is possible to pray to have a share of good things. I recognize this for myself'.

speaks in order to make it apply literally to him). Nor would Charaxos' having good weather in itself satisfy Larichos, for favorable sailing weather does not guarantee a good cargo, as the courtesan story shows.

For a better sense of its range of meaning, let us turn to Pindar, for whom *eudia* is an important metaphor.[49] Two of his five uses of the word are in contexts that illuminate Sappho's poem, the second especially since *eudia* and *daimōn* occur together in it. The first, *Paean* 2, is helpful because the context is political rather than athletic (50–55):

τὸ δ᾽ εὐβου-
λίᾳ τε καὶ α[ἰδ]οῖ
ἐ̣γκείμενο[ν] αἰεὶ θάλλει μαλακαῖς ε[ὐ]δίαι[ς·]
κ̣αὶ τὸ μὲν διδότω
θ̣ε̣ό̣ς· [ὁ δ]᾽ ἐχθρ̣ᾳ̣ νοήσαις
ἤδη φθόνο̣ς οἴχεται
τῶν πάλαι προθανόντων·

That which relies
upon good counsel (*euboulia*) and respect (*aidōs*)
always flourishes in gentle tranquillity (*eudia*),
and may the god grant it.
But hate-mongering envy
has now disappeared
for those who died long ago.
transl. RACE

Unfortunately this passage occurs right after very fragmentary lines, so the context is not clear, although, to judge from the term φθόνος ('envy'), it seems to be recent civil strife.[50] What is evident is that *euboulia* and *aidōs* reflect the qualities, wise practical action and respect for others, that bring *eudia*.[51] Like the quality of being *artemēs*, these pertain to constructive engagement, and the idea of acting for the common well-being of a group is common to both. In

49 The passages containing it, aside from the two discussed here, are Pind. *Ol.* 1.97–100, *Pyth.* 5.5–11, and fr. 109; Aesch. *Sept.* 792–798. Later it is used with different connotations or has its literal meaning, 'fair weather'.

50 See Rutherford (2001) 270. Stasis is the context in the four-line excerpt from Pindar quoted by Stobaeus (109).

51 Agamemnon uses the verb αἰδεῖσθε, 'show *aidōs*', in exhorting the troops to support each other in *Il.* 5.529–532, discussed below.

both cases the group shares the resulting *eudia*. At the same time, the singers ask that the god grant it, just as Sappho hopes to pray that Charaxos find them *artemeas*. *Eudia* requires both human action and divine support.

The other, a passage in *Isthmian* 7, has a deeper thematic connection with Sappho's poem, for it involves a family, *eudia* emerging from a storm, and *eudia* contrasted with the action of a *daimōn*.[52] This last will cast light on their relationship in Sappho. Early in the ode the singers praise the victor, Strepsiades, and add that he has given a share of his victory to his like-named uncle, who was killed in battle. That leads into an extended encomium of the uncle, culminating in an apostrophe to him. The younger Strepsiades' victory evidently gives them a needed opening to discharge their duty to the uncle. In the following lines (37–51) the singers speak as family members themselves:[53]

ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν· ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι
Γαιάοχος εὐδίαν ὄπασσεν
ἐκ χειμῶνος. ἀείσομαι χαίταν στεφάνοισιν ἁρ-
  μόζων. ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος,

ὅτι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων
ἕκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον
αἰῶνα. θνᾴσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες·
δαίμων δ' ἄισος· τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν
  ἕδραν· ὅ τοι πτερόεις ἔρριψε Πάγασος

δεσπόταν ἐθέλοντ' ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμοὺς
ἐλθεῖν μεθ' ὁμάγυριν Βελλεροφόνταν
Ζηνός. τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν
γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά.

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52 I investigate elsewhere the possible generic relationship between the Brothers poem and Pindar's epinician odes.

53 I take the first person in Pindar's odes, when performed, as referring to the performers. For this position see Stehle (1997) 15–17, and for the paeans 127 n. 33 and 139–141. For detailed discussion, see Stehle forthcoming, where I argue on the basis of linguistic analysis, sociology of language, and performance theory that, in the physical presence of a speaker, first-person statements will automatically be attached to him or her by the audience. They can only be deflected when the original speaker or something that represents the speaker is present but needs a secondary voice and is given it by an established practice, e.g., in cases of simultaneous translation or a lawyer reading a will.

ἄμμι δ', ὦ χρυσέᾳ κόμᾳ θάλλων, πόρε, Λοξία,
τεαῖσιν ἁμίλλαισιν
εὐανθέα καὶ Πυθόι στέφανον.

I suffered grief beyond telling, but now
the Earthholder has granted me fair weather
after the storm. I shall fit wreaths to my hair and sing—
may the envy of the immortals cause no disruption.

By pursuing the pleasure that comes day by day,
I shall calmly approach old age and my fated
lifetime. For we all alike die,
but our *daimōn* is unequal. If a man peers at distant
things, he is too little to reach the gods' bronze-paved
dwelling. Indeed, winged Pegasos threw

his master, when Bellerophon desired to enter
the habitation of heaven and the company
of Zeus. A most bitter end awaits
that sweetness which is unjust.
But grant us, O Loxias, luxuriating in your golden hair,
a crown in full blossom
in your contests at Pytho as well.
transl. RACE

In lines 37–39, which come just after the culmination of their tribute to the uncle at the opening of the third triad, they describe the healing of grief brought by the victory metaphorically as εὐδία ἐκ χειμῶνος ('fair weather after the storm').[54] This *eudia*, a shared joyful being-at-peace that is based on successful human effort with a god's help, encompasses the whole family group.[55] Note that having riches is not a basis for *eudia*; human accomplishment is.[56]

54 *Pyth.* 5.10–11 has the same image of *eudia ek cheimōnos*. The word is similarly used in Aesch. *Sept.* 795. In *Isthm.* 1.32–40 Pindar uses the similar word εὐαμερία ('good day') to describe the current good state of the family after a shipwreck. *Ol.* 1.98 is the only example in Pindar of *eudia* not used in a context of emerging from troubles.

55 See Thummer (1968) 49–54 on praise of the victor's family in the *Isthmians*.

56 In *Pyth.* 5.10 Pindar comes closer than elsewhere to connecting *eudia* with wealth when he says that Arkesilas seeks out wealth thanks to Castor, who sheds down *eudia* on his hearth

Immediately upon announcing their new songfulness, however, the chorus moves to disclaim any arrogance or greater ambition based on it. Asking that the gods not cut short their joy out of envy, they pledge to pursue the pleasure that each day offers and approach old age and death with calm acceptance.[57] So *eudia* brings happiness but requires a modesty befitting mortals to preserve it. They have already attributed their *eudia* to Poseidon (the god at whose games the victory was won), demonstrating that they recognize his role in Strepsiades' accomplishment.

Between the chorus's proclamation of *eudia* and the final request to Apollo comes a cautionary meditation on the *daimōn*.[58] After the singers acknowledge that we all die, they continue, 'but the *daimōn* is unequal'. This aphoristic sentence, to judge from what follows, means both that humans receive different life spans as their allotment and that one who seeks more than is allotted to him finds the *daimōn* punitive, 'not equal' to his desire.[59] The example illustrating this truth is Bellerophon, the privileged equestrian who thought he could ride Pegasos to Zeus' dwelling on Olympus, by-passing his assigned death, until the divine horse threw him off. Pegasos acted as the *daimōn*, as

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after wintery rain; nonetheless *eudia* still refers to the victory. This ode is also the only one in which the laudandus himself is called μάκαρ ('blessed'), so it is more unqualifiedly flattering than usual.

57 In *Ol.* 1.97–100 also *eudia* is combined with the observation that 'the good that comes each day / is greatest for every mortal' and with song. The mortal who wins *eudia* is contrasted with the hero Pelops, whose tomb is mentioned in the previous lines. The conceptual parallel with *Isthm.* 7 is striking, so the view of *eudia* in the latter does not merely reflect a local agenda. See Thummer (1968) 66–68 on these passages.

58 In Pindar, *daimōn*, in both singular and plural, refers to a range of divine powers from Olympian gods to minor figures who carry out Zeus' will. Once the word is used of a named god (Helios, *Ol.* 7.39) and once a *daimōn* gives a pseudonym (*Pyth.* 4.28–34). Otherwise it signifies nothing more specific than 'divine power' working either good or evil, even though occasionally one can deduce that it refers to the Olympians (e.g., *Ol.* 1.35). In the singular *daimōn* is usually an agent but sometimes directed by Zeus; it is often translated as 'fortune', which abstracts too much (but only slightly; cf. Fraenkel [1950] III 632 ad *Ag.* 1341f). In the plural the *daimones* are either agents or the focus of warnings to speak and act appropriately (aside from two cases in which something affects them, *Pyth.* 1.12 and *Isthm.* 8.24). As in Homer it is not a figure to which one could pray; note, e.g., *Pyth.* 8.67–78: the singers pray to Apollo and ask for favor from the *theoi* for the victor but attribute success without long labor to a *daimōn*. Obbink (2014) 44 ad 14 takes *daimōn* in Sappho as 'protective spirit' (and see 43 ad 11), whereas West (2014) 9, who emends (see n. 72 below), translates it as 'fortune'.

59 'The *daimōn* is unequal' is followed by 'If one peers at distant things, he is too short to arrive …'. The mortal does not measure up to his desired position.

it were, and caused Bellerophon's end to be one of misery. As in Homer and Hesiod, the *daimōn* is the face of divinity not receptive to prayer, but hostile to overreaching.[60]

Sappho also uses the image of *eudia ek cheimōnos*, substituting 'great winds' for 'storm', and the metaphorical meaning found in Pindar makes sense of its appearance in her poem. *Eudia* is the joyful being-at-peace that Larichos and his family would achieve if he were to follow Sappho's plan and exercise active loyalty (*euboulia* and *aidōs*) in the political and/or economic realm as Strepsiades exercised his athletic prowess.[61] But whereas Pindar introduces *eudia* achieved, followed by a warning against seeking excess goods that only a *daimōn* distributes, Sappho is projecting a future *eudia*, so she first asks Larichos to stop seeking what only the *daimōn* grants then evokes the possibility of *eudia*. For Pindar the overreaching involves attempting to escape death, while for Sappho it consists of demanding wealth.[62] But in both poems if one wishes to enjoy *eudia* one must renounce a thirst for an excess of good things and focus on the present pleasure that successful human effort brings.[63]

Thus the train of thought articulated by the γάρ of Sappho's line 15 must be: let us, being *artemēs*, stop futilely counting on wealth, for joyful being-at-peace can follow.[64] This is her most powerful plea yet, phrased in vocabulary of the moral good life.[65] Stanza four includes the three significant terms

60 Very similar to this passage are *Pyth.* 3.54–60 and *Isthm.* 5.7–16, both of which mention the *daimōn* and the limits to what humans should seek.

61 Nünlist (2014) 14 observes that *eudia*, which he takes as a nautical metaphor, could nonetheless be meant to apply to the 'we' as well as to Charaxos' ship.

62 Note Sappho fr. 148.1, a maxim quoted as hers: ὁ πλοῦτος ἄνευ ἀρέτας οὐκ ἀσίνης πάροικος ('Wealth without virtue is not a benign neighbor'). Whatever its actual origin, it is compatible with her choice of steadfastness over the fantasy of wealth here. In light of the connections between Sappho and Pindar drawn here, it is worth noting that the line is quoted in scholia to two different passages in Pindar's epinicians. See Voigt ad loc.

63 This is one version of the Pindaric theme of reaching the limit of mortal joy, on which see Thummer (1968) 77–81 for a summary.

64 Most commentators, who take the *daimones* of line 14 as the (Olympian) gods and *eudia* as good weather or good fortune, take γάρ to mean either that these gods might provide *eudia* or that *eudia* is something else that comes by chance (as described in the following stanza). Obbink (2014) 43 suggests both possibilities; Ferrari (2014) 2–3 accepts the first, West (2014) 8–9 the second.

65 The same contrast is found elsewhere in archaic and classical Greek literature, e.g., Solon's contrasting of the life of Tellus with that of Croesus (Hdt. 1.30).

that form the heart of her solution and her case against Larichos': ἀρτέμεας, δαιμόνεσσιν, and εὔδιαι. But, given Larichos' conviction that the full ship will come, mere persuasion is doomed to failure. Even the proffered catharsis and lure of *eudia* are not attractive as long as he thinks he knows what he will have.

So Sappho tries one more time, with her fourth pairing. But this time her tone changes. Up to this point the poem has been dialogic, with Sappho speaking to Larichos about what she thinks and what 'you' and 'we' should do. The syntax is simple, as befits conversation. First- and second-person forms are abundant.[66] The last two lines of stanza four (the only general statement in lines 5–16) give a reason for the hortatory subjunctive, so they too are part of the dialogue. The fifth stanza, however, begins with asyndeton, creating a break in the train of thought.[67] The syntax becomes more complex, beginning with a conditional relative clause with κε.[68] There is no first or second person in this stanza. Earlier (6–7), when Sappho says 'Zeus knows' she adds οἴομαι ('I think') to mark her mortal lack of access to the gods, but in stanza five she pronounces without qualification on how Zeus and the *daimones* function in the divine order. What has happened is that with the asyndeton Sappho gives up the persona of sister and takes on the truth-telling role of a wisdom speaker.[69] She has reversed roles with Larichos. Early in the poem she criticized him for thinking he could perceive what is known only to the gods because he insisted on the certainty of Charaxos' coming, but now she is the one who can perceive the gods' ways.

Since appreciating the shift of speaking position is important for understanding Sappho's reference to Larichos in the third person in stanza six, I want first to compare it to the partly analogous shift in poem 96 and argue that Sappho does something similar in both poems. The first part of that poem is fragmentary, but editors and text critics agree that there was a second-person pronoun in line 4, and line 5 clearly contains a second-person adjective: 'and

66 First- and second-person pronouns and verbs appear in lines 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, and 14.

67 On the asyndeton see Obbink (2014) 44; it is rare in Sappho. It could be emended away here, but Obbink, this volume, keeps it. Kurke, this volume, treats it as an explanatory asyndeton, but given the stanza break I think that is problematic. It would be better read as asyndeton that marks a contrast with what went before; see Smyth (1920) at par. 2167d, who remarks that this type is commoner in poetry than in prose.

68 See Lidov ch. 3, this volume, on the rarity of subjunctives, let alone conditions, in Sappho's poetry.

69 Cf. Hes. *WD* 661–662: (I have little experience of seafaring) 'but even so I will speak the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus, for the Muses taught me to sing an endless song'.

she delighted greatly in your song'.[70] The identity of this addressee is not preserved. But the long description of the woman now in Lydia ends (16) with 'and often pacing up and down recalling gentle Atthis with longing, she bites at her tender spirit'. Atthis must be the addressee because the addressee whose singing the other woman so loved then and the one whom that woman recalls now must be the same person. Thus within the dramatic fiction of the poem, Sappho suddenly switches to the third person.

As Leslie Kurke points out, in 96 Sappho shifts the focalization to the thoughts of the woman in Lydia, whereas there is no equivalent signal in the Brothers Poem.[71] In 96 the focalization is shifted by means of the phrase 'recalling gentle Atthis', where 'recalling' moves the audience into the head of the woman in Lydia. Yet the name Atthis is what makes it noticeable and effective. If Sappho had said 'recalling you' the focalization would be subordinated to the extension of the speaker-addressee relationship produced by the speaker's saying 'you'. Using Atthis' name as the subject of the woman's recollection brings the relationship between Atthis and the woman in Lydia to the fore in its place (and serves as a kind of seal on it for the actual audience).

In the Brothers Poem the change of focalization is not from one person to another but from one persona to another. Up to the end of the fourth stanza Sappho has been speaking as a sister, initially critical but increasingly cajoling as she addresses Larichos from a stance that acknowledges his greater power. When she shifts to a wisdom-speaker's position her focalization changes to that of a superordinated observer. As a result, no single verb can accomplish the change as in 96; it must be enacted by demonstrating the new perspective, which is what stanza five accomplishes. But, just as in 96, the speaker in this poem drops the I-you interchange to allow a new relationship, not subordinated to the relationship already established, to come to the fore. In this case, the new relationship is one of detachment on the speaker's part, which she later confirms by referring to Larichos by name in the third person.

Now we can look more closely at the last two stanzas. In her final pairing Sappho does not introduce a new set of considerations but expands on the significant terms of stanza four mentioned above (ἀρτέμεας, δαιμόνεσσιν, and εὔδιαι) by unfolding what they mean for Larichos' case. Each of the first two takes a full stanza and sets out a comprehensive vision of its implications. But

70 See Voigt ad loc, Page (1955) 89, 92 for the pronoun in line 4.

71 Kurke, this volume. I thank her for letting me see her comments, which have forced me to think through my argument more thoroughly.

because her stance is now didactic rather than persuasive she no longer speaks of desired outcomes but rather of cause and effect: each stanza contains a conditional clause stating the relationship.

In stanza five, Sappho describes the role of the *daimōn* in the cosmic distribution of wealth: 'the ones whose *daimōn* Zeus directs to divert (them) as helper away from troubles, κῆνοι (*those* people at a distance from the speaker) become blessed and very rich'.[72] The *daimōn* here plays a positive role as opposed to its negative one in *Isthmian* 7, but for κῆνοι, who are elsewhere. Sappho's statement therefore comes to the same thing as Pindar's aphorism, 'the *daimōn* is unequal': mortals have no sure way to predict, let alone bring about, their own extraordinary well-being. Sappho's μάκαρ ('blessed'), a strong term most often applied to the gods or to epic heroes, indicates the special, almost mythic bliss of those so favored.[73] This 'truth' explains her urging Larichos in line 14 to relinquish all else to the *daimones*. By spelling it out Sappho effectively overrides Larichos' statement of certainty about Charaxos' bringing home a full ship: Larichos may think that, with Charaxos' ship as his Pegasos, he can get to that happy condition by willing it, but like Bellerophon he is deluded.

Stanza six brings the new perspective down to earth: 'And we too, if Larichos lifts his head and really one of these days (ποτ') becomes a man, would indeed immediately be released from great heavy-heartedness'. The stanza opens with a first-person-plural pronoun (κἄμμες) that makes it look for a moment as though Sappho is returning to the I-you form of discourse. It also resonates with κῆνοι of the previous stanza and is followed by a conditional clause as in the opening of the fifth stanza (note κε in 17 and 21), thus creating a momen-

72 I take *daimōn*, plural in 14 and singular in 18, to refer to the same kind of divine powers. West (2014) 9 suggests an emendation in line 18 ('toward the better' to replace 'helper') that makes the syntax easier and translates *daimōn* in 18 as 'fortune'. See Lidov, ch. 3, this volume for objections. Obbink (2014) 44 objects that it gives a different sense for *daimōn* from that in line 14. (West and Ferrari [2014] 3 do not see that as a problem.) It also seems to me possible to keep 'helper' and still take the infinitive περτρόπην as either active-transitive or passive-intransitive; see Voigt 208 CRIT ad Alc. 70.9. If it is passive-intransitive the syntax is similar to what West suggests except that ἐπάρωγον is then proleptic ('change direction [so as to be] a helper').

73 μάκαρ is very seldom used in Homer and Pindar of living humans. In Homer only Agamemnon receives the adjective (*Il.* 3.182): Priam calls him that in an apostrophe, together with μοιρηγενές and ὀλβιόδαιμον, in what is perhaps an ironic line given that in other texts both of them suffer the same fate of being killed at the altar in their own homes. In Pindar Arkesilas is μάκαρ (*Pyth.* 5.20), as is his hearth (*Pyth.* 5.11), and his charioteer is μακάριος (*Pyth.* 5.46). Hieron only has a 'blessed hearth' (*Ol.* 1.11).

tary impression that Sappho might say something on the order of 'we, like those people, if Zeus favors us, may become blessed'. But that is not how it unfolds. She says nothing about gods or divine helpers. Instead, the momentary misdirection gives the following words more impact because they are unexpected: *humans*, in the person of Larichos, must create by their own actions a limited but more lasting happiness by collaboration with their communities.

The relationship of δαίμον' in the fifth stanza to δαιμόνεσσιν in stanza four is clear from the repetition of the noun. But Sappho takes care to emphasize the less obvious link between stanza six and *artemeas* and *eudiai* in the fourth stanza by parallels. Both four and six begin with a form of the pronoun 'we': κἄμμ' in line 13 and κἄμμες in 20. Their first lines contain *artemeas* and 'lift his head' respectively. The third and fourth lines of the respective stanzas are 'for *eudiai* out of great winds / immediately arise' and 'out of very great heavy-heartedness / immediately we would be released'. Great winds align with heavy-heartedness, and the rise of *eudia* aligns with being released. 'Immediately' at the beginning of the last line of each stanza reinforces the parallel between *eudia* and release from dejection.

To confirm from another direction that the phrases 'lift his head' and 'become a man' refer to and define what Sappho means by *artemēs*, we can look to Homer and Pindar again. Pindar uses the phrase 'lift his head' in *Paean* 20 to describe the baby Heracles' response to the two snakes sent by Hera to kill him (7–12):[74]

δ[ι]ὰ θυρᾶν ἐπειδ[
ὄφιẹς θεόπομπ[οι]
...ζ.. ἐπὶ βρέφος οὐρανίου Διός
.....].[.]νθ', ὁ δ' ἀντίον ἀνὰ κάρα τ' ἄειρ[ε
.....] χειρὶ μελέων ἄπο ποικίλον
σπά]ρ̣γανον ἔρριψεν ἑάν τ' ἔφανεν φ̣ụάν

....] through the doors
the heaven-sent snakes[
...] toward the child of heavenly Zeus
.....] but he was lifting up his head to face them
.....] with his hand he threw from his limbs the elaborate
swaddling cloth and revealed his natural force ...
transl. RACE

74 Rutherford (2001) 399–402 classifies it as a dubious paean.

The action of lifting his head shows that Heracles notices their coming and recognizes the danger. He immediately prepares to confront them by throwing off his bedclothes. By analogy, Larichos' lifting his head would mean seeing the situation clearly and recognizing that he had to act.[75]

Parallels with 'become a man' are found in the *Iliad*, for instance at 5.529, in the same scene in which Aeneas returns to battle *artemea*. Agamemnon ranges through the ranks exhorting, 'O friends, be men and take on a stout heart!' (ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἕλεσθε).[76] In the following lines he tells them to support each other (ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε), for fewer die that way. Note the resonance between his speech and Sappho's wish that 'Charaxos find us *artemeas*'.[77] A parallel that is more distant in time but closer in circumstance is found in Euripides' *Electra*. Electra tells Orestes that if he dies in the attempt to kill Aegisthus she will die also. When he replies that he understands, she adds (693), 'For this purpose you must become a man' (πρὸς τάδ' ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαί σε χρή). She means, as the context shows, 'you must exercise manliness for the sake of us both'.

Thus Sappho uses the two phrases 'lift his head' and 'become a man' precisely to indicate the qualities that Larichos needs to become *artemēs*. The combination makes it clear that they do not refer to a process of growing up.[78] Scholars have compared Larichos to Telemachos in the *Odyssey*, but I would suggest

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75 West (2014) 9 comments that Larichos 'remains inert and submissive'. I disagree with the 'submissive', but 'inert' seems right. Liberman (2014) 1 takes the two phrases in combination in a moral sense; Larichos should 'affronter la situation difficile'.

76 The phrase 'be men' also occurs together with the half-line 'and put fear-of-shame (*aidōs*) into your spirit' at *Il.* 15.561. A slight variant is found seven times with the half-line 'and remember impetuous courage'. See Kirk (1990) ad 528–532.

77 ἀνήρ does not seem to carry the connotation of adult man as opposed to youth in early Greek. In both Homer (e.g., *Il.* 23.589, *Od.* 3.24) and Pindar (e.g., *Ol.* 4.25–26; 13.23) youths are referred to as νέοι ἄνδρες. νεηνίης ('youth') is coupled with ἀνήρ in its two appearances in Homer (*Od.* 10.278, 14.524). Two passages in the *Odyssey* contrast someone's being an ἀνήρ with that person's previous state, but neither is about the difference in age between a man and a youth. In 11.448–450 the son who is now an ἀνήρ was then a baby at the breast. In 19.160–161 Penelope says of Telemachus that 'he is now a man capable of caring for a household, and Zeus gives him glory'. This reflects Telemachus' recent demonstrations of independence and initiative, rather like what Sappho hopes to see from Larichos, as much as his change in chronological age.

78 Martin, this volume, refers to *Il.* 10.77–85, where depiction of Nestor raising his head to greet Agamemnon in the middle of the night is preceded by five lines describing his armor close by in order for battle. Nestor is 'ready'.

Paris in the *Iliad* as the better parallel.[79] Or, to return one last time to *Isthmian* 7, Pindar's Bellerophon and Strepsiades give us a model for Sappho's view of Larichos: he should be less like Bellerophon, trying to acquire what mortals cannot expect, and more like Strepsiades, who brings *eudia* to the whole family by his successful effort.

Stanzas five and six also reverse the order in which Sappho introduces *daimones* and *artemēs* in stanza four. In her persuasive mode she is trying to move Larichos bit by bit toward collaboration with the family so that his singular focus on the cargo dissipates, so her most direct suggestion that he abandon it (14) comes last. In stanzas five and six she first points out the 'truth' about the allocation of wealth as the reality to which Larichos must adapt and then outlines the path he must follow if the family is to achieve lightness of heart. So whether Larichos is included in or excluded by the 'we' that opens the stanza is an open question, for it depends on whether Sappho's final description of his place in the cosmos penetrates his defences, whether he changes his attitude and rejoins the family as a constructive member of it. Sappho leaves it up to him, and each listener could decide for herself how it plays out. Thus the poem is not really about wealth per se but about acting rather than assuming the gods' favor.

This brings me back to familial gender dynamics. Sappho gives us a miniature drama of a sister trying to persuade her brother to face a threat to family well-being and respond with action. The only direct criticism of the brother's current behavior is the accusation in the second stanza that he 'insists on' something that it is not his place to assert. Then she tries to convey to him what she expects of him by previewing the prayer she wants to make, for prayer is one form of discourse that was legitimate for women. She urges him to join her in entrusting 'all the rest' to the *daimones* without mentioning wealth and making it a family commitment rather than her advice for him. But since these strategies are not powerful enough to penetrate the shield of certainty that he wraps around himself, she finally adopts a speaking style that is encoded with greater authority, that of wisdom-poet, establishes her new persona by explaining cosmic daimonic action, then describes Larichos with 'truth' as an object of her observation. She turns the tables on Larichos, trumping his certainty by her broader purview. The *eudia* that in Pindar's odes celebrates victors is represented in the last stanza by its opposite in order to highlight Larichos' failure. That he is not an ἀνήρ ('man') in the Iliadic sense is her crowning insult. She

79 See *Il.* 3.38–57 for Hector's criticism of Paris. Martin, this volume, among others, adduces Telemachus.

is dubious that he will be able to implement her solution: note ποτ' ('one of these days') and the optative λύθειμεν ('we would be released') in place of the indicative in stanza six.

For the actual audience, the switch to the third person in line 22 must have been both a surprise and a pleasure. Since they had been hearing Sappho address Larichos for four stanzas he was present to their imaginations, so they would easily recognize that Sappho's change of perspective allowed her to view him from above, so to speak, and finally say what they must have suspected she meant. They now get a clearer picture of Larichos and deeper insight into Sappho's motivation for her persuasive effort. Her using the third person to demote him would spark their enjoyment of the revenge Sappho takes on this fictional paradigm of a feckless brother.[80] The final stanza must have elicited laughter.

Yet her final lines also convey a recognition that for all her poetic power she remains a woman dependent on the male members of her family. The optative λύθειμεν in place of the earlier indicative acknowledges that Sappho's release from dejection relies on the actions of her male kin; it is not something that she can bring about for herself. The poem is only fictional revenge, born of the double consciousness that Jack Winkler saw in Sappho's poetry and admitting the impossibility of the power Sappho briefly arrogates to herself in her Hesiodic guise.[81] Thus the laughter is in the face of a reality that the women cannot change.[82]

Athenaeus says that Sappho praised Larichos in many passages for pouring wine in the town council of Mytilene.[83] That does not preclude her from criticizing him in other poems depending on the relationship she wants to explore through her fictions. Sappho's critical depiction of Larichos here could have been paired with a rebuke of Charaxos: Larichos loves the leisure of the symposium and does not support the family fortunes, while Charaxos ventures out to gain merchandise and slights his sister (5.9–10). One might even imagine that in Sappho's series of 'brothers poems' a poem about Charaxos and

80 Martin, this volume, interprets this stanza as iambic, a genre of criticism and mockery.

81 Winkler (1981), esp. 68–71.

82 Neri (2015) 67 n. 103 suggests that my reference to laughter ignores the urgency of the situation. Since the situation is a fiction (in my view), its urgency is an artifact of the poem, but that the poem addresses real difficulties for women I agree, and the laughter is also acknowledgement of them.

83 Athenaeus 10, 425a = test. 203a.

the courtesan, as described by Herodotus, followed this one.[84] If so, Larichos' fantasy ends badly, for Charaxos would not have brought home wealth on that occasion.

84 Lidov 2002 shows that this episode developed a variegated life as a pastiche. But the new poem gives more substance to the idea that Sappho referred to what (a fictional) Charaxos brought home, so it is not implausible that in one of her brothers poems Sappho took Charaxos to task for his dereliction as a trader. That would be enough of a hook to attract other stories. The Posidippus poem that Lidov (idem: 222) mentions does not show that Sappho praised Doricha but only that Sappho mentioned her and so immortalized her name.

CHAPTER 13

The Reception of Sappho's Brothers Poem in Rome

Llewelyn Morgan

Sappho boasts a higher profile in Roman poetry than any other of the Greek canon of lyrists, as we can tell even despite the tiny proportion of her nine Alexandrian books of poetry that survives.[1] This implies high familiarity with her poetry amongst Roman readers, a familiarity that can be illustrated from a striking range of Latin authors: not only Catullus and Horace, but also Plautus,[2] Valerius Aedituus,[3] Statius,[4] and Juvenal.[5] Familiarity of this kind did not of course preclude the Sappho with whom Roman writers and readers engaged becoming in important respects a caricature of the author of those nine metrically and stylistically diverse books. Given the nature of literary history, indeed, radical distortion was inevitable. Thus the metre of the first book of Sappho, the Sapphic stanza, came to be seen as her characteristic metre, whether the decision of the Alexandrian editors reflected a preexisting perception, or fixed that perception itself; and generalizing accounts of her poetic style were written that could not truly apply across her entire oeuvre. Pseudo-Demetrius, discussing poetic χάρις, asserts that 'Charm may reside in the subject matter, such as gardens of the nymphs, marriage songs, loves, Sappho's poetry in general' (εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις).[6] Even when illustrating the diversity of Sappho's work, Pseudo-Demetrius (*On Style* 166–167) manages to imply that it is the poetry she wrote 'on love or spring or the halcyon' which is most characteristically hers:

> διὸ καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ περὶ μὲν κάλλους ᾄδουσα καλλιεπής ἐστι καὶ ἡδεῖα, καὶ περὶ ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἔαρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνος, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ εἰργάσατο. ἄλλως δὲ σκώπτει τὸν ἄγροικον νυμφίον

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1 My thanks to the editors André Lardinois and Anton Bierl for their thoughtful comments on this paper.

2 Traill (2005).

3 Courtney (1993) 72–74: a *uetus poeta* according to Aulus Gellius 19.9.10, and presumably (from the company he keeps in Gellius) with a *floruit* in the late second century BC.

4 Morgan (2010) 189–199.

5 Edwards (1991).

6 *Eloc.* 132 = test. 215.

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> καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, εὐτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς, ὥστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλόν ἐστι τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι ἢ ἄιδειν, οὐδ' ἂν ἁρμόσαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ἢ πρὸς τὴν λύραν, εἰ μή τις εἴη χορὸς διαλεκτικός.
>
> This is why Sappho sings of beauty in words which are themselves beautiful and attractive, or on love or spring or the halcyon. Every beautiful word is woven into the texture of her poetry, and some she invented herself. But it is in a very different tone that she mocks the clumsy bridegroom and the doorkeeper at the wedding. Her language is then very ordinary, in the diction of prose rather than poetry; so these poems of hers are better spoken than sung, and would not suit the accompaniment of a chorus or lyre—unless you could imagine a chorus which speaks prose.

An awareness of the stylistic breadth of Sappho's actual poetry here coexists, it seems, with a privileging of Sappho's beautiful verse about beauty as representative of her art: her scoptic verse, in contrast, is barely even poetic, let alone lyric. Certainly the Roman-era reception of Sappho was apt to stereotype her verse as love poetry with a delicacy of expression to match its content. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the "essentialized" Sappho of her later classical tradition is the prominence of fr. 31 in her Latin reception,[7] an individual poem in Sapphic form and concerned with love which is preserved for us by Pseudo-Longinus (*On the Sublime* 10.1–3) as an encapsulation of Sappho's poetic art.

Rome's Sappho also came with all the accretions generated by the very celebrity of her poetry, a notable example being the story of her infatuation with Phaon, at the heart of which is presumably some kind of distortion of a poem expressing her religious devotion, or perhaps Aphrodite's devotion, to Adonis.[8] Comedy seems to have played a crucial role in crystallizing this set of stories about the poet. Yet even a figure so radically reshaped by tradition as the Roman Sappho has the potential to reflect illuminatingly back on the archaic Sappho; that at any rate is the core of my argument in this article.

A particularly egregious illustration of the distortions visited on Sappho—and yet at the same time a source of rather precious information—is rep-

7 Morgan (2010) 196–198; see Plut. *Mor.* 763a.

8 Bowra (1961) 213–214; Detienne (2007) 103; Nagy (1973/1990b); Kivilo (2010) 179–182. For the ancient biography of Sappho, and its sources, see Lefkowitz (2012) 41–43; Kivilo (2010) 167–200.

resented by *Heroides* 15, the *Epistula Sapphus*. This poem, purporting to be Sappho's letter to Phaon far away in Sicily, is attributed to Ovid, but its true authorship is hotly contested. Contested it will no doubt remain, since each case, for or against Ovid as the author, has its cards to play, and neither lands a knockout blow.[9] Richard Tarrant's trenchant assessment of the poem's quality, 'a tedious production containing hardly a moment of wit, elegance or truth to nature',[10] is not without foundation, but what matters for my purposes is that the author of Sappho's letter to Phaon, whoever it might be and whatever talent we might attribute to him, was familiar with Sappho's poetry: Peter Knox offers plentiful evidence of that.[11]

One moment in the *Epistula Sapphus* (= *ES*) that is not highlighted by Knox, but which is potentially of significant interest in this connection, is when Sappho addresses the women of Lesbos at lines 199–202:

> *Lesbides aequoreae*, nupturaque nuptaque proles,
> *Lesbides, Aeolia nomina dicta lyra*,
> *Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae*,
> *desinit ad citharas turba uenire meas!*

> Island-dwelling women of Lesbos, girls wed and to-be-wed,
> women of Lesbos, names spoken by my Aeolian lyre,
> women of Lesbos, my love for whom made me notorious,
> throng no longer to my songs.

The notion that the female protagonists of Sappho's love poetry were girls at the point of marriage, which seems to be the clear implication of *nupturaque nuptaque proles*, corresponds to one modern scholarly view, represented by the articles of François Lasserre and André Lardinois, for example;[12] but it is a controversial one.[13] Whether or not the idea that marriage is an important context for Sappho's love poetry has validity for the seventh century BC, however, there is a plausible argument to be made that this was how the Romans saw it. The two poems of Catullus in Sapphics, poems 11 and 51, are commonly understood

9 Tarrant (1981); Rosati (1996); Bessone (2003); Knox (1995) 12–14.

10 Tarrant (1981) 134–135.

11 A general statement at Knox (1995) 14: 'it is clear that the author of the *ES* knew Sappho's poetry.' See also Knox's notes at *ES* 31–40, 61, 112, and 154, and Woodman (2002) 59.

12 Lardinois (1994); Lasserre (1974). See also Bierl, ch. 14, this volume.

13 Parker (1993). See also Bowie and Schlesier in this volume.

as marking the beginning and end of the poet's affair with 'Lesbia', but Roland Mayer has observed that Catullus constructs his farewell to Lesbia in poem 11 on the model of a Roman divorce formula:[14] it would allow an elegantly cohesive reading of the two poems, to put it no more strongly, if the start of the relationship in poem 51, by virtue of his close imitation of the content and form of Sappho fr. 31, lent it marital associations.[15]

Before we pursue the testimony of the *Epistula Sapphus* any further, I would like to introduce the Brothers Poem to my discussion of the Roman reception of Sappho, starting from the clear evidence that a poem new to us was very familiar to Horace, and left a discernible mark on his lyric poetry.

An early observation, mentioned already in Dirk Obbink's *TLS* article,[16] was the allusion to Sappho's poem in Horace's *Odes* 1.9, the Soracte Ode. The points of similarity, and some of the implications of the allusion, are laid out by Tom Phillips,[17] but most striking is the close imitation of Sappho's lines 9–10, τὰ δ' ἄλλα / πάντα δαιμόνεσςιν ἐπι̣τ̣ρόπωμεν, in Horace's *permitte diuis cetera* (1.9.9). The exhortation is enforced in both poets with a statement of the gods' power over human prosperity, expressed through the metaphor of sudden positive changes in the weather. Phillips also draws out the significance that this of all Horace's odes should be the site of so overt an allusion to Sappho, the last of the so-called Parade Odes, where Horace finally settles on the signature metre of his collection, and by implication the key ethos animating his lyric verse: Alcaics and Alcaeus, not Sappho.[18]

But another of Horace's odes, equally prominent in its own way, also displays a debt to the Brothers Poem.[19] This is *Ode* 3.29, a summation of his lyric philosophy (as Eduard Fraenkel most eloquently shows)[20] that occupies an extremely conspicuous position at the end of the three-book collection: if *Ode* 3.30 may be understood as a detachable postscript, 3.29 is its summation. There isn't the same precision of verbal imitation here as in *permitte diuis cetera*, but we do have another emphatic *cetera*, again representing that predominance of things that lies beyond our ability to control; and there is very similar weather imagery. Above all, however, *Ode* 3.29's view of life adopts an overtly economic form (something that is not so visible in *Ode* 1.9), and ultimately finds itself in the

14 Mayer (1983).
15 Morgan (2010) 200–212.
16 Obbink (2014a).
17 Phillips (2014).
18 A notion developed in Lyne (2005) with consideration of *Odes* 1.9–11.
19 Morgan (2014) is a very preliminary version of the argument that follows.
20 Fraenkel (1957).

environment where the Sappho fragment starts, and *Ode* 1.9, too intent on Mt Soracte, never ventures, the unpredictable world of Mediterranean maritime trade:

quod adest memento

componere aequus; cetera *fluminis*
ritu feruntur, nunc medio aequore
cum pace delabentis Etruscum
in mare, nunc lapides adesos

stirpisque raptas et pecus et domos
uoluentis una, non sine montium
clamore uicinaeque siluae,
cum fera diluuies quietos

inritat amnis. ille potens sui
laetusque deget cui licet in diem
dixisse: 'uixi': cras uel atra
nube polum Pater occupato

uel sole puro*; non tamen inritum*
quodcumque retro est efficiet neque
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora uexit.

Fortuna saeuo laeta negotio et
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

laudo manentem; si celeris quatit
pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea
uirtute me inuoluo probamque
pauperiem sine dote quaero.

non est meum, si mugiat Africis
malus procellis, ad miseras preces
decurrere et uotis pacisci,
ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces

addant auaro diuitias mari;
tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
  tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
    aura feret geminusque Pollux.

Be sure to deal equitably

with what is at hand. As for the rest,
it flows by like a river, now gliding calmly
in mid-channel down to the Tuscan sea,
now tumbling eroded rocks

and uprooted trees and cattle and homes
all together, with a din from the mountains
and forest beside it
as the wild deluge stirs up

its tranquil waters. That man will be happy
and in control of his life who every day
can say 'I have lived'. Tomorrow let Father Jupiter
fill the sky with black cloud

or with clear sunlight, but he will not
render invalid what is behind us, nor
alter or make undone
what once the racing hour has brought.

Fortune is happy in her cruel work and
plays her proud game unrelentingly,
shifting her fickle affections,
one moment kind to me, the next to another.

I praise her while she's with me. If she shakes out
her swift wings, I resign what she gave, wrap
myself in my virtue, and court honest
Poverty, who brings no dowry.

It is not my way, if the mast creaks
in African gales, to resort to pitiful
pleading and bargaining with prayers
so my Cypriot and Tyrian cargo

not add its wealth to the greedy sea;
When that time comes, the breeze and twin Pollux
will carry me safe in the fortress of my two-oared dinghy
through the Aegean storms.

I would add to parallels already noted that Horace's attitude to prayer here reflects Sappho's rather closely: I follow Franco Ferrari and René Nünlist in seeing a subtle but important contrast between the two references to Charaxos' ship; the ship full of merchandise (νᾶϊ cὺν πλήαι) in line 2, and the straightforwardly unscathed ship (cάαν ἄγοντα / νᾶα) in lines 7–8.[21] An implication in Sappho's poem is that while one might sensibly pray for safe return, prosperity is something entirely beyond our capability to influence. This is similar, I think, to Horace's separation of personal survival from the wealth which it is not his way to plead that the gods preserve.

If this reading has any force, the debt of this ode to Sappho is as remarkable as that of 1.9, and it is potentially further fuel for the perennial controversy as to the truth of Horace's lyric claim of a special affiliation to Alcaeus.[22] But I conclude with a brief backward look at Sappho's poem from a Roman perspective. The account of Sappho's life and misfortunes, including the behaviour of Charaxos, in the *Epistula Sapphus* is as follows (61–70):

sex mihi natales ierant, cum lecta parentis
ante diem lacrimas ossa bibere meas.
carpsit opes frater meretricis captus amore
mixtaque cum turpi damna pudore tulit.
factus inops agili peragit freta caerula remo,
quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes.
me quoque, quod monui bene multa fideliter, odit;
hoc mihi libertas, hoc pia lingua dedit.
et tamquam desint, quae me sine fine fatigent,
accumulat curas filia parua meas

Six birthdays has passed for me when I gathered the bones of my father,
dead before his time, and they drank my tears.
My brother squandered his/our wealth, overwhelmed with love for a harlot,

21 Ferrari (2014) 3–4; Nünlist (2014). See also Bierl (ch. 14), Lardinois and Stehle in this volume.

22 I am thinking especially of the argument of Woodman (2002).

and suffered financial loss along with foul shame.
Reduced to poverty he traverses the blue seas with nimble oar,
and the wealth he lost discreditably, he now discreditably earns.
Me too he detests for the devoted advice I have often given him:
this my candour has brought, this my loving words.
And as if there were a lack of things to weary me without cease,
my little daughter heaps woes on my woes.

This passage repays close reading, and I preface my commentary by the mere observation that the missing first stanza of the Brothers Poem is reconstructed (explicitly *exempli gratia*, I should say) by Obbink partly by means of *ES* 61–62.[23] Sappho is describing her own *grauis fortuna* (59), in which Phaon is the latest in a long sequence of misfortunes. At six she lost her father, but then her eldest[24] brother, who will have succeeded to the role of head of the family, squandered the family wealth on Doricha, incurring the shame of a relationship with a *meretrix* in the process: *carpsit opes* is Bentley's conjecture,[25] but the focus on the financial quandary in which he, and by extension his family, found themselves is clear enough from what follows. We then hear of Charaxos' efforts to recover his fortune, and a natural way to interpret line 66, *quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes*, is that his wealth acquisition is as morally questionable as his expensive entanglement with Doricha. Peter Knox and David Campbell tentatively suggest that the discreditable means by which Charaxos recouped all the money he spent on Doricha/Rhodopis was piracy,[26] but need it actually be anything more than trade? Sappho's status as an aristocrat, and her poetry as an expression of quintessentially aristocratic values, is well established, and scholars have also discerned in her poetry a concomitant antipathy to the emergent bourgeoisie that threatened the political dominance enjoyed by Sappho's class. Thus Holt Parker talks of the 'conflict of the older aristocratic families against the new and vulgar rich' we can glimpse in Sappho's poetry, and cites fr. 55, said by Stobaeus 3.4.12 to be addressed to an uneducated woman, and by Plutarch, *Moralia* 145f–146a to a wealthy woman;[27] citing the same fragment, Margaret Williamson opines that '[i]f poetic skill was a badge of social accomplishment for aristocratic women as it certainly was for men, then this poem may be as intimately bound up in the politics of Lesbos as

23 See Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.
24 Sappho test. 252 (*P. Oxy.* 1800).
25 Knox (1995) ad loc.
26 Knox (1995) 292; Campbell (1982a) 16 n. 1.
27 Parker (2005) 12–13. See also Martin, this volume.

any of Alcaeus' tirades, pitting aristocratic culture against mere wealth'.[28] The likely sources of this "mere wealth" in trade and commerce might easily have rendered Charaxos' mercantile activities, to Sappho's refined aristocratic sensibilities, quite dishonourable enough. Kurt Raaflaub in this volume suggests that an involvement with trade, so long as it fell short of the fully professional, 'was compatible with Greek elite values'. But does the *Epistula Sapphus* represent Charaxos' mercantile activities as less than all-consuming and "professional," as anything other than a career choice driven by dire necessity?

What is certainly not hard to discern in Sappho's oeuvre as a whole is the differential treatment of the brothers Charaxos and Larichos, the former criticised, the latter praised, the former a merchant, the latter growing up in the aristocratic milieu of Mytilene (test. 203), serving as a cupbearer in the town hall of Mytilene. A suggestion of the same may be found in the Brothers Poem, where it seems that Charaxos' commercial success, for the speaker at least (the addressee seems to think differently), is of no moment compared with the hope of Larichos growing to be an ἄνηρ: in Obbink's words, 'a settled member of the leisured, aristocratic class',[29] 'an ἄνηρ in all senses', presumably including 'aristocratic demeanor, noble marriage, transfer of wealth, and production of legitimate offspring'.[30] The speaker seems mainly concerned with the success of her aristocratic clan, investing in Larichos, not Charaxos, her hopes that it will flourish, under Larichos' leadership.

Whether coincidentally or not, Horace in *Odes* 3.29 also promotes an ethos disparaging trade in favour of philosophical detachment which carries more than a hint of aristocratic anti-mercantile prejudice. At any rate, we have seen a range of ways in these pages in which Latin literature impinges on the study of Sappho. For all Horace's protestations, Sappho proves once again as significant a presence in the texture of his lyric poetry as his fondness for the Sapphic stanza might otherwise suggest, while the contribution to the Sapphic tradition represented by *Heroides* 15 poses a dilemma that goes to the heart of an intriguing question: the *Epistula Sapphus*, in its own second-rate fashion, engages gamely enough with that tradition; but as well as evidence for a Sappho reshaped to suit the cultural predilections of a Roman literary public, can it also help us to reconstruct and comprehend in their earliest performance context the Sapphic fragments that continue serendipitously to come our way?

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28 Williamson (1995) 86.

29 Obbink (2014b) 34.

30 Obbink (2014b) 35.

CHAPTER 14

'All You Need is Love': Some Thoughts on the Structure, Texture, and Meaning of the Brothers Song as well as on Its Relation to the Kypris Song (P. Sapph. Obbink)

Anton Bierl

More than two years have passed since we first heard in January 2014 of the spectacular new discovery of two completely new poems from an Alexandrian edition of Sappho's famous first book. Mere months after the discovery, Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) published four additional papyrus fragments providing new readings at the margin of several Sapphic fragments (5, 9, 16, 17), that—together with other tiny parts—ended up in the Green Collection (GC) in Oklahoma (inv. 105).

These pieces come from the larger cartonnage enveloping the main fragment that gave us these two hitherto unknown texts: the 'Brothers Song' and the 'Kypris Song' of the London P. Sapph. Obbink—Obbink (2014b) produced the *editio princeps* alone in the same issue no. 189 of *ZPE*.

It goes without saying that reconstructing Sappho, her context, and her specific role in Lesbian society as well as the meaning of Sapphic love dominates the consideration of her work. In recent years research on Sappho has devolved into an ideological minefield, a hotly debated battleground. In a feminist vein, Parker (1993) challenged the *communis opinio* dominating scholarship on Sappho, namely that the poet headed a circle of young adolescent girls—read: not coeval women—in a sort of educational or "initiatory" group or *choros* led by the *choregos*, i.e. the much older, more experienced Sappho.[1] According to the

1 On Sappho generally as a chorus leader, see Calame (1977) 127, 369–370 (in English, Calame [2001/1997] 65, 212); Ferrari (2010) 33–37; on an originally choral performance of Sappho in general see Nagy (1990a) 370, (1993), (2007a), (2007b) 211–212, 215–216, 260 and in this volume; Lardinois (1994) and (1996); see also Bierl (2003), (2008), (2016). On the chorus as the social context of initiation, see Calame (1977) 385–420 (in English, Calame [2001/1997] 221–244) and Bierl (2001) (in English, Bierl [2009]) Index s.v. 'Erziehung' and 'παιδεία'. See also Ferrari (2010) 34. On the parallel of initiation in general, see Calame (1977) 367–372, 390–391, 400–404, 427–432, 437–438 (in English, Calame [2001/1997] 210–214, 225, 231–233, 249–252, 256–257) and

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traditional view, Sappho introduced these young girls to the values of beauty in an all-encompassing and synesthetic manner. The practices—connected somehow to a cultic service to Aphrodite—aimed to familiarize them with myths, music, dance, songs, and beauty-centered (κάλλος) content in order to foster awareness of their own beauty and make them more desirable for future matrimony. This religiously charged life appealed to all the senses, enhanced by erotic tensions both among the young girls themselves and between the group and Sappho. Anthropological parallels in a cross-cultural comparison help explain, in a broad sense,[2] this archaic form of education that prepared aristocratic adolescents for marriage. The temporary seclusion ends with the *telos* of marriage.

Holt Parker, Eva Stehle, and most recently Renate Schlesier, however, have attempted to demonstrate that the circle consisted of coeval women.[3] For Schlesier in particular they are not just friends and therefore analogous to the male political companions (*hetairoi*) in the aristocratic factions (*heteireiai*), but *hetairai* in the sense of well-educated and seductive courtesans such as appeared in the Athenian symposia of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. On the basis of their names, their emphasis on female beauty, luxury, musical skill, and erotic appeal as well as their apparent anchoring in the symposium, Schlesier claims that the intended performers of Sappho's poetry and her companions were real *hetairai*.[4] At times one could even think that Schlesier argues that Sappho herself is a *hetaira*. This new interpretation tempts some critics today as it renders Sappho "more female"—less problematic and "Other." But do we not then fall prey to the later Sapphic reception begun with Old Comedy and extending through Hellenistic times to Athenaeus, when the specific occasion and otherness of Sapphic love in her circle could no longer be understood? This view tends to downplay all evidence of an age hierarchy—in fragments and testimonies we often find the address *paides* for the female and beloved friends.[5] Moreover it ignores the homoerotic tension between an older Sappho and members of the circle—or even among the group—that we encounter in some of the poems, which fits Sappho into a wider anthropological model of a choral transmission of values. Above all, in an archaic aristocratic society like

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(1999a); especially for Sappho, see Calame (1977) 400–404 (in English, Calame [2001/1997] 231–233) and Ingalls (2000) 12–14.

2 Lardinois (2010) has in fact, for what it is worth, challenged these anthropological parallels.

3 Parker (1993); Stehle (1997) 262–318; and most recently Schlesier (2013) and (2014a).

4 On a similar stance, see also Bowie in this volume.

5 For a list of evidence, see Lardinois (1994) esp. 58–70 and Ferrari (2010) 34–37; for *paides* and *parthenoi*, see Calame (2013b).

the one in Lesbos it would be highly improbable that a woman of high birth like Sappho composed poetry to be performed by courtesans, as doing so would run counter to the aristocratic code Sappho idealistically represents in her poems.

This new feminist and deconstructive approach fuses the distinction between the original socio-historical context, in which Sappho and her circle performed the songs at Mytilene in Lesbos around 600 BC, and later Sapphic receptions.[6] The image of Sappho as a *hetaira* obsessed with heterosexual love slots in nicely with the generic distortion of Old Comedy, which notoriously associates her with courtesans. Indeed, it can already be dated back to the point when Sapphic poetry entered Attic symposia at the end of the sixth century BC.[7]

Herodotus' narrative about Charaxos' interactions with a prostitute in the *nouveau-riche* milieu of Naucratis (2.134–135) may constitute one of the first steps in influencing Sappho's image and her reception.[8] However, although possessing rather limited knowledge of Lesbos between 620–580 BC in comparison to classical Athens, we must attempt to elucidate and reconstruct as adequately as possible the socio-historical circumstances of the primary recipient and the *Sitz im Leben* of Sappho's Lesbian performances. Sappho marks a particularly interesting case of a diachronic development in which her image is constantly reshaped.[9] For many Sapphic songs we can suppose a choral and ritual performance at the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon.[10] The mythic-ritual complex interacts with the scripted performance of young girls at the threshold to adulthood or other women assembled in order to sing and dance for the gods. Songs about love and beauty are essential for transmitting value concepts, an education in the broadest sense.[11] Sappho composed for various occasions and various audiences made up of a rather traditional society deeply involved in aristocratic-elitist networks of rivaling clans.[12] It is certainly possible that

6 Generally against the neo-liberal and feminist approach, see Calame (1998); Gentili and Catenacci (2007). A refutation of Parker (1993) is Lardinois (1994); see also Aloni (1997) xlviii.

7 See Yatromanolakis (2007).

8 See Obbink (2014b) 32.

9 See Yatromanolakis (2007); Nagy (2007b); Acosta-Hughes (2010); Bierl (2010); and Nagy in this volume.

10 Nagy (1993), (2007a), (2007b); for fr. 17 see Nagy and Caciagli in this volume; on the sanctuary at Mesa, the modern Greek equivalent to ancient Messon, see Robert (1960b); Pfrommer (1986); Caciagli (2010). For its location, see Fig. 8.1, p. 199.

11 Bierl (2003), (2008), (2010).

12 See Aloni (1997) xlvi–lxxxii, esp. his division into three groups (lviii): 1) marriage songs,

already during her lifetime certain songs were reperformed in different venues such as the aristocratic symposium. After all, the general reflection inherent in Sapphic poetry can be readily transposed to new occasions where even male audiences will appreciate its beauty. Thus both reperformance and the shift from primary to secondary reception that goes hand in hand with the detachment from Lesbos to new centers of political and cultural importance, particularly Athens, in the ensuing centuries, are key factors in her diachronic development. Moreover, the secondary reception of Sappho found new occasions and audiences in the male symposium and festivals like the Panathenaia in Athens, where Sappho had a rich *Nachleben*.[13]

In terms of methodology, attempts to reconstruct the original performance situation have shifted paradigmatically from biographic to pragmatic approaches.[14] However, our interpretations of the new texts show that we are still tempted to read the texts as family history. For example a rather literal interpretation of the new Brothers Song seems to document a conversation between Sappho and her mother about the absent brother Charaxos, a conversation touching on his chances of a safe return, the fortune of the family, and a possible relief from anguish via the younger brother Larichos.[15] Pragmatically, we have to address the *Sitz im Leben*, the original occasion for the song's performance. We must reconstruct the socio-political, cultural, and anthropological setting to elucidate the poem's possible message and meaning. If we assume a public, choric, and ritual setting—we can envision a variety of flexible occasions, performances, and audience constellations—it hardly makes sense that Sappho sings biographically about the actual situation of her own family. But one could imagine Sappho in this manner, perhaps singing at a family gathering, in a later symposiastic reperformance. However, for the larger performance at a Lesbian festival, where originally the framing inscribed itself in the poetics of the text, it seems more likely that these familial stories were understood generally, family members as fictional personae with whom it was 'good to think'.[16] The pri-

addressed to the entire polis; 2) songs regarding the female life, and poems reflecting the political life addressed to a female or male audience, that is a solitary group based on family or sociopolitical bonds; 3) songs dealing with the homoerotic and ritualistic relations in the Sapphic circle, addressed to the members of the circle.

13 This can be well demonstrated with regard to the Cologne Sappho; see e.g. Nagy (2009c); Lardinois (2009); Bierl (2010). More generally, see Nagy (2007b); Bierl (2010); and Nagy in this volume.

14 See e.g. Bierl (2003) and the literature cited ibid. n. 29.

15 See e.g. West (2014) and Ferrari (2014).

16 See e.g. Bierl (2003) 113–114 with n. 82; Nagy (2007b); on the fictional 'I', see also Calame

vate experience that may have some anchoring in real life will be performed as a communalized and public experience with a pragmatic goal: educating the choral circle of younger girls in the values of beauty, ritual, and religious appropriateness, i.e. adequate gender-role behavior. In what follows I will argue that the Brothers Song like the Kypris Song deals with the vicissitudes of love and erotic suffering.

With the discovery of these new songs it becomes more and more evident that the first book of Sappho of the Alexandrian edition contained both family poems, especially ones about Charaxos, who, as we know from other sources, became enthralled in an erotic affair with a *hetaira* in Egypt, and poems reflecting upon the pathological state of erotic involvement more directly. We now detect the presence of a cycle of poems about Charaxos. But what is their point in the context of Sappho's poetry? A possible answer seems to be the experience of a private, 'sisterly affect', as Greg Nagy suggests in this volume, made public and communalized. Thus the Charaxos cycle publicly displays a female attitude and the very positive behavior of love for male family members in the context of the polis or the *hetaireia*. The dialogue about the consequences of a love affair from the sister's perspective sheds light on a personal constellation of love, but through a generic and public lens, thus foregrounding the repercussions on the fortune and economic situation of a leading aristocratic house. Everybody in the chorus and audience can identify with this story. Furthermore it details the appropriate religious and ritualistic handling of the situation—an all-encompassing education. And the sister—Greg Nagy explains "Sappho" as a pet name for 'sister' in this volume (esp. pp. 489–492)—might also be a special term for the relationships in a chorus.[17] As choral leader she behaves like an older sister to her circle of adolescents; they are all emotionally connected as in a 'sorority', a society of female 'students' for social purposes, having homoerotic bonds between themselves and their 'sister'.

When we disregard less harmonious relationships like that between Electra and Chrysothemis in notoriously dysfunctional families, a sister is often considered an indisputable source of love, someone who is always there, a dear friend giving comfort and sharing experiences. Family relations are an ideal canvas onto which to project the complicated matters of the socio-political macrocosm, the polis or the larger aristocratic clan as well as those of smaller units like the chorus, also linked to political structures. Through the personal we can

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(2005) 1–7, (2009), and Boehringer and Calame in this volume. On the expression 'good to think with', see Lévi-Strauss (1962) 89.

17 See the designation 'my cousin' (τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς) in Alcm. 1.52 for the chorus leader Hagesichora.

address more public affairs metaphorically. It is well known that older sisters and brothers prove valuable guides in overcoming the crisis of adolescence. An older brother can also be a role model, a father substitute, or a source of great disappointment because, as he is older, he leads his own life, leaving the family behind, falling into erotic affairs, causing a sister to react with jealousy. On the other hand, the personal bond with a younger brother might be easier to maintain as the older sister takes on maternal functions in this constellation, projecting her hopes for a bright future onto him, as is case with Electra and Orestes.

If we look even closer, the Brothers Song treats the sensation of love at a deeper level. According to Herodotus, Charaxos has lost his heart in Egypt, spending his and the family's trade income on a *hetaira*. Although not explicitly mentioned in the Brothers Song (though identifying facts might have been mentioned in the missing part of the song), the poem seems to assume the audience is familiar with this background. Charaxos is so attached to Doricha-Rhodopis that his return seems rather improbable. Yet Larichos is still too young to take over the responsibilities of the clan. To a certain extent, Sappho transfers her hopes to the younger brother, though we know he serves as young wine-pourer (Sappho test. 203) and thus, in the mould of homoerotic male love, probably finds himself captured in the net of erotic affairs as well. Therefore the comfort Sappho takes in Larichos' existence seems precarious, at least for the moment. Perhaps the poem is an elegant and humorous play with something else in mind. From the external standpoint of a sister, Sappho takes this opportunity to comment on the sexual relations in her family and how they impact the group, presenting her brothers, like herself, and by extension the whole clan, as totally dedicated to love. In a symbolic, indirect, metaphorical, and quasi-mythic discourse she thus speaks about love in the Brothers Song as well.

In the Kypris Song, on the flip side, the speaking 'I', Sappho—perhaps with her choral group—details how love ravages her body—or their bodies. She analyzes herself now, her medical symptoms, and insists on her willingness to continue suffering. Love hurts, therefore she wishes for a respite Aphrodite will hardly grant. Sappho must endure all the terrible corporeal manifestations that make her more beautiful and more attractive as a lover. Above all, in a proto-philosophical manner she analyzes the experience of the *pathos* with full consciousness, understanding its consequences. The performance thus testifies to the drastic symptoms of this suffering for the sake of her chorus and the listeners.

Using both direct and indirect scenarios, Sappho and her group act out erotic sensations or reflections in order to become acquainted with the entanglements of love and prepare themselves for their female role in society, internalizing these values by singing and dancing. The wish for a procession and prayer

to Hera as well as the words uttered in the Brothers Song constitute the actual first performance of these ritual practices at Messon; later on a female chorus can reperform the Brothers Song at the seasonally repeating festival. Sappho’s family becomes a mythical foundation for new performances in mimesis of the original constellation establishing an eroticized discourse of love and absence. In short, the chorus members reenact Sappho and her poem of sisterly love and renew their bond of mutual affect.

Linguistic and Poetic Structure of the Brothers Song

I first provide the text with its structure in highlighted forms and markers:[18]

[π- (?)	
[*1 or 5 lines missing*]	
. . . .]λα̣[	
. . .]cέμα[	
	A: **‘Charaxos returns’**
ἀλλ’ ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην	**a** YOU chatter (direct statement): ‘Charaxos comes’
νᾶϊ cὺμ πλήαι· τὰ μέν̣, οἴο̣μα̣ι Ζεῦc	with ship *full* (wealth); I think *Zeus* (b^{1m}) knows
οἶδε cύμπαντέc τε θέοι· cὲ δ’ ̣ οὐ χρῆ	**b** and *gods* (b^{2}): cascade of AcIs: from οὐ χρῆ:
ταῦτα νόηcθαι,	1 it is not right to think^{1} this (*hybris*)
ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεcθαι	**b** but (ἀλλὰ) to send^{1} ME (medium), summon^{2} ->
πόλλα λί̣ccεcθα̣ι βαcί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἤ̣ραν	2 to pray^{1} to *Hera* (b^{1f}) ->
ἐξίκεcθαι τυίδε cάαν ἄγοντα	**a** 3 that Charaxos comes^{1} here
νᾶα Χάραξον	with (part.) ship *safe* (indirect)
κἄμμ’ ἐπεύρην ἀρ̣τ̣έ̣μεαc. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα	finds^{2} US *safe* (enj.)// B: **Our attitude:** gnomic-general
πάντα δαιμόνεccι̣ν ἐπι̣τ̣ρόπωμεν·	exhortative: entrust to *gods/daimons* (b^{2}) ($\mathbf{b}_1$)
εὐδία̣ι γὰ̣ρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣	Gnome 1: argum. γὰ̣ρ sudden change (*metabole*) ($\mathbf{c}_1$):
αἶψα πέ̣λ̣ο̣νται.	out of storms *comes* fair weather—seafaring (love?)

18 The key to the highlighting colors in the Greek text is as follows: Orange: the gods and their positive effects on humans/blessedness; light green: ship; darker green: ‘safe’; red: personal pronouns; pink: the central speech-act of prayer; blue: preposition or prefix ἐκ/ἐξ—‘from out of’; dark blue: πέλονται ‘to become’; brown: ‘to come, arrive’, connected with the ship; yellow: ‘swift, sudden’. In the summary on the right side and in the translation below: Orange: the gods; green: ‘safe’ and reversals from negative to positive circumstances; brown: ‘to come, arrive’; blue: preposition or prefix ἐκ/ἐξ—‘from out of’; yellow: ‘swift, sudden’.

τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω	gen. rel. clause: of all, whomever Zeus (b^{1m}) wishes
δαίμον' ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη	(Will of Zeus) $\mathbf{b_2}$ -> helper-*daimon* (b^2) turn *ek* anguish
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μάκαρες πέλονται	Gnome 2: those *become* happy, blessed, rich: mysteries
καὶ πολύολβοι·	(*metabole*) **(c_2)**//
	C: **And Larichos?**
κ̣ἄμμες, αἴ κε ϝὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρ̣ρη	WE: conditional clause: eventualis: if L. raises head
Λάρ̣ιχος καὶ δήποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται,	and *becomes* a man: change of status **(c_3)**
καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυ̣μία̣ν κεν	from (*ek*) *anguish* released:
αἶψα λύθειμεν.	sudden *metabole* **(c_4)**

P[…
[…
…] La[richos (?)
and] you, Mo[ther, should celebrate. (?)

But you are constantly chattering that Charaxos (will) arrive
with a full *ship*. That, I think, **Zeus**
knows and **all the other gods**. But you may not have
these things in mind,

but you ought to send me and have me
pray much/imploringly to Queen **Hera**
that Charaxos may come back here and bring
his *ship* safe,

and find us safe and healthy. All other things
let us entrust to the **gods/*daimones***:
for out of huge storms fair weather
abruptly ensues.

Of whomever the **King of Olympus** wishes
a **god/*daimon*** as helper to now turn them
out of pains, those men are fortunate
and richly blessed.

And we, if Larichos raises his head
and finally one day becomes a man,
would even from the many grievances of our soul
be swiftly released.

As our fragment begins with the adversative ἀλλ(ὰ), we know that at least one strophe precedes it. Due to an overlap with P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5, which provides the remnants of the last two lines of a Sapphic strophe ([. . . .]λα̣[/ [. . .]ϲέ, μα[ ),[19] we can conjecture that the performing 'I' briefly introduces the situation in the missing part before our text begins. However, since Sappho sings about it over and over again, everybody already knows the story of Charaxos, who left Lesbos to trade in Naucratis in Egypt and became enthralled with Rhodopis-Doricha, a beautiful local prostitute. The story must have been well-known even before Sappho composed the Brothers Song. We are lucky that Herodotus (1.135), Strabo (17.1.33), and Athenaeus (13.596b–c) provide us with more background: Charaxos fell madly in love with Rhodopis-Doricha, paid a large sum to free her from servitude, and was about to spend his fortune made in wine trading on her. According to Herodotus, Charaxos did come home and Sappho rebuked him. But adopting the point of view of the 'I' and 'you' persons in the poem, Charaxos' return to Lesbos and by extension the situation of his family was in doubt because of this mad love affair. Will he really come back or will he be lost indefinitely in Egypt, the symbolic land of death and the Other, bound by the erotic fascination of a beautiful prostitute? The situation somewhat mirrors figures and scenes in the *Odyssey*: Odysseus captured by the sexually attractive Circe and Calypso; Menelaus lost in the rich land of Egypt; Telemachus, the model young man, surviving his *rite de passage*, a sea voyage. Their respective family members desperately wish for their return, but only the gods can help them traverse the sea and bring about their homecomings.

The performing 'I', most likely Sappho herself, breaks in with the ἀλλ' (5), a strong contrast, and addresses the 'always chattering' 'you'. The verb is quite derogatory, criticizing vain and idle behavior as well as the thoughtless affirmation of Charaxos imminent return. Without consideration of the gods the 'you' assures over and over again that Charaxos will 'return with a full ship' (5–6), i.e. securing the endangered fortune, freeing himself from the bonds of Doricha, and returning home without any problems. It is a purely secular and self-assuring position, something like: 'Don't worry—it'll be fine: you'll have your brother back safe, your family will be reunited, and, most of all, Charaxos, the potential male leader of the clan, will secure his economic foundation, accumulating wealth via trade and bringing it home. Upon his return he'll take over an important role in the political life of Lesbos'. In Sappho's (or the singing 'I's') eyes such assertions constitute vain chatter, an utterance full of *hybris*

19 See Obbink (2014b) 40 and West (2014) 9; see now also Obbink (2015a) 2, (2015b) 7, and chapter 2 in this volume.

(arrogance), and an implausible option since it discounts the dangers of love and the sea, which threaten to destroy everything: Charaxos' life, his welfare, his return, the reunion with his family and friends, and, last but not least, the political existence of the *hetaireia*.

Let us go through the structure of the song in more detail:

A) The lyric 'I', i.e. Sappho as first person speaker and *choragos* of her choral group, opposes this superficial position and invokes Zeus and the gods. She carefully introduces her opposition through a parenthetical οἴọμạι (6) ('I think'), not wanting to offend the addressee, who possesses a certain authority—though the expression may also be intended ironically. But a strong indicative form contrasts the indirect expression of the homecoming (the accusative with infinitive Χάραξον ἔλθην, 5): Zeus *knows* (οἶδε, 7) along with all of the gods (6–7). They have the power to know. It is the result of a cognitive process of seeing, thinking (see νόηcθαι, 8), realizing, and finally bringing Charaxos back home.

The first transmitted strophe then ends with an ethical command based on the impersonal οὐ χρῆ (7)—'it is not right'. The initial position of the 'you' in the accusative (cὲ, 7) puts the emphasis on the addressee and what the person should not do. The sentence initiates a cascade of infinitive and accusative with infinitive (AcI) constructions, which fill out the entire second strophe, and ends halfway through the first line of the third preserved strophe via enjambment. The prohibition 'it is not necessary that you think (νόηcθαι) that' or 'it is forbidden for you to think that' (7–8) implies the 'you' has forgotten ethical standards and the gods, a violation of decency; in Sappho's analysis, postulating such an easy outcome without taking the gods into account constitutes a breach of *dike* (justice).

A positive command (ἀλλά, 9) contrasts the negative prohibition again: 'but (ἀλλά) you must send me and tell me' (9). Here we have a structure of growing elements, from one dependent verb to two. Now another accusative with infinitive construction depends on κέλεcθαι: you command 'that I pray intensely to Queen Hera' (10)—the first person narrator clings to the main female goddess at Messon, addressing the divine with her royal title. Then a double accusative with infinitive ensues: Charaxos, in the last position of the second transmitted strophe (12), should come back here (τυίδε, 11), to the *here and now*, 'bringing his ship back safe' (adverbial participle, ἄγοντα [11])—cάαν ... νᾶα (11–12) stands chiastically to νᾶϊ cὺμ πλήαι (6), 'with a full ship'.[20] The

20 On the 'interweaved syntax (*ABAB*) of the two nouns and their modifiers' regarding *cάαν*

construction finally ends, falling into the third transmitted strophe: I should also pray to Hera 'that Charaxos will also find us'—'us' now in the first emphatic position—'safe and sound' (ἀρτ̣έ̣μεας, 13).

The following scheme visualizes the movement of thought:

1a. θρύληcθαι Χάραξον ἔλθην (5) (AcI)

1b. Indicative mode: 'I think' (οἴο̣μα̣ι 6) (embedded): 'Zeus knows (οἶδε 7) and all gods'.

2. cὲ (subAcc) δ' οὐ χρῆ ταῦτα (objAcc) νόηcθαι (7–8) (zeugma, AcI1$_{1a}$)
ἀλλὰ πέμπην ἔμε (objAcc) καὶ κέλεcθαι (9) AcI1$_{1b}$ 2 infinitives->
π. [ἔμε] (subAcc) λίccεσθαι Ἦραν (10) AcI$_2$ 1 infinitive->
ἐξίκεcθαι … Χάραξον (subAcc) (11–12)/ *κἄμμ'* (objAcc) ἐπεύρην (13) AcI$_3$
2 infinitives

The endings of the infinitives are -ην (5) -ηcθαι (8) -ην (9) -εcθαι (9) -εcθαι (10) -εcθαι (11) -ην (13) and form a poetic pattern of rhyme based on homoeoteleuton in the following structure:

a b a b_1 b_1 b_1 a

In terms of sequence and frequency we could describe the infinitives in part A as follows:

i i ii i ii

Moreover in the transmitted strophes 1 and 2 we have a slightly displaced mirror structure at their axis with a chiastic *abba*: Charaxos, lines 5 and 12; the ship, lines 6 and 11/12; the gods, lines 6/7 and 10 (*abccba*). In a parallel order, however, we have in the opening lines the authoritative order κέλεcθαι (9) instead of θρύληcθα (5). The mirror structure provides fusion and union, emphasizing Charaxos' return, the key motif, and providing two options. Additional stress is laid upon the notion of safety and salvation (σωτηρία). Charaxos should return, bringing his ship safe (11), and he should find us sound and

ἄγοντα/ *νᾶα* Χάραξον (11–12) see Obbink (2014b) 43; on the contrast between full and safe ship as the essence of the song, see Nünlist (2014).

healthy (13). The 'I' now merges with the 'we', and the ensuing exhortative, ἐπịṭρόπωμεν, gives us a completely different utterance that transitions to part B.

B) With line 13b a second part begins: transmitted strophes 3–4. The thought proceeds directly from A. Instead of a chiastic *abba*-structure, we now have a three-step sequence: an exhortation and two gnomic statements (*abb*), thematically linked via parallel alternation (*b1c1b2c2*). The admonition, ἐπịṭρόπωμεν (14), to entrust everything else to the gods/*daimones* (13–14) continues the religious stance (b) in part A. The particle γὰ̣ρ̣ (15) links the first gnomic statement (15–16), taken from nature and meteorology, with the exhortation and assertion of Zeus' and the gods' dominion over weather. The theme of an abrupt change or turn-around (*metabole*) is decisive (c): 'good weather quickly arises from big storms'. And the next general law concerning divine aid (b) and the bliss of those to whom they send a helper for support, indicates another change. Moreover this second gnomic statement harkens back to the initial exhortation and doubles its length to four lines, filling out the entire fourth stanza. The construction, a generalized relative clause with the relative pronoun in prolepsis as a partitive genitive and the verb in iterative form combined with κε (τῶν κε βόλληται … περτρόπην, 17–18a), is taken up in the main clause with κῆνοι (19): 'Out of those, whomever …' The use of the same preposition ἐκ (15, 18) and the verb πέλονται 'they become' (16, 19) emphasizes the repeated movement away from a bad situation to a good one. Somehow the metaphorical paradigm as image attaches to the more general religious certainty and both exemplary gnomic statements closely interact with the real dangers of seafaring.

West ([2014] 9), followed by Ferrari ([2014] 2–3), wants to emend line 18 [14], replacing ἐπάρωγον ('as helper') with ἐπ' ἄρηον ('for the better'), understanding δαίμον' here as 'one's fortune', but we should reject this conjecture. The transmitted text appears to be more complex than this simplifying conjecture, but it is now identified by Albert Henrichs as a model for Theocritus' learned imitation in his hymn to Ptolemy II (*Idyll* 17.123–132). There we even find an allusion to the βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω of line 17 [13] when Theocritus refers to Zeus and Hera, in line 132, as the 'royal rulers' (βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου), whom the poet compares to Ptolemy I Soter and his wife Berenice.[21] In the *Orphic Hymn* 74.8–9

21 Henrichs (forthcoming) (not seen) cited in Obbink (2015b) 6: Theocritus praised the ruler: he built shrines dedicated to his mother and father (Ptolemy Soter) … as 'helpers': ματρὶ φίλᾳ καὶ πατρὶ θυώδεας εἵσατο ναούς·/ ἐν δ' αὐτοὺς χρυσῷ περικαλλέας ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι/ ἵδρυται

we encounter a fitting parallel for the use of an adverbial supplement 'as helper' (ἐπαρωγός), also in a mystic context;[22] Leucothea is summoned to aid people distressed at sea: 'you should come as helper, and save the well-benched ships with benign will' (*μόλοις ἐπαρωγὸς ἐοῦσα/ νηυσὶν ἐπ' εὐσέλμοις σωτήριος εὔφρονι βουλῆι*).[23] The transmitted text of the Brothers Song encapsulates the theological hierarchy: Zeus as King (17) (and implicitly Hera as Queen [10]) stands above the *daimones* and, if he so chooses, can send one as a helper to ward off the perils of the sea. Like in a relay race, Sappho begs to be sent out in a procession to pray to Hera (9–10) and, implicitly, also to Zeus. Sappho can function as an intermediary for creating contact with the highest gods who can effect a reversal by sending a *daimon* to help. Thus the endangered person finds salvation and becomes blessed.

c) The last strophe contains a conditional statement in the following structure: the subordinate clause (protasis) with *αἴ κε* (= ἐάν) + subjunctive followed by the main clause (apodosis) in the potential optative (with *κεν*) indicating a consequence in the future of an unlikely but possible condition. The emphatic 'us/we' of line 13 returns in the first position of line 21; standing again in strong prolepsis, it attracts emphasis: 'we, when Larichos …'

We could call this statement a consolation, but we must first see if Larichos really offers a solution. The protasis and the apodosis (21–24) mention two more changes (*metabolai*), each in two lines (*c3c4*). Line 24 resumes the αἶψα, both again in the emphatic first position, from line 16 and would entail a sudden release from the burden weighing on the mind of the performers who stand for Sappho and her chorus. The reversal (*metabole*), the unexpected but hoped and prayed for change, might not necessarily come through Charaxos, rather Larichos, the younger brother still in Lesbos. The subordinate and conditional clause 'if he raises his head' (21), i.e. comes into consciousness, and 'becomes a man' (22) implies a status change from youth to adulthood, and the release from

πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀρωγούς ('he built incense-fragrant temples to his dear mother and father; inside he set *them* up (as images) in gold and ivory very beautiful to be *helpers* of all people on earth', Theoc. *Id.* 17.123–125). For a similar defense of the transmitted text, see now also Neri (2015) 63–64.

22 See μύσταις ἐν πόντωι (initiates at sea) in *Orphic Hymn* 74.10, and below nn. 23 and 32.

23 The parallels of *Orphic Hymn* 74 with the Brothers Poem in diction and concept go even further: Leucothea is addressed as a *daimon* as well, a super-human force that can initiate the change to a good state (καλέω … δαίμονα σεμνήν/ εὐδύνατον, 1–2: cf. δαίμον' Brothers Song, line 18) and bring relief from miserable conditions and distress at sea (θνητῶν οἰκτρὸν μόρον εἰν ἁλὶ λύεις, 6: cf. λύθειμεν Brothers Song, line 24).

many anguishes again implies a sudden change of spirit and temper facilitating a final solution. The focus thus shifts from Charaxos abroad to Larichos in the here and now, where the 'we' stands and performs. An interpretation relying on the overlap with P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5, Obbink ([2015b] 4–8; and in this volume) claims that the first missing strophe already addressed the hope of Larichos—with the restoration λα̣[ριχ in line 3 on the basis of fr. 5.1—along with a mention of Sappho's mother (cέ, μᾶ̣[τερ) conjectured by West ([2014] 9) using fr. 5.2.[24]

In terms of sound patterns, η- and α-syllables dominate. From the second strophe onwards we encounter a striking emphasis on ἐκ, the movement *out* from Egypt, from Hades and back to Lesbos. The thrice-repeated ἐκ (15, 18, 23), always long by position, mirrors the ἐξ- prefix of the central verb ἐξ-ίκεcθαι (11) ('to return and come from'), and highlights the forward movement through several *metabolai*. The preposition therefore underlines the notion of spatial return as *nostos*, the return to light and life. Hera and Zeus, the royal queen and king (10, 17), the leaders of the Olympian family presiding also on Mt. Olympus in Lesbos, belong, along with Dionysus, to the Lesbian triad especially present at Messon. The emphasis inherent in βαcί̣λ̣ηαν, βαcίλευc (10, 17) might refer particularly to this Pan-Lesbian sanctuary.[25]

Both Hera and Zeus are responsible for sudden (αἶψα, 16, 24) change, the *metabole*, the turn from misery to happiness, bliss, and richness. 'Royal/Queen/King' (βαcί̣λ̣ηαν/βαcίλευc, 10, 17), κἄμμ'/ἄμμεc (13, 21), and αἶψα (16, 24) stand in a parallel structure to a single intermittent strophe. Within the same pattern the homoeoteleuton-expressions ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣ (15) ('from big storms') and ἐκ πόλλαν βα̣ρυθυ̣μίαν̣ (23) ('from heavy depressions') link tenor and vehicle. This framing device again fuses, orders, and unifies the theme, as well as paves the way for a happy ending. Everything concerns the choral performance at Messon praying for Hera and Zeus to bring about the return of missing Charaxos, sudden change, and release. The very last word λύθειμεν (24) might imply the third god of the triad at Messon, Dionysus, who as Lysios is often

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24 West's restoration is, in fact, unlikely because it assumes that two syllables (one long and one short) precede cέ, μᾶ[τερ, but there is hardly space for this in the papyrus. Therefore it is more likely that μα is a short syllable. I owe this papyrological assessment to André Lardinois.

25 Based on the locution τεῖχοc βαcιλήϊον ('royal wall') in Alc. fr. 130a.15 that a marginal scholion to line 15 of fr. P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1, col. I designates as belonging to Hera, Ferrari (2014, 2) associates the Brothers Poem, where this royal title is so obviously stressed, with the Heraion at Mesa as well, particularly since P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1, col. I is inserted between Alc. fr. 129 and fr. 130b both located there. Perhaps also the 'kings' in fr. 17.4 (βαcίληες) could have something to do with the name of this wall (I owe this remark to André Lardinois).

responsible for the release from stress and dismal situations. The reports that Charaxos traded wine at Naucratis (Strabo 17.1.33) and Larichos served as wine-pourer for the Mytilenaeans in the large symposium of the *prytaneion* (Sappho test. 203a = Athenaeus 10.425a) also allude, somewhat indirectly, to the god of wine.

The Cultural Texture of the Brothers Song

The Brothers Song arises from the world of trade and seafaring. All its images and metaphors draw on this context; real life and metaphoric predication, tenor and vehicle, ground and figure, merge. The Brothers Poem concerns the oral performance of a song of return (νόστος) and, though rather indirectly, love as well. According to Douglas Frame and Greg Nagy, *nostos* means not only 'return, homecoming', but also, in a special sense, the 'return to light and life', *nostos* and νόος (mind) being related through the root **nes-*, since *noos* is the mental activity needed to activate one's soul in order to become immortalized or revitalized by regaining consciousness.[26] Interplay exists between the mental *noos* and *nostos*, since *noos* provides a soul (*psyche*) with the means to return from Hades, i.e. to accomplish a successful flight from the Underworld by becoming conscious again. The weighted meaning of this ritualistic interaction represents the underlying sub-narrative for Odysseus and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, on which the mythopoetic Charaxos story draws heavily.[27]

Furthermore, the poem concerns love: sea, storms, ships, and shipwrecks, all nautical material, and the sea voyages themselves provide a common metaphoric reservoir for erotic tropes in Greek literature as well as for the vicissitudes of life in its entirety.[28] Moreover the motifs could also resonate within the political sphere, as we know from Alcaeus' famous songs (e.g. frs. 6, 73,

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26 Frame (1978) 81–115 and 134–152; Nagy (1990b) 218–219, (2013a) 275–278; see also Frame (2009) 23–58, esp. 39–45.

27 See Nagy (2013a) 275–313. On the Odyssean intertext, see also Nünlist (2014); Mueller (2016) (not seen); and Kurke in this volume. On the mythopoetic quality of the song in a very different sense, see also Peponi in this volume.

28 E.g. Hom. *Od.* 23.233 (regarding sex and marriage): for Penelope the returned Odysseus is like the land for the shipwrecked sailors; Thgn. 457–460 (unfaithful woman like a boat out of control), 1361–1362 (boy like a ship in collision with a rock); Pind. fr. 123.2–6 (Theoxenos in a wave of desire [πόθῳ κυμαίνεται] after his boy); in general see Kahlmeyer (1934) 22–26; Henderson (1975) 161–166 (nautical metaphors for sexual congress in Old Comedy); Murgatroyd (1995).

and 208) about ships in storms serving allegorically for the state of the *hetaireia*.[29] Sappho might allude to the fact that her family is, to some extent, in danger, but in the strictly feminine perspective the use of this imagery applies predominantly to the erotic complex. The danger originates in love, and thus the tenor coincides with the vehicle. But at the same time, mystic and cultic notions also profoundly influence the song, meaning Sappho considers love not only as a threat but also as a feature of distinction as far as her aristocratic family is concerned. Charaxos thus assumes a mystic and almost heroic quality. Already in the recently discovered Cologne Sappho we detected a mystic dimension and a reference to Orphic mysteries.[30] We discover something similar here. The adjectives μ̣άκαρες und πολύολβοι (19, 20) serve as a special marker in this regard. Both the Homeric tradition and Herodotus use ὄλβιος in a twofold manner. Besides its unmarked meaning 'fortunate' the attribute can refer to a special, religious, mystical meaning. Thus when Achilles (*Odyssey* 24.36) or Odysseus (*Odyssey* 24.192) are addressed as 'blessed' we can detect allusions to a hero cult after their death. Similarly in Herodotus the words have different meanings for the initiated and uninitiated. Herodotus' use of ὄλβιος in the Croesus episode (*Histories* 1.29–33) is a good example. Therefore also in the Brothers Song both adjectives simply mean 'fortunate' (μ̣άκαρες, 19) and 'very rich' (πολύολβοι, 20), in a secular and material sense. But for initiates their meaning blossoms to 'happy' and 'much blissed', typical markers of said initiates, who have gained a deeper knowledge, and of those who are immortalized as heroes upon death.[31]

29 See Rösler (1980) 115–147.

30 Bierl (2008) and (2016).

31 See Nagy (2013a) 314–344. For both terms, *makar* and *olbios*, see de Heer (1969) esp. 28–38, 51–55 for their use in archaic poetry. He highlights the special 'emotive force' (53) of *makar*, a term that is normally applied to gods and the dead (since Homer [4–11, 14] and Hesiod [21–23]), but not to human beings (53). For the *makarismos*, the praise of the blessed condition for those witnessing the mysteries, see *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 480–482; Soph. fr. 837 Radt; Eur. *Bacch.* 73–74; on Orphic gold-leaves: on *trisolbios*, see frs. 485.1, 486.1 Bernabé; on *olbios*, see frs. 485.7, 488.3, 9, 489.3, 490.3 Bernabé; on *makaristos*, see fr. 488.9 Bernabé. Ploutos, the personification of riches and wealth, is also involved with mysteries, esp. in the Eleusinian context: see Burkert (1987) 20; Graf (1974) 159, 180–181. The adjective πολύολβος appears in Sappho only one other time as an attribute of Aphrodite; see Sappho fr. 133.2: Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν ('Why, Sappho, [do you …] Aphrodite rich in blessing?'). In this context we can see some concept of "mysteries of love." On Sappho and *olbios* as 'emotional' expression of the 'notion of enjoyment, pleasure, sensual' regarding love that is 'given through the favour of the divine', see de Heer (1969) 32–33.

Once seen in this framework, the entire poem, especially given the emphasis on salvation and the theme of the sea voyage, gains a mystic subtext.[32] In the probable ritual context actual seafaring and trade in Egypt assume a symbolic significance, perhaps alluding to the dead soul's journey, when the *psyche* separates from the body after death. It is well known that a dangerous sea journey often serves as a metaphor for the vicissitudes of human life and love; storms drive one to remote regions of the Other. In the Greek imagination Egypt often meant the land of death, wealth, and darkness.[33] Moreover, one can become lost in strange love affairs with rich prostitutes and *femmes fatales* who build pyramids with the fortunes acquired from their lovers.

Rhodopis, as Herodotus describes her in 2.134–135, is such a woman, her name containing the rose (*rhodon*), the symbol of love. Born in Thrace she passed into the possession of Iadmon, a rich man from Samos, who also owned Aesop (2.134.3). The Samian Xanthos brought her to Egypt in sexual slavery, from which Charaxos, having fallen in love, freed her with an immense sum of money. As a professional *hetaira* she earned so much money that she financed the building of a pyramid and sent a rich dedication to Delphi. After her release, according to Herodotus, Charaxos returned (ἀπενόστησεν) to Mytilene where Sappho abused him in song (ἐν μέλει Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν) (2.135).[34] Sappho herself calls her Doricha—the woman 'who gives presents', a euphemism for her trading money for love. Like Pluto, she gives plenty away only to take it back.[35]

32 Burkert (1987) 13–18 shows how the practical need for salvation, especially in regards to illness and seafaring pertains to the spread of mystery cults. In the *Orphic Hymn* 74 Leucothea is called to bring salvation to people distressed at sea and for their ships as well, and is addressed as 'bringing for the *mystai* at sea a ship-speeding wind' (μύσταις ἐν πόντωι ναυσίδρομον οὖρον ἄγουσα, line 10). See above n. 22. Isis, like Aphrodite, will later function as a patroness of seafaring. Safe return from distress at sea can also serve as a metaphor for salvation from the storm of life.

33 Menelaus got lost in Egypt without hope of return (*Od.* 3.319–320). For Egypt as the land of death in Eur. *Hel.*, in which the reception of Menelaus' adventures (*Od.* 4.351–586) plays a big role, see Jesi (1965); Wolff (1973) esp. 62–68; and Rehm (1994) 121–127.

34 The personal pronoun μιν theoretically could mean also 'her', i.e. Rhodopis, called Doricha by Sappho. So Lidov (2002) and Ferrari (2014) 10. See also Obbink (2014b) 41. Lardinois in this volume (p. 170) argues against this theoretical option. Sappho perhaps attacks Doricha in fr. 15, but she is spoken of in the third person. Thus it is more likely that the person addressed (and truly criticized) is Charaxos.

35 See also Strabo 17.1.33; Athen. 13.596bc. For 'Doricha' as a nickname for a courtesan, see Schlesier (2013) 205, 207. For eventual mystic connotations, see the formula 'Hermes, the

Sappho's song of abuse is lost, and before the discovery of the Brothers Poem we had no song that explicitly mentioned Charaxos—only in fragments 5 and 15 does he seem to play a role though he is not mentioned by name. We only had testimonies about Charaxos and two other brothers, Larichos and Erigyios.[36] But with the Brothers Poem we now have a detailed song mentioning both Charaxos and Larichos. As said, *nostos* means 'return to light and life' from the lands of death and darkness, implying a great effort in escaping and traversing the liminal sea to reach home and salvation. The mystic meaning of happiness might be programmatically inscribed in the name Charaxos, containing χαρά ('joy, pleasure').[37] Somehow he becomes the eroticized emblem of an idealized man, a focus of interest for Sappho and her circle, an imaginary and heroic model of an immortalized bridegroom.[38] We hardly have an explicit indication of such a positive image of Charaxos in the fragments or testimonia, but Sappho's wish in fragment 5 for him to 'be a joy to his friends' (καὶ φίλοιϲι ϝοῖϲι χάραν γένεϲθαι, 6) could possibly mark a turning point in this regard. Since Sappho knows about Charaxos' positive qualities, after all her criticism and rebuke she wishes to make the audience, as well as her circle, aware of her brother's higher, almost mystic and heroic attraction.

Numerous songs circumscribe the eternal gap of desire. Likewise in this poem the goal, the object of sisterly love, is almost unreachable, absent, or at least endlessly deferred. Even though Herodotus tells us that Charaxos did ultimately return, in Sappho's restricted, emotional perspective he seems so beautiful that he became lost in the realm of the Other to a most desirable woman. She knows that prayer alone could help make him sail back to Lesbos. Only Zeus and the gods can thus aid in calling him back and forcing him to return safely to find Sappho's group, us, intact and sound—ἀρτ̣έ̣μεαϲ (13) might

giver of goods' (δῶτορ ἐάων) in Hom. *Od.* 8.335, perhaps taken from Orphic hymns, as cited in P. Derveni col. 26.2 (with Bierl [2011a] esp. 395).

36 Sappho test. 213A (b, d, h; perhaps c and e) = fr. P. Oxy. 2506, a commentary on lyric poets, fr. 42(a), fr. 44 col. ii, fr. 48 col. iii; perhaps fr. 43 col. ii, fr. 45; Sappho test. 252 = P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1.1–35; test. 253 = Suda Σ 107, and the various sources given under Sappho test. 254 (on the Rhodopis narrative). On Larichos as a cup-bearer, see Sappho test. 203a and b.

37 See also Sappho fr. 5.6: καὶ φίλοιϲι ϝοῖϲι χάραν γένεϲθαι ('and be a joy to his friends'), and on the 'possible word-play', see the commentary by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 24. On χαρά (joy, pleasure) as feature of the initiates, see the Orphic gold-leaves, fr. 487.3, 5 Bernabé (χαῖρε).

38 Charaxos would thus become a complementary figure to Achilles who, according to Nagy (2013a) 109–145, esp. 115–116, 136–140, functions as an 'ideal' and 'eternal bridegroom'; see also Nagy (2007a) and (2007b).

even allude vaguely to Artemis as Plato's uncertain etymology suggests (*Cratylus* 406b1–3: 'Ἄρτεμις' δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀρτεμὲς φαίνεται καὶ τὸ κόσμιον, διὰ τῆς παρθενίας ἐπιθυμίαν—' "Artemis" seems to come from intact and well-behaved, because of the girl's love').[39] This implies that the girls transitioning to adulthood remain chaste like the goddess. Through their intervention the "ideal bridegroom" Charaxos, finds his way back from death and love to life and pre-sexual status. In other songs Sappho as a generic persona may have symbolically reproached him (see Herodotus 1.135.6), when he finally returned, for his notorious excessiveness in this mythic, or quasi-mythic, tale imitating life; he fails as a potential husband, abandoning himself to prostitutes. Yet by portraying Charaxos in this manner the performers succeed in shaping an eroticized and heroic model. In an extremely feminized focus, the protracted "ideal bridegroom's" absence creates desire, the sensation of being wounded, in the girls' imagination, who themselves become desirable as a consequence. Praying intensely, they seem to believe that whenever Charaxos hopefully returns, he will surely regret his mistakes and become an honorable citizen again.[40] And he would find them 'safe and sound' or even 'unwounded' since his prayed-for presence would bring an end to the wounds in their hearts.

In archaic poetry, ritual often frames and interacts with myth. Myth usually narrates deeds that fail, whereas in ritual the same are felicitously achieved.[41] It is well known that the essential context for the Sapphic circle is the female rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood. In idealized scenarios the girls learn the all-encompassing values of beauty (*kallos*). In *choreia* they incorporate beauty in multimodal practices acted out with their bodies.[42] While they

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39 The 'us' in lines 13 and 21 would thus not stand necessarily for the 'I' and 'you', as all scholars seem to take it. The 'we' might also somehow include the 'you' and thus the entire clan. But in her female perspective the focus is much more on her group and the implications of Charaxos' return for the circle. Sappho and the girls have felt the "wounds" of the absence of the beloved—in the Homeric meaning for ἀρτεμής, 'unwounded' from the battlefield (e.g. *Il.* 5.515)—and long for his arrival when they would be 'unwounded'. Sappho thus plays with the vocabulary of war for her non-marital situation also in this poem. For this use, see Rissman (1983).

40 See Sappho fr. 5 with the additions of P. GC fr. 3 col. ii.10–29 and the commentary by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 11 and 23–27; see also West (2014) 5–7 and Ferrari (2014) 4–9.

41 On the interplay of myth and ritual in general, see Bierl (2007a) esp. 12–16; in the ancient novel, in particular on the model of initiation, see Bierl (2007b) esp. 243, 249–251, 265–276, 298–299. As far as Dionysus and drama are concerned, see Bierl (2013a) esp. 366 (on comedy): 'Scenarios of inversion are located basically in myth, while phenomena of group cohesion such as festivity, enjoyment, and happiness are based in cult.'

42 See above n. 1.

succeed and are thus prepared for their marriage, the complementary myth of the young man's rite of passage fails, or is at least endangered by the terrible scenarios of death and perverted sexuality.

Since Charaxos' return lies in the hands of the gods, Sappho (with the 'you' somehow included) and her circle, the 'we', suggest in the final strophe that they make do with the younger brother. Larichos also undergoes a rite of passage, but has not yet reached the threshold of adulthood. In contrast to his older brother, he is still at home. Athenaeus (10.425a) (= Sappho test. 203a) tells us that he poured the wine for the Mytilenaeans in the Prytaneion, and the scholiast T to *Il.* 20.234 (= Sappho test. 203c) explains 'it was the custom, as Sappho says, for handsome aristocratic young men to pour wine (*oinochoein*)'. Ganymede, the most beautiful young man, served as a mythic model, abducted to serve Zeus as cupbearer in Olympus.[43] If Larichos 'raises his head' (21)—also meaning, if he returns to consciousness and full life, leaving his ephebic and initiatory transition status as a ritual servant and becoming finally 'a man' (22)—they, the 'we', 'would be freed suddenly from their many anguishes' (23–24). Also his name, possibly understood as a 'speaking name', is programmatic: λαρός with a long α means 'pleasant',—'joyous', Charaxos, thus finding its substitute in 'pleasant', Larichos, once the crisis of puberty has passed.

Larichos' activity as a cupbearer in the aristocratic symposium more than adumbrates his deep involvement in love as well. Around 600 BC the Greek aristocracy began to install beautiful boys as wine-bearers more for leisure, prestige, and erotic amusement than for education as in former times. It became fashionable in Sappho's time to have these boys as objects of an idealized and passionate love.[44] Ganymede modeled this new male homoerotic practice of the élite.[45] Specific families and clans, like Sappho's own, the Kleanaktidai, notorious for their aesthetic affectations of luxury and wealth, also aimed to distinguish themselves with a new erotic way of life: the Lydian fashion.[46] The Kleanaktidai coveted *abrosyna* (elegance, luxury, sensuality),[47] which Sappho

43 On Ganymede abducted by the gods: Hom. *Il.* 20.232–235; from Zeus alone: *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 202–206; Ibyc. 289; Thgn. 2.1345–1348.

44 See Breitenberger (2007) 178–182.

45 See Breitenberger (2007) 182–183.

46 See Ferrari (2010) 5, 11–16, 17–18.

47 Ferrari (2010) 17–18; Kurke (1992); regarding the last four lines (P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1.23–25 and fr. 2.1, the last two known through Clearchus fr. 41 Wehrli cited by Athenaeus 15.687b) of Sappho fr. 58.23–26, see Kurke (1992) 93–99, who interprets the word ἀβροσύνα not merely in material but also in political terms, in the sense of an aristocratic, oriental luxury;

praised in various poems,[48] and began, in this vein, to romanticize the homoerotic male youth. Thus Larichos' behavior leads us to believe he also has fallen prey to Eros who somehow personifies these idealized boys in their duty as wine-pourers in the new symposium.[49] While the bonds of heterosexual love bind Charaxos, Larichos is engaged in homosexual affairs. His bowed head signifies his lack of personal freedom. He has become a slave of desire, the object of lust for adult males.[50] So immersed in the erotic fantasies of the symposium he can only become an adult if he 'raises his head' (21) and 'becomes a man' (22), and ceases to be a sexual object. Therefore Larichos, likewise a victim of desire and love, is far from a real alternative for the lost Charaxos. However, we must ask ourselves if this implies a reproach to Larichos as well.[51] Or is it simply the course of life and in the nature of her clan that both her brothers, like Sappho herself, dedicate themselves completely to love? Passion brings anguish, suffering, and troubles, but as generic figures both her brothers simply represent the quintessentially Sapphic way of life, which she presents to her group and praises in many songs.

Moreover Aphrodite, the goddess of love and the patroness of Sappho's circle, implicitly present in the poem though not mentioned, functions in her roles as Euploia, Pontia, or Limenia as the goddess of seafaring (Paus. 2.34.11),

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on these lines and ἀβροσύνα as 'luxuriance' … 'connected with the concept of Lydia as touchstone of sensuality', implying also a certain amount of danger and *pathos*, see Nagy (1990a) 285–286; see also Bierl (2008) ch. 5 'Das Ende des 'Altersgedichts' (B) und Orphisch-Solares' and Bierl (2016) 326–330 'The End of the "Old Age Poem" (B)'.

48 See Sappho fr. 58.23–26; on ἄβρος, see Sappho frs. 2.14 (Aphrodite), 128 (Charites), 44.7 (Andromache as bride), 140.1 (Adonis), 100 (cloth). See also Ferrari (2010) 66–71.

49 See Breitenberger (2007) 171–194.

50 Obbink (2015b) 8, on different grounds, also finds Larichos as wine-pourer to be in a state of love at the symposium. On the basis of Anacreon fr. 346 fr. 4.1–2, where boxing Eros knocked down the speaking 'I', who raises his head again, and following a suggestion by Schlesier, Obbink (2015b) 8 conjectures a sentence filling the large lacuna in the missing first strophe preceding P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5.1–2 supplemented by West (2014) 9 … Λα[ριχ- […]cέ, μα̣̑[τερ: '… / [now we must honor fair] La[richos, οἰνοχοῶν at elite banquets:]/ [with him, Eros wears boxing gloves (*vel. sim*)—and] you [should celebrate him,]/ [too,] Mo[ther].' In test. 203a Sappho 'praises' Larichos for his honor of serving the wine in the town hall of Mytilene. Although, Sappho is proud of this aristocratic award for excellence, she nevertheless understands that this service has new, erotic implications. Moreover due to her focus on love, she highlights here how Eros subdues the young man, stripping him of all his aristocratic autonomy, rather than expressing the family pride.

51 As Martin claims in this volume.

as does Hera,[52] who as wife of Zeus and goddess of marriage watches over the path to adulthood and the loss of direction in general.[53] Furthermore, as seen above, sea travel can serve as a metaphor for love adventures and mystic adventures. Thus love and mystery overlap with actual sea trading and sea voyages. Sappho employs this bio-mythic discourse to speak indirectly about love, if in a tonality different to those songs where she directly addresses *eros* or *himeros*.

The Link between the Brothers Poem and the Kypris Poem

As Obbink ([2014b] 35) remarks, the beginning of Sappho's first book featured an alternation between two sorts of songs:[54]

(i) family and biography and/or cult, for adults, and
(ii) unrequited passion, for adolescents, while offering a window into adult experience, since the speaker repeatedly represents herself as having experienced these things in the past.

The Brothers Song, according to Obbink and, presumably, most critics, belongs to the former category, the Kypris Song to the latter. But, as we have seen, the first group is not so different from the second, both deal with love. Charaxos was an ongoing topic as various testimonies, probably based on Sappho's poems, attest.[55] And we are lucky that glimpses of Charaxos and his story have survived in our existing fragments: The story of Charaxos (here unnamed) and Doricha seems to play a vital role also in fragment 3, where we have words of reproach. Fragment 5, a *propemptikon* for Charaxos, again not named, which according to the new discoveries of the Green Collection inv. 105 must be placed after

52 On this aspect of Hera, see her title Epilimenia in Thasos, *IG* XII Suppl. 409 and the small votive boats for her at the Heraion in Samos; see also de Polignac (1997) esp. 116, and Boedeker in this volume.

53 With the new readings supplied by P. CG inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii for Sappho fr. 17 the Kallisteia seem to have been celebrated not only by women but also by young girls (ὄ]χλοϲ/ παρθέ[νων ... γ]υναίκων, 13–14 = P. CG inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii.21–22) at Messon as a choral rite of passage. On Hera responsible for the transition to marriage and adulthood, see Calame (2001/1997) 113–123. On Sappho fr. 17 see also Nagy and Caciagli in this volume.

54 With the new papyrus discoveries we again glimpse this alternation. On the idea of an Alexandrian collection on a thematic basis, see now also Neri (2015) 71–73.

55 See above n. 36.

fragment 18, exhibits many similarities to the close Brothers Song.[56] Fragment 7 addresses Doricha and her arrogance, obviously dangerous for young men. Fragment 9 (with the new additions of P. CG inv. fr. 105 fr. 1, placed after fragment 5 and probably immediately before the new Brothers Poem) might be a prayer to Hera on Charaxos' behalf, as in the Brothers Poem.[57] Fragment 15 names a goddess *makaira*, perhaps Aphrodite Euploia (2), and the speaking I wishes that Charaxos may atone for past mistakes and reach the harbor with fortune—a possible allusion to Aphrodite Limenia (7), but perhaps the goddess is again Hera, also responsible for seafaring. It might be a negative *propemptikon* directed at Egypt: Doricha 'may find' the addressed Kypris 'very harsh' and she 'should not boast that Charaxos came a second time to a desired love' (9–12).[58] Fragment 17 could again be a *propemptikon* for Charaxos, performed in a choral group at Messon for Hera.[59] Whatever the scenario of this song may be, the performers, as in the Brothers Poem (9), reenact the procession and, as in the mythic precedent of the Atreids, who did not find their way home (fr. 17.2–10), they perform as a 'holy crowd of girls and women' a series of rituals, probably a sacrifice with the *ololyge*-cry, and pray for someone to come (11–20).[60] Last but not least fragment 20 may have a similar trading and seafaring context.

56 Especially the appeal to come hither: τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι (2 ~ Brothers Song, line 11: ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε); in both poems Charaxos' mistakes are the cause of trouble, from which one hopes to receive relief (18–19); his name means joy to friends (χάραν γένεσθαι, 6).

57 *Pace* West (2014) 7–8, who on the basis of P. CG inv. fr. 105 fr. 1.1, supplemented μ]ᾶτερ for Sappho fr. 9.3 by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 15, thus regards it an appeal to mother Kleis (as in the Brothers Poem), who had announced that she cannot finance a festival (ἐόρταν) any more. I prefer to interpret "Mother" as an epithet for Hera despite Burkert's ([1985] 133) important remark: 'One feature strangely missing from the portrait of Hera is motherhood … Never is Hera invoked as mother, …' Perhaps this passage is the exception; see already Alc. fr. 129.7 πάντων γενέθλαν ('Mother [i.e. origin/generation'] of all) in a poem also performed at Messon.

58 The exact reading of these lines of fr. 15 is far from certain; see the contributions of Lidov and Lardinois to this volume.

59 Caciagli (2011) 155–157 argues for this; see also Caciagli in this volume and Neri (2014) 22. Neri (2014) 23 n. 76 and (2015) 56, 67, 69 even suggests that the Brothers Song could be the monodic prelude to a choral song and that the prayer-hymn to Hera in lines 10–13 might actually be the hymn transmitted as fr. 17; see also Caciagli (2011) 153–156 and Caciagli in this volume.

60 Hesychius (μ 932) under the entry μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι seems to link these 'days that turn at the middle' and the related federal festival, celebrated with a common sacrifice, with Messon. The name may recall a seasonally repeated year-festival when the days become

We must ask ourselves what the striking alternation between sibling poems and songs about unrequited love within the circle implies. Furthermore we must tackle the question of whether the first group really constitutes a biographic cycle about Sappho's brother and his vicissitudes—a methodological issue. If we follow the pragmatic and older biographic approach in a strict fashion, we are faced with the question of where Sappho could have uttered thoughts about her brother. Possible occasions are the symposium or other gatherings of the *hetaireia*, where Sappho's poems, with and without her presence, might have been performed. Or she may have performed them in her circle to reflect upon her family. Some songs were probably choral, sung at Messon, appropriating the perspective of its choral leader Sappho. A chorus could thus have prayed to the famous triad, especially Hera, to bring Charaxos home in the Brothers Song as well.

But why should she constantly bother her audience with the personal affairs of her brother? Most likely he existed, but even that cannot be proven. His excessive lifestyle, independent of his existence, could have served as a negative foil for males in the clan and for the girls in the circle—for which reason the negative *paradeigma* of the prostitute Doricha also comes to the fore. But, as seen above, Charaxos' personality can also be used as a positive, quasi-heroic model. Heroes, notoriously ambivalent and transgressive in life, become purely positive after death. Moreover we have to consider the possibility that Sappho mentioned her brothers in a more or less fictive, generic, idealized and personalized sense as almost everyone in the audience and the circle has a family consisting of brothers, daughters, and husbands and wives. The female gender of the speaking 'I' almost necessitates this family constellation. The personae involved are somehow 'good to think with'.[61] Sappho and/or her chorus communalize a "private" experience easily comprehensible for everybody to speak about something else.

Obviously the common denominator of the alternating sequence, present also in our new papyrus, is love. Of course, this does not necessarily represent the performance context, and the Hellenistic papyrus places both songs, the Brothers and the Kypris Song, together because their initial letters were a π. In the Kypris Song and the songs of the second category (ii) the erotic experience turns homoerotic but is also general to an anthropology of human love that

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longer or shorter after equinox. On a metonymic level this 'turn' might be the *metabole* of the Brothers Poem, which is ritually highlighted by the sacrifice and the song, prayer, and dance of Sappho's chorus. The *ololyge*-cry is notoriously associated with a *thysia*; see also Nagy in this volume (p. 475).

61 Lévi-Strauss (1962) 89.

extends to heterosexual relations. These songs speak of love in an idealized and elevated manner, revolving around the quintessential 'discourse of absence',[62] that gap of desire that never really closes. The first category (i), especially the songs about Charaxos in the first twenty fragments of Book One, deals with a decadent form—at least in the ethically strict and aristocratic conduct of the Sapphic circle—of heterosexual love, specifically the male erotic encounter with *pornai*, prostitutes or courtesans. Although this sexual behavior might find some support as an aspect of politics of *habrosyne* supported by Sappho and her clan, it causes the loss of economic stability and honor (*time*) in his family—meaning severe consequences for its female members as well. The brother, to some extent, does not fulfill the expectations of an aristocratic marriage. But he, still a young man, should conclude his *rite de passage* solemnly with an adequate wedding at home in Lesbos.

Following Charaxos on his real, fictive, or stylized trips over the sea, we see a trader, who makes a fortune abroad only to risk losing it—according to Herodotus, he really lost it—to a freed female slave and whose return is precarious. The Sapphic group must face his death or extinction, since he, losing himself in the Other, may never take the decisive step towards successful reintegration into his *polis*. However, despite all his mistakes (see frs. 5.5, 15.5), Sappho is also deeply attached to her brother and yearns to have him back, longing to see his honor reestablished and his profit secured for the welfare of the entire clan. After all, we are confronted with a narrative about the intimate love of a sister for her brother gone wild. Her concern extends beyond his conduct to its implications for the entire clan and the nuclear family. To some extent, these poems take on a political aspect seen through the lens of the female gender-role. As a woman Sappho stays at home and leads an aristocratic life, like Penelope, while Charaxos goes abroad, like Odysseus and other epic heroes, and falls prey to sexual and dangerous affairs. Despite the depravations there is still love, and Kypris is responsible for Charaxos' attraction to Doricha, the *femme fatale*. Therefore Sappho not only criticizes and reproaches Charaxos, shaping an erotic reflection as the negative foil, but also, at least to some extent, admires the paroxysms of love. Afflicted by love, people become mad and risk losing everything.

At the same time, Charaxos becomes a positive and idealized model of the beautiful future bridegroom for the girls in the circle.[63] He morphs into an unreachable and idealized hero after being immortalized by his love affairs,

62 Barthes (1979) 13–17.

63 See above n. 38.

something realized only after his death. As long as hope for his return remains, he can simultaneously be slightly criticized for his non-aristocratic conduct. But the 'I' and 'you' seem rather unaware that Charaxos has spent the family fortune on Doricha and still hold out hope that he may come back with a full ship. In a potential case of dramatic irony, the audience may know what happens. Be that as it may, Charaxos' return might entail the possibility of marriage following his successful reintegration into society. Therefore the Charaxos songs form a chain of stylized and idealized cases and situations for how to position oneself as a woman. Only pious behavior and group prayer can bring him back. The relationship between Sappho and her brothers becomes a communal experience of love and desire on a more official occasion in the polis or at Messon, whereas category (ii) might have been restricted to the circle. However, category (i) can also be successfully applied as a tool for *paideia* in the circle.

Indeed, the more or less alternating manner ensures a focus on the phenomenon of *eros*. Even Larichos, likewise stylized as a generic figure, does not offer an alternative, since as wine-pourer he is likewise lost in the realms of love. Sappho probably wants to present a possible solution. Only when Larichos 'lifts his head' (21)—the lowered head symbolizes slavery to Eros—and stops fulfilling his role as an object of erotic desire, becoming a real man (22), might the group be relieved of its heavy weight and suffering (23–24). But as we deduce from the Kypris Song, Sappho laments her own as well as her brothers' suffering and state of being entangled in passion, praying for respite. Obviously she projects her erotic lifestyle onto her entire family as if to say: 'I too, as both my brothers, the older and the younger, am made for love. I might pray for delivery but all is in the hands of the gods. They can bring Charaxos back, initiate change and the transformation to manhood. Those whom the gods help are blessed. But isn't the state of love also some sort of blessedness, lovers closely tied to Aphrodite and Eros who rend them, hurt them, and bring them close to a state of death?'

Scenario and Content of the Brothers Song

We have a complex communicative situation: 1) a 'you', who repeatedly chatters about Charaxos returning with a rich ship; 2) a singing 'I', Sappho as author, poet or *choragos*, who offers an alternative standpoint; and 3) a 'we': the 'I' subsumed, either (a) Sappho's circle; (b) the female chorus performing prayer; (c) Sappho's family and wider clan; or (d) the plural of the 'I' and 'you' persons interacting here.

Obbink ([2014b] 41–42) defines the following scenarios concerning the 'you':

(i) She responds to another concerned person (her mother?), saying in effect, don't just keep saying what you want (i.e. for Charaxos to come), but send me to pray.
(ii) She responds to someone saying to her: "[he's not coming back] but you are always chattering that Charaxos should come." She says: the gods know these things, as you should know. We should pray to them.
(iii) She counters reports of a hetaira who keeps chattering that Charaxos will or has come in the past (aorist with past time) or should come now—to her "with a full ship", saying to her: don't tell me what the gods know and what is wrong for you to think; it's right for me to still try to save the situation …

Obbink ([2014b] 42) finds the first scenario the 'likeliest'. 'Sappho is engaged in gentle banter with her mother (or another family member) over the correct attitude to be taken toward her brother's extended absence, in which she contrasts simple repeated wishing with the pious ritual act of prayer in accordance with human subordination to the gods' wishes'. I think he is basically right.

But let us go into more detail:

(1) the chattering 'you' can be her mother or
(2) another family member

West ([2014] 8–9) argues for (1) and on the basis of the remnants [. . .]cέ, μα̣[of the overlapping P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 line 2 that provides the adonean of the first missing strophe, conjectures cέ, μᾶτερ, the missing mother. Obbink ([2015b] 7) agrees and, on the basis of Ovid's *Heroides* 15.61–62, even tries to insert in the first line Sappho's father, who died very early, as well as Larichos, the potential hope for the future, conjecturing for the two letters λα in P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 line 1 Λα[ριχ-.[64]

Despite Obbink's and West's tempting suggestions I still argue for (2), believing strongly that such a friendly and intimate discourse with her mother does not fit the situation. Moreover Sappho, at this stage of her career, seems too powerful to portray herself disputing essential matters regarding the economy

64 On a detailed evaluation of all possibilities, see now Neri (2015) 58–60, who also pleads for the mother (60).

and politics of the *oikos* and clan with her old mother. The only instance, in which we hear about her mother Kleis, concerns a gentle and intimate exchange of the past, about female appearance and fashion, when Sappho herself was a young girl. In Kleis' own youth it was a great adornment (*kosmos*) to wear a hairband, superseded later by a new fashion from Lydia, the *mitra* (Sappho fr. 98a). But now Sappho cannot obtain such luxurious headgear for her own daughter, called Kleis after her grandmother, since her clan, the Kleanaktidai are in exile (fr. 98b). Furthermore, I believe that instead of an intimate conversation between two females we have a harsh dispute requiring a strongly gendered aspect.[65] Thus even as an adult woman Sappho argues in a perfectly suitable manner for the aristocratic, female decorum, but for Kleis, the old lady of the house, it would have hardly been regarded as proper to advocate the purely economical standpoint the 'you' here represents.[66]

As we have seen above, the Kleanaktidai are fond of Lydian wealth and *abrosyna*, but females display their clan's programmatic value differently than males. Women, on the one hand, exhibit luxurious dress, and Sappho uses the discourse about external fashion and *kosmos* to instill in the girls of her circle the values of inner beauty (*kallos*). Men, on the other hand, openly advocate for a program of luxury with political and entrepreneurial economic activity. The stage is set then for a dispute between a leading male and female figure regarding new aristocratic values which breaks along gender lines, especially when it turns to the roles of love and trade in a society of risk. Overseas trading, met with aristocratic contempt until recently, involves a great amount of danger: the loss of the ship, the cargo, and even life looms. Charaxos, the male exponent of the *oikos* and clan, pursues the policy of the Kleanaktidai of accumulating wealth, striving for *abrosyna* and *eros*. In doing so he falls prey to a *hetaira* on whom he wastes the family capital. Obviously some members of the clan believe Charaxos fails to model proper behavior but still insist everything will turn out fine. Sappho, in her sisterly affect, emphasizes that the situation is not so simple and offers a solution appropriate to her gender, a procession to Hera's shrine and a prayer in choral voice at Messon asking the gods to return

65 See Stehle and Lardinois in this volume; see also Kurke in this volume, who, on the basis of a different theoretical gender perspective from Teresa de Lauretis' feminist film theory, nevertheless pleads for the mother as internal addressee. Through the intimate dialogue with her, the other space, the view within the *oikos*, would thus be integrated. Bettenworth (2014) thinks that the harshness of the tone speaks against an exchange with the mother. Therefore she pleads for the nurse noting interesting parallels, but it is hardly plausible that a nurse could have the authority to send Sappho to pray at Messon.

66 See also Nünlist (2014) 13.

him safely. Thus the performance of the song mimetically enacts prayer and is in fact prayer. Sappho knows the goal will be hard to reach, but through performance she compensates for the loss, lionizing, indeed almost heroizing, the missing Charaxos, and making clear that her aristocratic family is totally dedicated to love. She does all this from her sisterly position, the quintessential instance of love. Sappho, by highlighting her status as sister, also draws the choral group into a 'sisterly' role giving special importance to love, even though Charaxos' perverted love might ruin the house. The singing 'I' represents female modesty and religiosity so that all erotic adventures end happily.

Because of the evident gender aspect, I argue for an important male family member, presumably an uncle, probably maternal. On similar premises André Lardinois considers the possibility that the addressee is the third brother Erigyios, who is mentioned in the testimonia, but not in connection with this specific exchange.[67] In his contribution to this volume Lardinois draws attention to the fact that, with Sappho's father Skamandronymos (or Scamander) dead, as we know from Ovid's *Heroides* 15.61–62, and in the absence of the eldest brother Charaxos, Erigyios would have been Sappho's *kyrios* according to Greek family law. Thus he would play the same role I attribute to the maternal uncle. But the uncle, being beyond the age of erotic entanglements, pleads for an extremely economic and rational way of life, while I would argue Erigyios is still so young that even as a *kyrios* he would automatically adjust to the erotic agenda of his family and cannot play this role in the poem.[68] The expression 'to chatter' (5), strongly derogatory and pejorative, indicates that Sappho is not engaging in a friendly mother-daughter exchange, but rather in a stronger dispute about fundamental values. The 'you' represents a strictly male view, secular and more superficial, economically based. He wishes Charaxos back, but does not reflect deeply because he has only profit in mind and ignores the theological foundation of success. Therefore he simply utters repeated consolations: 'Charaxos will return'—'and with a full ship' (5–6), i.e. the income will not be lost. Sappho should be likewise optimistic. He completely trusts in Charaxos' sailing experience and represents the new type of the 'Könnens-Bewußtsein', 'the consciousness of ability' to achieve everything as a human being.[69]

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67 See Lardinois (2014) 191; see also Caciagli in this volume.

68 In the mythopoetic pattern I would expect Erigyios too to be in love and Sappho to sing about it. But in the scenario of the Brothers Song, the middle brother is left aside since he is of no help either.

69 See Meier (1990) 186–222; 'the consciousness of ability' seems to start not only in the 5th century BC but also traces its origins back to the crisis of aristocracy and the new economic orientation at the turn from the 7th to the 6th century BC.

Money drives trade, we must take into account that the Lydians had invented electrum coinage only a generation previously. As is reflected in Sapphic poems, the Kleanaktidai in nearby Mytilene grew very fond of the new Lydian lifestyle. With the economy booming, even the young aristocrat Charaxos leaves his environment to make a fortune trading Lesbian wine for other luxury products in Egypt. The uncle will have supported Charaxos in this endeavor. But we know firsthand, and accounts from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (646–693) and Solon (fr. 13.17–24), as well as Sophocles' first and second stasima of *Antigone* (332–375, esp. 333–337 and 583–625, esp. 586–592 [storm at sea]) provide evidence that seafaring remained extremely dangerous and still could be viewed as *hybris*.

Sappho, a strong personality and important family member, takes a traditional and typically female position against this new way of thinking. The song represents a fictionalized form of familial dispute between the generations, a sort of power struggle communalized in words performed in a ritual act at Messon. A possible scenario of this fictive, allegedly private conversation could be the following: the uncle probably used Charaxos' absence to install and broaden his influence in the *hetaireia*. The consoling attitude might be a paternalistic gesture to keep Sappho's family quiet. In reality it pleases the uncle that Charaxos will not be coming back as the latter's absence allows the uncle to keep his powerful position. However Sappho, as new speaker for the aristocratic family—and she wants to stake a claim for its further influence—, reacts in an unexpectedly harsh manner. Yet, like Penelope in the *Odyssey*, she knows her limits. Therefore, according to male expectations, she respects her gender-role by not claiming power herself but for her younger brother Larichos, although he is still immature and entangled in erotic affairs. Her strategy is not to digress from the path of the traditional, pious, and chaste behavior. After all she only opposes her uncle with words, the rather harsh and derogatory expression 'you chatter' at the beginning—but she might also allude to his unreflective attitude as older man: if he had reflected deeper, he might have reached a different conclusion. Sappho's dissent then becomes more gentle: she does not say 'I know for sure that it is like that', but chooses the careful and modest formulation 'I think' (οἴομαι, 6). Furthermore, she argues on the basis of the traditional view of religion: 'Zeus knows'—a concession to the male perspective, though still under the predominance of Hera addressed later in the prayer—'and all the gods' (6–7).[70] All knowledge lies in the hands of the gods; they may use *noos* to activate Charaxos for his return—or not.

70 The reference to the Olympian couple Hera and Zeus as well as to all gods also complies

Archaic Greek women have a subordinate role in society but can exert influence in their cultic and religious roles—exactly as Sappho implies here. Therefore she dares to formulate a religiously motivated, ethic command: 'it is not necessary'—or better—'you are forbidden (οὐ χρῆ) to think these things (ταῦτα νόηcθαι)' (7–8): meaning, 'uncle, beware, you've interfered in the sphere of the gods; you do not have the power and legitimacy to think or to use *noos* to activate Charaxos in these terms': rather the gods must bring *noos* for *nostos*, and change his mind to make him return.[71]

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with the cultic reality of Mytilene, Lesbos, and Messon, which served the whole island as common sanctuary; see the Hellenistic decree of Mytilene recorded in an inscription *SEG* 36.750, ca. 330 BC, where we find the confirmed predominance of the Olympian couple. It still reflects to some extent the archaic circumstances and the gendered dichotomy transcended by Sappho. Similarly we see that Hera is the main player of the Twelve Olympian gods, even her husband Zeus subordinated to her, invoked with the epithet Heraios (Διὶ τῶι Ἡ-/ραίωι, 6–7). The last goddess addressed in the series, 'the one who accomplishes the good things' (Ἐπιτελείαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 8) may again be Hera herself, bringing everything to the *telos*, the guarantor of justice and harmony, the objectives of the prayer addressed as the personifications Dike and Homonoia (7). See Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014). In terms of maturation the *telos*, in the domain of Hera, is marriage. On τέλος and Hera, also as *teleia*, see Burkert (1985) 133 and Nagy (2013a) 375.

71 On the interplay between *noos* and *nostos*, see above n. 26. The new papyrus P. CG inv. 105 fr. 2 col. i.11–12 supplies, in addition to the scraps provided by P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 1, two words related to *noos* for the so-called Priamel-song regarding the lacunose transition to Anactoria (fr. 16.12–14); we can read now: Κύπριc· ἄγν]αμπτον γὰρ [.....] ν̣όημμα/ .....]... κούφωc τ[ ] ν̣οηcηι̣ (13–14)—'Kypris' (led Helen astray [cf. lines 11–12]); 'for [un]bending ... mind/ lightly ... thinks'. The lines provide the reason: Aphrodite affects the *noos* and makes it bend (cf. γνάμπτω) around and focus on an object of desire. See Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 9, 16–17; West (2014) 2–3. In this case we have the opposite movement: *noos* is not only responsible for *nostos*, the return to life from love, but also for falling in love or directing the attention to *eros*. Burris and Fish (2014) refer the marginal annotation (PSI 123) to fr. 17.1 by Nicanor N(ικάνωρ) τωμον (read as Aeolic τῶμον ['my']) to the *noema* in the preceding column. Thus the lines may not describe Helen's passion but the passion of the singing and fictional 'I', Sappho. In the same manner as she analyzes her own erotic desire and suffering in the new Kypris Fragment, lines 10–12 in terms of rational consciousness, she describes here again the effect of love on her own mind, i.e. the ability of Aphrodite to turn her mind around and cast her waywardly in the realms of *eros* similar to death. On Sappho fr. 16, see Bierl (2003) (with detailed documentation of the opinions and the history of its interpretation). Despite the great length that can be reconstructed on the basis of the new material and West's ([2014] 2–3) separation of the second part to a new fr. 16a after line 20, which many critics regarded as the end of fr. 16 before, there is no 'final proof of that' (West [2014] 2).

After this strong gesture of detachment Sappho gently subordinates herself again. She tells him what he may do: send her out and command (9) her to pray over and over again to Queen Hera. The uncle should employ his power to send Sappho as an intermediary to Hera since she has a special relation with the gods, particularly with Hera, the goddess of marriage, ὥρα (seasonality and beauty) and τέλος (fulfillment, goal, marriage),[72] the predominant goddess in the polytheistic system at Mytilene in Lesbos and at Messon. Sappho pleads for the chance to be sent (πέμπην, 9) in an official procession (πομπή) with her group of girls to Messon to summon Hera in a hymnic and choral prayer. She should do this πόλλα (10), in an intense and repeated way. What follows is the anticipated ritual speech-act of praying. In direct speech the contents would stand in the optative, but as a prudent and submissive woman she projects her female utterance with infinitives: Charaxos should come back to this place (τυίδε, 11). The *deixis* is striking and we have two options in understanding it: a) as *deixis ad oculos* the word τυίδε could indicate the place where the fictive conversation momentarily takes place in the present (probably Messon); or b) as *deixis ad phantasma* pointing the way to an imagined place designated as 'here' (perhaps the house of Sappho's family) since the audience knows the exact location. In other instances τυίδε particularly implies the Pan-Lesbian precinct Messon and the choral performance at this holy place dedicated to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus.[73] The lyric 'I' should pray to Hera—Sappho and her female chorus in particular address this female goddess—to make Charaxos return from the realm of death, Egypt, and pilot his ship safely to Lesbos. The emphasis shifts from *full* (πλήαι, 6), i.e. rich or full of wealth, to *safe* (cάαν, 11) since wealth has no relevance in a religious perspective but safety does. In her continued prayer, Sappho stresses that Charaxos may 'find us safe and sound' as well (13). The 'we' could include the uncle, the entire family at Mytilene or the projected group at Messon.

The group the 'we-form' designates, now obviously including her uncle, says: 'let us entrust all other things to the gods' (13–14)—meaning we can only pray, it is in the hands of the gods and their *daimones* (δαιμόνεςςιν, 14), the mediating spirits, who help us out from the realms of death.[74] At this point a traditional

72 On Hera and the linguistically related ὥρα, see Nagy (2013a) 32–33; Burkert (1985) 131 associates 'season' with 'ripe for marriage'; on τέλος and Hera, see Nagy (2013a) 44, 375.

73 See Nagy (2013a) 124; see Sappho fr. 1.5: ἄλλ' τυίδ' ἔλθ', and frs. 5.2, 17.7. For Brothers Song, line 11, see frs. 1.5, 5.2, 17.7 and Nagy in this volume.

74 On *daimones* as opposed to *theoi*, see Burkert (1985) 179–181, esp. 180: '*Daimon* does not designate a specific class of divine beings, but a peculiar mode of activity.' For Nagy (2013a) 109 *daimon* means 'superhuman force'.

gnome, a piece of wisdom, ensues: ‘out of big storms suddenly comes fair weather’ (15–16). The metaphoric context of the *gnome* coincides here with the real situation: seafaring and storms. Salvation comes quickly (αἶψα, 16), or unexpectedly: Zeus is responsible for the weather, and brings about change (*metabole*).

In the fourth transmitted stanza we have a second *gnome* on the human level; it follows in a generalized relative clause with the iterative form in the subjunctive conveying a common law: ‘of whomever Zeus, the King of Olympus, wishes a *daimon*, a mediating spirit, as helper to achieve a turn for them from troubles’—*ponoi*, toils, constitute the quintessential status of mankind—‘those become μάκαρες and πολύολβοι in a *metabole*’ (17–20). Decisive is thus the will of Zeus to initiate the specific activity of the *daimones* to bring someone back to life. To some extent this reminds of the *Dios boule* in the *Iliad* (1.5).[75] Moreover, from the female perspective of the pious chorus these persons become blissed, initiated and happy, though perhaps only as dead and immortalized heroes. In the uncle’s secular and capitalistic perspective, however, this could mean ‘happy and very rich’, echoing the conditions under which he hopes Charaxos will return.

Then, in the last stanza, Sappho no longer insists too much on Charaxos: it is in the hands of the gods to make Charaxos return, while we, so the group says, have other options. After all Charaxos’ younger brother Larichos could function as a stand-in for Charaxos. If Larichos activated his mind, raising his head to leave his erotic entanglements behind, and became a real man, we would swiftly (αἶψα, 24) be released from our anguish and sorrow. The *metabole* of mood can thus be achieved through a more realistic step in the here and now. In an indirect way Sappho pleads for Larichos as the new male leader of the *hetaireia*, making a claim perhaps for her close family to hold power over the clan, questioning her uncle’s claim on her territory of discourse. However even Larichos, as argued above, seems not to be a real option, since the song revolves around love as the quintessential characteristic of Sappho’s family. At any rate, *lysis* (see λύθειμεν, 24) and *metabole* are features of Dionysus,[76] the third god in the Lesbian triad at Messon, who now seems somehow eclipsed—perhaps due to his wild, uncivilized side. However, through these features and the mystic aspect, he comes again to the fore.

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75 See also Hom. *Il.* 12.236, 12.241, 13.524, 20.15, 20.20, and Latacz, Nünlist, and Stoevesandt (2000) 20 *ad* 1.5.

76 See the epithets Λυαῖος, Λύσιος (‘liberator, releaser, deliverer’) and e.g. again the Orphic gold-leaves frs. 485.2 (with the parallel passages and explanations), 486.2 Bernabé.

As far as the performance mode and the occasion are concerned, most critics believe the song is monodic, sung in the family environment. But I claim that a choral performance also is very likely. The original occasion might be either a) in the Sapphic circle, for the purpose of *paideia*, anticipating the prayer performed for a single, specific occasion, perhaps at Messon; or b) the choral performance that actually took place at the seasonal festival at Messon, performed either once or annually reperformed, a complement to the male assemblies. By singing this song revolving around love, the women might strive to become even more beautiful for the *Kallisteia*. All things considered, I strongly believe a choral performance at Messon to be the most likely original performance context. But I can also imagine solo reperformances, either by Sappho herself or other persons, in more private settings, such as within her circle or at symposia. According to these differing scenarios passages addressing a 'we' (lines 13 and 21) could be understood differently: in the original performance perhaps as the collective group, in the reperformance apparently as the plural of the 'I' and 'you'.

The Aesthetic and Poetic Dimension of the Brothers Song

Form and content complement each other and constantly interact. The movement, the flux of ideas, supported by mirroring, parallelism, marked repetitions, chiasms, enjambments and gliding transitions, proceeds smoothly and produces an atmosphere of cultic fusion in *choreia*. In the Brothers Song everything, viewed through cultic lenses, has a mystic charge. We have underlined that the metaphoric context of the tenor, the gnomic wisdom, coincides with the elements of the mythopoetic and fictionalized story itself. Moreover the fusion of form, content, and metaphor is projected onto a higher level, the entire story becoming an allegory for life, a myth framed by the ritual occasion of the performance. To some extent, Sappho composes her songs on the basis of the daily experience of her female and cultic life, transforming it into higher utterances that eclipse their secular everyday meaning. The mythic and cultic embedding and transformation are essential for the poetic essence.

Moreover, Sappho incorporates other discourses: 1) prayer and cultic language; 2) mystic language and mystery experience; 3) the epic subgenre of *nostos*; 4) songs of love and lament; 5) songs communalizing erotic experience; 6) traditional gnomic wisdom and choral lyric; 7) heroic discourses; and last but not least, 8) the Homeric tradition, alluding to Odysseus, Telemachus, Menelaus, and Penelope.

Conclusion

To summarize, the new Brothers Song is not a personal, biographical, and intimate expression of family matters but functions rather within a public dimension. As an originally public and choral performance it communalizes erotic experiences and acts out discourses of power relations in the polis and the clan. As an aesthetic production it is embedded in an overarching song-and-performance culture. The Brothers Song is connected with the traditional idea of a myth-and-ritual scenario, creating new myths and narratives for ritual performance. Thus the original occasion for this song was most likely the choral performance during the public festival at Messon. The speech-act of πόλλα λί̣ϲϲεϲθαι (10), the intense prayer, *is* the song. It aims to make the impossible possible and to initiate change, *metabolai*. Life consists of *ponoi*, strains, and despondencies: only through poetry, song, and performance do the performers as well as the audience achieve the necessary change. Through a series of communalized cases in a 'biographical' narrative of family and songs about unrequited love in the female group, different audiences can reflect upon their own life experience. Through cultic charging and the embedded discourses of mystery, salvation, and happiness, the performers as well as the audience are elevated to a higher existence. From distress and anguish, we grasp happiness and fulfillment.

The Brothers Song does not really offer an alternative but, like the new Kypris Song and many other erotic poems, it deals with the consequences of love. Sappho thus portrays erotic entanglement as a programmatic feature of her clan. She probably used the bio-mythic cycle with her brother as well as more direct exchanges about love for wider educational and political purposes. As seen, the erotic song becomes an aristocratic and female discourse; politics with other means of addressing the strife of the *hetaireiai* in Lesbos.

The song, at last, contains such a generalized poetic potential that it easily transcended the limitations of the primary context and warranted reperformance in new settings, such as the male symposium. Through a diachronic process, it could even be exported and transferred to new locations, like the new cultural center at Athens, where the symposium and festive contexts like the Panathenaia continued the ongoing chain of reperformances.

PART 3

Kypris Song

CHAPTER 15

Sappho as Aphrodite's Singer, Poet, and Hero(ine): The Reconstruction of the Context and Sense of the Kypris Song

Anton Bierl

In my contribution on the Brothers Song (chapter 14) I have already dealt with its relation to the second entirely newly discovered text, i.e. the Kypris Song.[1] The new papyrus reproduces the structure of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho' poetry arranged according to the principle of meter and internally in the alphabetical order. Despite their direct vicinity, both songs, set in Sapphic stanzas, beginning with words featuring the letter π, and assembled in the famous Book One of the Alexandrian scholarly edition, will hardly ever have been performed in sequence. However, it is theoretically possible that at some point in time they were sung together, especially if both songs were originally performed chorally at Messon. Particularly in later reperformances at the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary, mythopoetic songs about the family could be alternated with song expressing the sufferings of love and the prayer to find relief through Aphrodite or other deities. Even later reperformances could have put both songs together for a monodic delivery by a female singer in the symposium as well, both songs assuming a new meaning. The Brothers Song will have been read now as a biographical statement and the Kypris Song as a lyric, almost romantic outcry about the abyss of passion and love experienced by an individual, normally understood as the single poetess Sappho embedded in the specific historical context of Mytilene, with family and personal friends.

A Hellenistic papyrus can even mirror a direct performance context and its new practice of putting together songs on the basis of thematic associations. The recent discovery of the Cologne papyrus P. Cologne XI.429 (3rd century BC) yielding three parts—a self-referential piece about poetry and afterlife, the Tithonus Poem (formerly fr. 58.12–22), and a non-genuine Hellenistic, pseudo-Sapphic piece on Orpheus and love—follows this principle.[2] But, as said, in

1 See also Schlesier as well as Boehringer and Calame in this volume.

2 See Bierl (2008), (2010), and (2016). On the link between the Brothers Song and the Kypris Song as well as on the idea of an Alexandrian collection on a thematic basis, see now also Neri (2015) 71–73.

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our P. Sapph. Obbink of the 3rd century AD this is rather unlikely, although the alternation between family and love songs in the first parts of Sappho's Book One might still have held a special meaning in the Hellenistic editor's eye, beyond the criterion of the same incipit.

Structure, Texture, and Meaning of the Kypris Song

In this paper I will provide a brief analysis of the structure, texture, and meaning of the Kypris Song. After an initial interpretation, I will present some recent reconstructions, discuss their problematic hermeneutical presuppositions, develop some hypotheses regarding the original as well secondary performance context, and finally elaborate upon some thoughts regarding the metapoetic relevance of this song.

First of all, I reproduce Obbink's (chapter 1) text with the main thematic units on the right side and my translation beneath:

πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέῳϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,	A: generalized, rhetorical question introduced with *tis*: how not be nauseated about the person (potential optative with κε),
Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηϲι,]	address to Kypris/ whomever you love,
[κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣ά̣λ̣[αϲϲαι;]	how not desire for release from passion?
[ποῖ]ον ἔχηϲθα	B: question: what purpose?
[νῶν] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μ' ἀλεμά̣τ̣ῳϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ην	physical violence and bodily experience: shakes
[ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γ̣όν' ωμε̣-[x	desire, loss of body control
[. . .] .α .α . . [. .]α̣ι̣μ' ο̣ὐ̣ π̣ρ̣ο[0–3] .ερηϲ[	
[– ⏑]νε̣ερ .[.]αι̣	
[*c*.8] . . . [. .] ϲέ, θέλω[⏑ – x	C: personal consequences: wish …
[– ⏑ – x τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – x	to experience/suffering
[– ⏑ – x –] ̣αν, ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται	but I: awareness
τοῦτο ϲύνοιδα	knowledge: cognitive conclusion: consequence for myself
] .[.] .τοιϲ[. . . .] .	mankind (?)
]εναμ[	
] .[.] .[	

How could one not be hurt/nauseated over and over again,
Mistress Kypris, by anybody, whomever one really loves,
and not, above all, want release from the passions?

What do you have
in mind, in pointlessly [brutally] tearing me apart with shakes
through desire that loosens my knees? …
… not …
…

you, I wish …
to suffer this
but I am conscious of this
for my own self.

This song characterizes the quintessential situation of unrequited love in the typical three-step structure: universal insight (A) gives way to the lover's symptoms (B), which reaches a cognitive conclusion (C). In lines 1–3 of the first strophe we encounter a generalized statement in two parts with the indefinite pronoun τις, almost formulating either a *human law of love*, comparable to Sappho's fragments 16.3b-4 and 58.25–26, or the basis of erotic anthropology: the 'discourse of love' is 'absence',[3] which implies violent suffering. A generalized relative clause introduced by an accusative relative pronoun follows the first question 'How would someone … not be nauseated (ἄcαιṭο)?' (1):[4] by 'whomever (ὄττινα) one indeed loves (δ]ὴ φί̣λ̣[ηcι)' (2). This rhetorical question implies that nausea and pain are inevitable; everyone in such a situation suffers again and again. Before the relative clause the singing person addresses Kypris, the mistress (δέ̣cπ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', 2). The 'I' is most likely Sappho, though the first strophe does not contain a first person, singular or plural, rather the sentiment applies universally. Only in line 5 do we zoom in on the 'I/we' [με] and in line 11 the 'I' becomes a female identity (ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται). Unsurprisingly the singing person does not summon Hera, goddess of marriage, authority, and seafaring, who presides over the famous Pan-Lesbian sanctuary of Messon, but Aphrodite, the goddess of love. The second part of the rhetorical question—a negated optative with κεν (negation with οὐ) insinuates a strong affirmation—continues with

3 See Barthes (1979) 13–17.

4 The diction ἄcαιṭο in line 1 recalls the address to Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1, esp. lines 3–4: μή μ' ἄcαισι μηδ' ὀνίαιcι δάμνα/ πότνια, θῦμον ('do not overpower my heart, mistress, with ache and anguish', transl. Campbell).

[κωὐ] θέλοι expressing a strong wish in the ensuing infinitive: … 'and (how could one) not above all wish for release from the passions?' (3) Through the striking a- and ai-sounds the infinitive χάḷ[αccαι in the last position of the line (3) references the emphatic ἄcαιτο (1) as the last word of the first verse. The pain of love is counterbalanced by the wish for respite from it.[5]

The last line of the first strophe introduces a new thought, an address to a 'you' who must be identical with Kypris. In his preliminary version Obbink (2014b) suggested πόθ]ον ἔχηcθα (4)—the abrupt asyndetic new thought would express the affliction of love: 'You possess desire/ you have sex-appeal'—πόθ]ον would then be resumed by ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ ('desire', 6).[6] But in the *editio princeps* Obbink (2014b, 49), as in chapter 1, adopts Ewen Bowie's suggestion and interprets the structure as a question: 'What *noos* do you have' (ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα/ [νῶν], 4–5) to hurt me, i.e. what is your rationale behind this? This question would be followed by a drastic expression of an explicative infinitive to unfold Aphrodite's brutal aggression against the physical integrity of the person bemoaning one's fate: 'What sort of thoughts do you have to tear me idly apart with shiverings'? (ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα/ [νῶν] ϲάλοιcι μ' ἀλεμάτως δαΐcδ[ην; 4–5).

The structure is again simple and direct. Through the generalized rhetorical question in two parts with two predicates in the potential optative (κε … ἄcαιτο,

5 Schlesier, in this volume, interestingly reconstructs line 3 taking κὢc] from West (2014) and κάḷ[εccαι from Obbink's *editio princeps* (2014b) and changing the genitive plural πάθαν to the infinitive πάθην, dependent on κάḷ[εccαι, as κὢc] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθην κάḷ[εccαι; she translates the line: 'even whenever one would most want to call for experiencing'. The nausea would stem from 'the psychic impulse, the will … to "call" to the "experience" (of love) the person who is loved'. The person would be disgusted by his/her own irresistible will to summon the beloved to suffer love as well. The examples she provides for the construction of καλέω followed by an infinitive (e.g., according to LSJ s.v. I: *Il.* 10.197; Soph. *El.* 996; *Phil.* 466) are all concrete, the person calling in loud voice to do something (in the sense of παρακαλέω), e.g. to participate in council, help, or more abstract, the moment calling (since it is apt) to sail off. But here Sappho would use the verb to call forth a passive experience, the suffering in love. As I see it, this train of thought is somehow complicated and artificial. If Sappho wished the beloved person to reciprocate she would hardly have said 'please, I call you to suffer/experience'—not a real seduction, but a deterrent—rather in simple terms 'please, love me as well'. Therefore I believe that even in her general reflection Sappho would probably have used just the very concrete verb φιλεῖν, thus tentatively and not in meter e.g. … καὖτε θέλοι μάλιcτά ϝε φίληcαι κάḷ[εccαι. See also the diction in fr. 1.15–24. The πάθην is a secondary and very negative result that a lover would hardly address. Therefore it seems unlikely that Sappho makes use of it in connection with καλέω despite her analytic self-awareness.

6 On other possible supplements, see Obbink in chapter 1 of the volume and Obbink (2014b) 47–48, e.g. κἄρον ('and desire') (48).

1 and θέλοι, 3) Sappho, or the choral group, having addressed Kypris, laments the corollary of the state of love. She reproaches the goddess for her cruelty in hurting the speaker in such a brutal way. The bodily affliction is extremely strong: the speaking 'I' is like a wounded warrior, transfixed and pierced, her flesh torn apart. She can only pray for relief. Again and again Sappho compares the quintessentially male experience of the warrior wounded in battle with the girls' experience of erotic affliction.[7] In order to testify to the drastic implications Sappho as chorus leader sings about it as her own suffering, while the group can reenact it. By doing so, the girls have their encounter with beauty on the level of mind and body. Through mimesis they reenact Sappho's passion and thus assume the choral leader's affliction. Full of love, they can themselves become objects of love. In the same way as young men are initiated into male society through war and near-death-experiences, so are they introduced into female values and society by becoming beautiful maidens that men adore and wish to marry.

Monodic Reconstructions of the Beginning: Aphrodite's Refusal to Love Sappho?

Very different, but less likely, are West's and Ferrari's similar restorations of the first two strophes, both recently contending that Aphrodite refuses to love.[8] In this scenario we clearly have a solo performance of a real, individual Sappho as a poetic and biographic voice.

I provide the text and translation of the late Martin West:

πῶ̣ς̣ κε δή τις οὐ θαμέω̣ς̣ ἄcαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι δές̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [μ]ὴ̣ φίλ̣[ηcθα,
κῶc] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθ̣ο̣ς̣ καλ̣[ύπτην;
    οὐκ] ὀνέχηcθα

κνώ]δ̣αλ' οἶcί̣ μ' ἀλεματως̣ δαΐcδ[ης;
μή μ' ἔ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύς̣cαντι, γόνωμ', ἔν̣α̣[ιρε
κάκ]λ̣άπαcδ̣' ἄ̣μμ'· οὐ πρότερ' ἠc[
....]νε' ἐρα̣[ίc]αι

7 See Rissman (1983).

8 West (2014) 9–12, esp. 12 and Ferrari (2014) 13–15.

How can a woman help being regularly heartsick,
my Lady, if you do not love her,
and when she would most wish to conceal her passion,
you do not hold back

the mordacious pests with which you ravage me to no purpose?
Do not, I beseech you, despoil me with raging love
and devastate us. You were not previously
… to me when I was in love.

The general law of love seems to morph into a personal and direct attack on Kypris because she does not requite the love of the woman who, being identical with the lyric 'I', seeks to hide her passion, a rather unusual concept since nowhere else do we find Aphrodite in a direct love relationship with Sappho or women of her circle, rather the goddess allows love to blossom between Sappho and other girls.[9] But normally Kypris is responsible for the typically lyric situation of unrequited love; the distance of the absent beloved generates the feeling of desire, and the first person speaker bemoans this constellation that creates excruciating suffering. It is in this sense that West and Ferrari wish to understand φιλεῖν in line 2: 'a deity's favor towards an individual, inferred from his or her fortunes'.[10] West and Ferrari seem to say that the woman, i.e. Sappho, suffers from unrequited love (of course not towards the deity but towards another woman of her circle) and lays the blame at Aphrodite's feet, since she gives Sappho's passion 'full rein', even though Sappho tries to conceal it.[11] Despite the well attested sense of *philia* as a general relation of mutual favor between deity and a mortal, the risk in understanding the phrase in a more concrete sense as 'to love', e.g. as in fragment 16.3b–4, is high, since the passions Sappho speaks about stem from love. Moreover, the lyric 'I' typically does not conceal her passion, but rather tends to act it out in a decisive speech-act as compensation.[12]

Ferrari understands the poem in a similar way but restores it differently, especially in lines 5–8:[13]

9 See also Schlesier in this volume.
10 West (2014) 10.
11 West (2014) 10 and Ferrari (2014) 13–14.
12 See Calame (1999b) 52–56 and also Schlesier in this volume.
13 Ferrari (2014) 13–15.

πώc κε δή τιc οὐ θαμέωc ἄcαιτο,
Κύπρι δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ιν', ὄττινα [μ]ὴ̣ φίλ[ηcθα
ὠc] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθ̣[οc] κάλ̣[υψαι
μηδ'] ὀνέχηcθα;

cὺν] ϲ̣άλοιcί μ' ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ηc
ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}cαντι γόν', ὤ⟨ι⟩μ', ἔγ[ω [δέ
λαί]λ̣απ̣αc [φ]α̣ῖμ' οὐ προ[τόνοιc] π̣ερήc[ην
8 ...]νε̣ερ.[.]αι
...

And he provides the following Italian translation:

Come non si crucccerebbe più volte,
Kypris padrona, chiunque tu non favorisci
quando in sommo grado vuol celare la sua passione
né lo trattieni?

Fra sussulti ondosi tu vai straziandomi
con il desiderio che, ohimé, già mi piegò le ginocchia, ma io
credo che le raffiche non sopravanzeranno gli stralli
...

Ferrari clearly thinks that any person whom Aphrodite does not care for (see Hesiod, *Theogony* 96–97), suffers when (s)he wishes to hide her/his passion. Then he seems to continue the generalized relative clause: 'and whomever you do not hold back'. Aphrodite does not reciprocate the love and, while the person tries to conceal her/his passion, Aphrodite does not stop or even moderate this person's feeling. Again we would have the paradox of love: you suffer and it is inevitable—a general experience.

The next stanza then, for Ferrari, is dedicated to the terrible actions of Kypris. With moving spasms, she afflicts the 'I' with desire that bends the knees. According to him the 'I' thinks—a link to the metaphor of ships and storms of the Brothers Song preceding in the papyrus—that the boat will be in terrible danger of sinking.

Most recently Benelli (2015), heavily dependent on West's and Ferrari's reconstructions, restores the first lines as following:

πῶϲ̣ κε δή τιc οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄcαιτο,
Κύπρι δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣'; ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηcθα,

καὶ] θέλοι μάλιστα πάθ̣ο̣ς̣ κα̣λ̣[ύπτην,
    οὐκ] ὀνέχηcθα.

κνω]δ̣άλοιcι μ’ ἀλεμά̣τως̣ δ̣αϊ̣̓ς̣δ̣[ηc
κἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}cαντι γόν’, ὦ με̣ – [x

Benelli suggests punctuating after Κύπρι δέςπ̣ο̣ιν̣’ reading it as a short question: ‘How can someone not be hurt again and again, Queen Aphrodite?’—or: ‘How can one help being regularly heartsick, Lady Kypris?’ (1–2a). The rest of the first strophe (2b-4) he takes as the underlying reason for the preceding rhetorical question. Therefore he wants to link the proleptic relative clause with a concessive clause καὶ] θέλοι μάλιστα πάθ̣ο̣ς̣ κα̣λ̣[ύπτην (3) followed by the apodosis in the indicative as ‘a statement of an undoubted truth’. I provide a tentative translation: ‘Whomever you really love, even though/if one most wishes to conceal one’s passion, you do not restrain/hold back (him/her).’ Since Benelli—he provides neither a translation nor an explicit explanation in his short contribution, but does so in the last part of a drafted article that he kindly sent me in advance of publication[14]—assumes that the ‘you’ is Aphrodite, similar objections apply to his solution as well. Why should Aphrodite love someone, if it is not in the restricted sense of caring for the person, and why should she not tolerate it when the beloved hides his/her passions? The idea of suppressing one’s passion has an almost Puritan flavor. Thus according to Benelli and in line with West, the sentence would imply that whoever is in the realm of love has to suffer. Even if the person in question—in Sappho’s circle a girl—wishes to hide her feelings, Aphrodite, the goddess of love, does what she has to do and works just in the opposite direction, not holding her back but letting the passion loose. The ensuing sentence κνω]δ̣άλοιcι μ’ ἀλεμά̣τως̣ δ̣αϊ̣̓ς̣δ̣[ηc ... (5–6), with Benelli again heavily dependent on the late Martin West, definitely refers to Aphrodite as well affecting the ‘I’ (μ’, 5) directly, i.e. Sappho herself: ‘With mordacious pests you ravage me to no purpose/ and with desire, which weakened the knees, o (greatest?) …’ (5–6). It would thus mean a desperate outcry against Aphrodite, the principle of love, the terrible force of passion that almost kills, ravaging the body, since one simply cannot restrain it. To fight against gods even the ones loving you is a vain hubris; therefore it is best to endure the excruciating effects that come with Aphrodite.

14 Benelli (in preparation), unpublished paper, last part.

Be that as it may, we again witness how different presuppositions influence the reconstruction of a fragment as well as the hermeneutical framework in reading Sappho. Everything depends on our concept of *eros* and our understanding of the genre, the pragmatic context, and its function.

Back to Obbink's Reconstruction and the Remaining Lines: Choral Performance

Returning to the poetic description of violent passion in Obbink's restoration, we see that the cultural metaphor again stands, at least to some extent, in self-referential relation to the performative execution, i.e. the *choreia*, the actual body movements of dancing. The destructive desire loosens the knees of the lyric 'I'; she can hardly stand, much less dance. This recalls the expression in the Cologne Sappho, P. Cologne XI.429 col. I.1–2 = Tithonus Poem, lines 5–6: βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμ̣ος̣ πεπόηται, γ̣όνα δ' [ο]ὐ φ̣έροισι,/ τὰ δή ποτα λαίψ̣ηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι ('Heavy has my heart become, my knees bear it no more,/ which once were nimble enough to dance like deer').[15] Love is a terrible and destructive energy afflicting her entire body, over which she loses control. The typical attribute for love and its personification Eros is λυσιμελής (Hesiod, *Theogony* 911; see Sappho fr. 130.1 Ἔρος ̣... λυσιμέλης), 'loosening the limbs', like sleep (Homer, *Odyssey* 20.57, 23.343) and death (Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 47). It applies also to the warriors killed in action. Aphrodite has affinities with Ares and war, her statues sometimes armed, and her oriental predecessors were even warrior goddesses.[16] Moreover, Sappho's use of war metaphors for love is a very common theme in her poetry.[17] The brutal *sparagmos*, the tearing apart (δ̣α̣ΐ̣ς̣δ̣[ην, 5) again refers to a war context. Finally the 'you', i.e. Aphrodite's presence with respect to the beloved person, seems responsible for this wild reaction of love resulting in extreme agony and *pathos* (see πάθα̣ν̣, 3 and πάθην, 10). The Kypris Song thus represents a universal and human law, an anthropological and almost philosophical standpoint. Everybody has experienced this feeling

15 On the Cologne Sappho and chorality, see Bierl (2008) and (2016) esp. 310–311, 314, 318–319, 323–326.

16 Polycharmus of Naucratis (*FGrH* 640 F 1) mentions that a nine-inch statue, probably armed, was brought around 688/85 BC from Paphos on Cyprus to Naucratis, the city where Charaxos traded wine and met Doricha; Paus. 3.23.1 mentions an armed image of Aphrodite in Cythera and Corinth (2.5.1); see Breitenberger (2007) 25–26 (with further sources).

17 See Rissman (1983) and e.g. Sappho fr. 1.28 σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

of love. Aphrodite and/or the beloved yet absent person make the singer suffer, and the pathological situation is conveyed through images of bodily destruction.

Thanks to overlaps with another papyrus (P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 16), formerly edited as fragment 26 V., Obbink could reconstruct the rest of the song.[18] Sappho, or the singing and fictional 'I', experiences this extreme suffering, and expresses it in poetic song and dance. Sappho's almost philosophical, scientific, and self-detached awareness regarding these symptoms of manic possession recalls Sappho's famous fragment 31.5–16 and indubitably forms the basis and prerequisite for her poetic production. As a female singer and fictional persona Sappho both bemoans and describes this pathological state, the contents of the actual song, which she—or she as choral leader together with her chorus—brings forth in mimesis over and over again, whenever she performs this poem. The perspective shifts from the impersonal, generalized τις (1) to a 'you' (2, 4; and ϲέ, 9) (Aphrodite or the beloved) and finally to the 'I' as conscious female person and poetess (ἔγω, 11, and 12; μ', 5): 'I know of it myself'—in the sense: 'I have experienced it myself and I am conscious of the pathology' (11–12). In lines 9–10 at least two words are missing between 'I wish' and 'to suffer this', and Sappho, also on the basis of the newly restored line 2, must have said: 'I wish [no longer] to suffer this'. In her overwhelming passion she wishes for respite from her suffering. Also in fragment 1.3 Sappho prays to Aphrodite 'not to overpower her with nausea, pain, and distress (μή μ' ἄϲαιϲι μηδ' ὀνίαιϲι δάμνα—ἄϲαιϲι reminds of ἄϲαιτο in line 1 of our Kypris Song). Thus the unrequited love of the 'you' generates passions she would rather forego or at least, find relief from, than live through. Therefore in fragment 1.25–26 Sappho also prays to Aphrodite to 'come' to her 'now again and to deliver' her 'from oppressive anxieties' (transl. Campbell).

Some Thoughts Regarding Its Link to the Brothers Song, Original Setting, and Secondary Reperformance in the Symposium

The Kypris Song follows the Brothers Song in the new papyrus, reflecting the alphabetical order of the Alexandrian edition of the first book, though not necessarily the performance context. Both poems, as many other initial fragments in the first book, seem to function on the principle of alternation and variation—family vs. love. But as I have argued in chapter 14, the Brothers

18 Obbink (2014b) 49; see also 37 and his comments 45–49.

Song follows a latently erotic and almost mystic agenda, having much to do with love as well. Whereas the Brothers Song only deals with love indirectly, the new song to Kypris addresses the goddess of love directly and offers a radical treatment of its consequences. The last two lines of the Brothers Poem express some hope of finding relief (*lysis*— λύθειμεν, 24) from the turbulence of love affecting the family and the larger aristocratic order. Performance in sequence and reading in the Alexandrian edition, however, would have created a sharp contrast, rendering relief impossible.[19] The 'I' is deeply wounded like a warrior, torn to pieces like a sacrificial victim. Sappho somehow stylizes herself as an epic hero attaining immortality through heroic death,[20] which entails 'eternal, unwithering fame' (κλέος ἄφθιτον). Sappho's suffering comes close to the epic hero's κλέος ἄφθιτον awarded via epic song in the eternal chain of future reperformances. Also she claims eternal fame through her song.[21] In the same way as the audience of the *Iliad* is visually confronted with detailed descriptions of heroes' bodies brutally mistreated, lacerated, and slashed—according to Greg Nagy a compensation for the necessary and usual sacrifice in normal hero cult,[22] so Sappho's audience envisages her body pierced and transfixed, and associates her with a heroic existence in an antagonistic relation to Aphrodite.[23] Aphrodite somehow becomes a reflection of a heroic Sappho. The images of the hero and Sappho merge through the performance of *kleos* and love, the medium and essence of Sapphic song.[24]

The personal appeal is shaped as a rhetorical question universally applicable to the anthropology of love. The singing 'I' then addresses the goddess directly, making her responsible for the brutal symptoms that lead to total destruction and dissolution (*lysis*— λύ{ι}σαντ̣ι̣, 6). The consequence for the 'I' is surprising: not merely rebellion but the clear wish for respite from the *pathos*, for less suffering, even though she must endure the utmost violence. The last movement highlights a personal consciousness and rational analysis of these symptoms. In contrast to the Brothers Song, which is based on a bio-mythic story with a dissenting address to an internal 'you' and the associative flow leading to a possible

19 On the performance of the Cologne Sappho in sequence based on a thematic principle, see Bierl (2008) and (2016).

20 On the feeling and wish of death due to the overwhelming passion and suffering caused by love, see Sappho frs. 31.15–16, 94.1, 95.11–12.

21 See especially the new part A1 of P. Cologne XI.429, col. I, 1–8 (new 1–11) before the beginning of the Tithonus Poem (formerly fr. 58.12–22). See Bierl (2010) 4.2 and (2016) 314–316.

22 See Nagy (2013a) 11–12.

23 See Nagy (1999/1979) 118–141 (on the hero Pyrrhos and Apollo) and (2013a) 333–334.

24 See Nagy (2013a) 55–69.

but unlikely solution, here we have a more general address to a wider audience with a clear-cut and rational argumentation in three steps: 1) general statement as rhetorical question: love hurts; 2) personal address to the responsible divine agents: 'Kypris, why are you doing this, wounding me so?'; 3) personal consequence: the wish to have respite from suffering, based on a rational reflection of the physical symptoms.

Instead of the mimesis of personal dissent leading to the exposition of alternative measures in a flow of thoughts, we have an appeal to an implied audience, probably the Sapphic circle, to follow their leader's example. The poetics is simple. The song incorporates elements of 1) argumentative speech; 2) prayer and protest; 3) ritual lament; 4) observation of bodily symptoms, partly based on the Homeric idiom used to express the various ways a warrior is killed in action; 5) proto-philosophical and analytical thought.

The maidens of the chorus can reenact Sappho's poetic "outcry" when in love, when desire causes her pain, reaffirming her wish to retain relief following her sharp analysis facilitated by clear self-awareness. Again performing the singing 'I' becomes the speech-act of being in love and suffering. To some degree, the song is equivalent to being in love, and its performer, compensating for her loss, also woos the constantly absconding erotic object.[25] The Kypris Song might also find its *Sitz im Leben* in some festival of Aphrodite or at Messon, the link to Dionysus being greater, since manic excitement and the ensuing *sparagmos* are strongly emphasized. Later reperformances will have brought the song to the symposium, changing its performance mode and its meaning. The originally choral song becomes monodic and a reflection about love and its corollaries in an educational context assumes the violent outcry of a biographic voice, of the personal Sappho in love.

Conclusion

All in all, the Kypris Song represents the quintessential poetics of love. Through its self-reflective and religiously charged message it reflects Sappho's anthropological, ritual, and proto-philosophical pronouncement of her leading principle which guides her entire performance production. Like a maxim or motto it stands between general law and very personal affection, between passion and rationality, and between overwhelming affliction from external forces and the inner strife to keep control over the extreme physical symptoms through

25 See Calame (1999b) 52–56.

self-awareness and pure mind.[26] Joined in a direct appeal to the dominating mistress Aphrodite, the song tries to find a personal but communalized answer to the rationale behind the basic principle of love. As a 'discourse of absence' (Barthes [1979]), it asserts that whenever a person, be it Sappho, as a woman, or a girl from her circle in particular or anyone else in general, falls in love with someone, another girl from the circle perhaps, said person will be subjected to this principle. The unreachability of the object of desire causes severe pain acted out upon the body. The message inscribes itself in the texture of the performance and linguistic utterance. Love hurts, and only the wish to suffer less physically remains. The choral performers convey pain and passion, bemoaning that their tormented bodies can hardly dance; their knees weakening, they risk falling and they dissolve in a twisted motion of excruciating pain. But Sappho goes beyond that—her rebellion against the dominating force insists on asking Aphrodite directly about her intentions and rationale (νῶν, 5) in tormenting her as alter ego and cultic adorant. The paradoxical logic behind this antagonism can only serve to regain strength and vitality, to become, so to speak, Aphrodite's hero(ine) and to express the personal wish to rage against imminent death. Sappho, and her female chorus, as self-aware 'I'—this time she will probably not receive a direct answer from Kypris as she did in fragment 1.18–24—can compensate for the eternal pain and loss only by singing about it. The overwhelming, almost manic passion and the desire for respite bring forth poetic song and Sappho's survival through fame fostered by a chain of reperformances. Kypris thus functions, to some extent, like the poet's Muse. However, Aphrodite does not really inspire her according to the traditional epic concept, conveying her words through the performers' voice, rather the 'I', with her personal and rational analysis and her individual wish to understand the paradox of love and bemoan its effects, i.e. Sappho herself, acts out the song as compensation. Thus she is inspired by Aphrodite in a new sense: love makes Sappho produce song. As choral leader she can even make her entire choral group perform her words, and by performing these stanzas the girls, as plural 'I', discover the mechanism of love within themselves. In reenacting Sappho's pain and near-death-experience, the girls become imbued with love and consequently more attractive and marriageable to aristocratic men. After all, Sappho becomes Aphrodite's singer as compensation for the pain Sappho produces in

26 In this respect it might be comparable to the famous four lines of fr. 58.23–26, missing in the Cologne Sappho, transmitted by P. Oxy. 1787, fr. 1.22–25 and fr. 2.1, the last two lines cited by Clearchus (in Athenaeus 15.687b). See Bierl (2008) ch. 5, (2010) 6.4, and (2016) 326–330 with the reference to fr. 16.3–4.

song and, just as Aphrodite's stylized antagonist hero(ine) attains κλέος ἄφθιτον ('unwithering fame') after death, finds an afterlife as a woman poet whose fame resounds even today.

CHAPTER 16

Sappho and Kypris: 'The Vertigo of Love' (P. Sapph. Obbink 21–29; P. Oxy. 1231, fr. 16)*

Sandra Boehringer and Claude Calame

Our knowledge of ancient Greece advances in three ways: via the discovery of new documents; via the development of new approaches to ancient materials related to the evolution of technology and experimental sciences; finally, via the evolution of epistemological tools of history and of cultural and social anthropology.[1] The recent discovery of a Sappho papyrus, and especially of the new poem of Sappho's that has become known as the 'Kypris Song', offers papyrologists, historians, and anthropologists this threefold possibility: an unexpected papyrological discovery, which is still being discussed, new technical means of reading the papyrus and working out any overlap with fragments already published,[2] and the possibility of addressing the poems of Sappho with the approaches and conceptual tools provided by the human sciences. It is important to stress this third method, which is what the vast majority of publications on various areas of Classics rely upon, but which can sometimes be overlooked when understandable enthusiasm regarding a material discovery overtakes us.

In the case of the corpus of (fragmentary) poems by Sappho, the contributions of linguistic pragmatics and gender studies, two areas that experienced significant epistemological development during the last two decades of the twentieth century, are essential. Our understanding of archaic melic poetry, at the beginning of a new century, is no longer that of the German philologists in the late nineteenth and the whole twentieth centuries, who saw in it an expression of a "lyrical" self,[3] just as our interpretation of the love described in the poems is no longer—or at least less systematically—the object of con-

* Translated from the French by Paul Ellis and Chiara Meccariello.

1 On constantly renewed historical methods and the importance of taking into account the 'organising praxis' see the thoughts of Michel De Certeau (1987). On the pragmatics of ancient poetic texts see the works cited in Calame (2004).

2 See, for example, the technical tools used by Obbink in reading and restoring the new Sappho in Obbink (2015b).

3 A history of these interpretations of "the lyric genre" is set out in Calame (1998/2008) and (2006).

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demnation or censorship on account of its immorality or unnatural behaviour.[4] Thus, recent studies in the field of the analysis of discourse and ethnopoetics have made it necessary to take into account the different forms of logic that link verbal expressions with any form of music, dance or physical expression, in the context of a political, cultural or religious performance.[5] Similarly, many works of the late twentieth century on ancient eroticism and sexuality, echoing the pioneering work of Michel Foucault, have helped draw a new landscape of Greek and Roman eroticism, by historicizing current categories of gender and sexuality. They place the texts and images in the context of societies 'before sexuality'[6]—an expression denoting worlds where sexuality, defined by Michel Foucault as 'constitutive of the bond that requires people to be tied to their identity under the form of subjectivity'[7] does not possess the identity role that it currently has; these are worlds where the male/female dichotomy as we define it did not exist—or at least not in the same way; these are worlds where identification of individuals based on sexual orientation defined by the gender of the desired person is completely anachronistic.[8]

The Kypris Poem has received detailed scrutiny from the most important papyrologists and philologists, and whilst its fragmentary nature should certainly encourage the greatest caution, it does however deserve to be read with the same attention as that given to Sappho's other poems by those engaged in the fields of gender studies and sexuality on the one hand, and of enunciation and pragmatics on the other. It is proceeding along these twin tracks that we want to read this fragment, this paltry but precious trace of melic poetry, in the cultural context of a Lesbos 'before sexuality'.

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4 For a summary of the various interpretations since antiquity see Boehringer (2007a) 37–70. For a deconstruction of the figure of Sappho as schoolteacher, priestess, sexual instructor or trainer of girls from good families for married life, see Parker (1993). On the various myths of Sappho (courtesan, pervert, whore, or even psychopath) in the modern and contemporary era, see Dejean (1989) and Albert (2005). On the descendants of Sappho and their poetic reception, see the contributions collected by Greene (1996b).

5 On the method of ethnopoetic and cultural anthropology, see Calame, Dupont, Lortat-Jacob, and Manca (2010).

6 This expression is taken from *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient World*, edited by David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (1990).

7 Foucault (1978) 570. Engl. tr. R.A. Lynch in Carrett (1999) 130.

8 Publications on these themes have been particularly numerous since 1990: see, though not exhaustively, Halperin (1990), Winkler (1990a), Calame (1999b), Williams (1999), Hallett and Skinner (1997), Dupont and Éloi (2001), Rabinowitz and Auanger (2002) or, more recently, Masterson, Rabinowitz, and Robson (2014) and Blondell and Ormand (2015).

‘Now, Here, the One You Love’: A New Poem[9]

πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣’, ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φ̣ί̣λ̣[ηϲι,]
[κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι;]
[ποῖ]ον ἔχηϲθα

[νῶν] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μ’ ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ην
[ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γ̣όν’ ωμε̣-[x
[. . .] .α .α . . [. .]α̣ι̣μ’ ο̣ὐ̣ π̣ρ̣ο[0–3] .ερηϲ[
[– ⏑]νε̣εϱ .[.]αι̣

[*c*.8] . . . [. .] ϲέ, θέλω[⏑ – x
[– ⏑ – x τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – x
[– ⏑ – x –] .αν, ἔγω δ’ ἐμ’ αὔται
τοῦτο ϲύνοιδα

[*c*.13] .[.] .τοιϲ[. . . .] .
[*c*.13]εναμ[
[ ] .[.] .[
[*c*.12]

How is it possible, now, not to feel endlessly dizzy,
O Kypris, mistress, whoever the person whom one loves here,
how (is it possible) not to want one’s sufferings to be eased?
What is your intention

to stir me up and tear me apart madly
with desire which loosens the knees?
...] not [...
[...]

...] you, I want [...
...] to suffer that [...
...] for my part I am
aware of that.

9 We use the text published by Obbink, chapter 1 in this volume. For other conjectural restitutions of the text by West (2014), Ferrari (2014), and Benelli (2015), see the critical position assumed by Bierl, in this volume, chap. 15.

Taken from a third century AD papyrus (P. Sapph. Obbink), these fragmentary lines, in the Aeolian dialect of Lesbos, are found immediately following the poem rightly or wrongly called the 'Brothers Poem'. These meagre poetic utterances supplement the small fragments previously known from P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 16 and published as fr. 26 V. of Sappho. This poem has therefore been placed in the first book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, which collects poems written in Sapphic stanzas. The first four lines reproduce the colometry of a Sapphic stanza, and the forked *paragraphos* in the margin, which acts as a coronis and therefore separates this stanza from the preceding one, confirms that it is indeed the beginning of a different poem.

The song begins with an appeal to Kypris, a deity frequently evoked and or invoked in the few stanzas that have come down to us of the poems collected in the first book. The state of the fragment also enables us to learn, thanks to the grammatical gender of the pronoun αὔται in line 11 that this appeal to the goddess is made by a fictional female 'I', as is the case in many poems by Sappho.

Despite the remaining lacunae, the sense of the poem is clear: in the vocative, an appeal to Aphrodite calling upon her divine power; justification for this address to the goddess by reference to a general experience, namely the desolation, the dizziness, the vertigo and the suffering caused by the feeling of love as a result of the power of Aphrodite, and the desire to be released (χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι in the same sense, intransitively, as in fr. 70.10 of Alcaeus). This is an expression of the imperative nature of erotic desire, which stirs up and melts the poetic (or fictional) 'I'[10] at the conscious desire of the goddess; an expression by the *persona cantans* of her own desire (the object of which is yet unknown); a declaration by the female poetic 'I' of her own awareness (by the power of Aphrodite?) of the suffering she is undergoing (most likely because of the effects of *eros*).

Does this mean the new poem represents another example of a dialogue between the poetess and Aphrodite, as some interpretations of the hymnic poem that opened the Alexandrian edition of Sappho would have it?[11] Does this mean the poem represents an "intimacy" that, in terms of irreducibly specific gender distinction, should be attributed exclusively to women? Does this mean that the poems of Sappho would transcend the "performance culture" of her male colleagues in circulating principally as texts?[12] Finally, does this mean that

10 When in this article we refer to the poetic—or fictional—'I', we mean the *persona cantans* speaking in the first person, who, in the recitation of the poem, presents herself as the person who sings the verses in a musical performance, usually the poetess.

11 See bibliographical references given by Aloni (1997) x–xvi.

12 Stehle (1997) 323.

the explicit statement of awareness by the poetic ‘I’ conveys directly to us the feelings of the poetess of Lesbos? No. We must take into account firstly the use of the traditional language that forms the basis of melic erotic poems composed by male poets (either addressed to young people or young girls) and secondly the use in the poem of deictics such as occur in highly ritualised poetry. Shared poetic language and the presence of deictics lead us to consider the verses composed by Sappho as romantic lyric poetry. Whilst the exact contextual setting of the poem eludes us—as is the case for many poems of Sappho—it is possible at least to think that this poem is intended to evoke, in and through the singing and dancing involved in its performance, the effects of sexual desire; the performance itself undoubtedly allows to call for and invoke the presence of the beloved person, in the hope that this person will come, with the aid of the goddess.

Sappho Summed Up in a Single Poem

Given the significant number of lacunae, how to go beyond a merely interpretive reading? We may follow the tried and tested method of looking for parallels, refining our analysis by drawing conclusions based upon pragmatics and gender analysis. However, the scope for such analysis will here be limited to the fragments of the vast poetic production of Sappho of Lesbos that have come down to us.

The initial address to Kypris naturally brings to mind the opening words of the ‘Hymn to Aphrodite’ (fr. 1); hence this poem, consisting of seven Sapphic stanzas, was the first in the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. If it could be regarded as a hymn, it is not only because of its tripartite structure (invocation, narrative, prayer), but above all on account of the different qualifiers used in asyndeton to describe Aphrodite, the daughter of Zeus, to invoke her presence through the force of the poetic words used. The goddess is called upon to ‘come here’ (and now) at the beginning and end of the poem, in a combined deictic and circular structure (ἀλλὰ τυίδε ἔλθε in l. 5; ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν in l. 25).[13] We find the same enunciative movement in the ostrakon poem (fr. 2) but without the initial invocation, although that may have occurred in a previous stanza. In any event, at the end of the poem, Kypris is invited to come here and now (ἔνθα δὴ σύ, l. 13), to pour nectar into golden bowls and take part in the musical

13 For an extensive list of examples of the efficacious power of using the names and epithets of gods at the beginning of various types of hymns, see Calame (2012b) 55–59 and (2014).

celebration. In the new 'Kypris Song', Kypris is described only as 'mistress' and is merely asked about her intentions.

Again in terms of enunciation, the double initial interrogative is marked by the recurrence of the Greek *demonstratio ad oculos*[14] particle par excellence, namely δή. The explicit invocation is no longer of Aphrodite (in the vocative), but of the person with whom one is engaged in a relationship of φιλία (in the third person). It is the same relationship that Aphrodite evokes in the "hymn" poem when she tells Sappho about the person wronging her, 'If she does not love (φίλει), now soon she will love (φιλήσει), even against her will (fr. 1.23–24)'. But that is not all. In the initial enunciation of the new poem, the demonstrative δή is accompanied by an adverb of reiteration θαμέως, 'frequently', 'endlessly'. The urgent desire to end the pain of love is indeed the object of the same reiterative movement in the present, *hic et nunc*, that marks, in Sappho's work, many erotic enunciations. In Sappho's 'Hymn to Aphrodite', the goddess herself asks Sappho, addressing her in direct speech, whom she can 'again, here and now (δηὖτε)' return to her 'love' (φιλότατα, fr. 1.18–19).[15]

This has already been indicated by the editor princeps of the new papyrus:[16] the state of suffering, of dizziness and vertigo (ἄσαιτο, l. 1), mentioned in the indefinite mode at the beginning of the poem is the state of the poetic 'I' earlier at the beginning of the 'Hymn to Aphrodite' (fr. 1.3). In the hymnic poem, this sense of loss, combined with pain, is the subject of the initial prayer by the poetic 'I'; by her presence, by coming here and now, Aphrodite will dispel this feeling and this grief. In the new poem, this same condition is also linked to an absence (real or felt), namely that of the beloved. Invoked in this context, Kypris, with her divine power, is implicitly likely to alleviate this suffering (πάθαν χάλ[αccαι, l. 3) and thus to ease the absence, by bringing about the presence (in and by the poetic performance?) of the person whose absence the 'I' is feeling.

Hence the enunciative shift that runs throughout the very fragmentary verses on both these papyri provides a link between the divergent development of two almost complete poems. On the one hand, as has often been noted, fragment 16 also begins with a general statement:

14 On the *demonstratio ad oculos* as a deictic procedure in Greek, using demonstratives in *-de* to denote both a proximate reference in the text and what the audience has in mind, see references in Calame (2004) 415–423.

15 See also, in the same context of erotic poetry, Alcman fr. 59 (a), Anacreon fr. 358.1–4, and Ibycus fr. 287.1–4; see Mace (1993). On the formulaic and at the same time pragmatic nature of this expression, see Calame (1997).

16 Obbink (2014b) 46–47.

> [ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων cτρότον οἰ δὲ πέcδων
> οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖc’ ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
> [ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιcτον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν’ ὄτ-
> τω τιc ἔραται·
>
> Some say that the most beautiful thing
> on the black earth is a host of cavalry,
> others an army of infantry, others still a fleet of ships;
> for my part, I say that it is what someone loves.

If the situation presented as a prelude to the new poem of Sappho does not provide a contrast between a statement by *they* and one made by the poetic ‘I’, on the other hand it also deals with love—not any trust-based relationship which may be its foundation, but an engagement marked by erotic desire. As in the new poem, the general tone of the first lines presents the protagonists of this relationship in epicene fashion, gender is thus for the time being unspecified; here, the object is also gender neutral: κῆν’ ὄττω τιc ἔραται (ll. 3–4).

This gnomic statement is further illustrated by the example of Helen, who, arousing desire while experiencing it herself, abandons her husband, daughter, and parents to follow Paris to Troy. If Helen is both subject and object of erotic desire, it is by the will of Aphrodite that she is led astray.[17] Moreover, if, as the result of *eros*, Helen forgets her parents, it is nonetheless the evocation of the heroine’s seductive beauty that brings to mind for the poetic ‘I’, here and now (νῦν, l. 15), the memory of Anactoria, who is absent. Hence the desire to see the ‘step’ full of erotic charm, and the ‘look’ illuminating the face of the beautiful girl (rather than the Lydian chariots or armed infantry: according to the new text proposed following the integration of *P. GC.* Inv. 105, poem 16 ends at l. 20 in a circular or “ring” structure[18]).

On the other hand, the “Hymn to Aprodite”, in recalling previous interventions by Aphrodite and having the goddess actually speak, follows the pattern of other erotic melic poems. Here again by utterances in the form of questions and the use of the indeterminate τιϛ, repetition of a recurring situation leads to a request for Kypris to intervene.

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17 See the suggested reading of this poem by Calame (2005) 107–130, with papyrological supplements (*P.GC.* Inv. 105) proposed by Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014) 9 and 16–18; in this regard see West (2014) 2–3 and Thévenaz (2015). On the close link between fr. 16 and the ‘Kypris poem’, see the contributions by Bierl, ch. 15, and Schlesier, ch. 17, in this volume.

18 See the contribution by Lidov, ch. 3, this volume.

You, o blessed one,
with a smile on your immortal face,
you asked me what was the matter with me again (δηὖτε),
why I was calling (κάλημμι) again (δηὖτε),

What I wished strongly to happen
in my maddened heart. Whom am I to persuade again (δηὖτε)
to return to your love? Who
wrongs you, Sappho?

The new poem thus combines the general statement using τις (in this instance, τίς), the evocation of the beloved and the repetitive enunciation to set the situation described in the *hic et nunc* of the performance of the poem. The poem apparently leads to a description of the situation, here and now, in which the *persona cantans* finds herself. If the expression of awareness has no parallel in the verses of Sappho that have survived,[19] the 'passion' of love (πάθαν in l. 3 and πάθην in l. 10) is attested both in the Hymn to Aphrodite (πέπονθα, fr. 1.15) and in another poem of remembrance (πεπόνθαμεν, fr. 94.4), in an appeal using direct speech, which a young girl addresses to Sappho using the vocative case. Furthermore, through the common use of the form ἔμ' αὔται, to the feeling of death expressed at the end of the first stage of fr. 31.15–16, the new poem seems to add a clear awareness, perhaps, of this passionate state.

This short poem, although containing many lacunae, thus provides us with a host of parallels in the Sapphic corpus and these new parallels allow us to attach greater weight to a number of assumptions and analyses. These concern, as we shall see, two major aspects of the poetry of Sappho in particular.

A Fictional and Poetic Female 'I'

Most of Sappho's poems celebrate the *eros* felt by a woman for a woman. Clearly, the works on sexuality and gender in the Greek and Roman worlds, mentioned above,[20] and our own research,[21] have stressed that it was not relevant in antiquity, and still less so in archaic Greece, to try to distinguish forms

19 Unless one accepts the conjecture proposed by Luca Benelli for l. 3 of the new fragment 16a: cf. Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 18.

20 See note 8 above.

21 Calame (1999b) and (1998b), Boehringer (2007b) and (2014).

of eroticism that Greeks, both male and female, would categorize according to the sex of the person loved by assigning identity and psychological functions to "sexual orientation". But it is precisely for this reason that, on every occasion, all the information on gender at our disposal should be provided; it should be noted, where appropriate, the intention of the poet or poetess to specify the gender of the person in love and of the beloved. The expression of *eros* between women is not so common in ancient times nor has it been the subject of so many academic publications that we can consider it as self-evident.[22]

The choice by the anthropologist to offer as complete a description as possible of the object of study prevents the imposition, even before any interpretation, of an anachronistic schema; any deliberate exclusion of information—any list and the way it is divided are, anyway, always informed by ethical categories[23]—introduces approximation and risks interference of our perception of emic categories, those that make sense for the listeners of Lesbian poetry, at the dawn of the sixth century BC; it is they who are the subject of our investigation. It is therefore not about attributing specifically "female" feelings to Sappho or a "naturally" different *eros* but simply analysing all the characteristics that Sappho attributes to this *eros* and which lie behind her address to the goddess.

A list of personal forms used leads inexorably to the following conclusion: in the Sapphic corpus, when the gender of personal form is clear (i.e. when the forms are not gender-neutral) the *persona cantans* is female. With the exception of the choral partheneia by Alcman or Pindar the presence of a fictional female voice is sufficiently rare—even if it is not unique[24]—in the ancient literary corpus that it is worth taking the time to emphasize this fact. Whether it

22 Contributions directly addressing the issue of female homoeroticism in general are few: see, foremost, Hallett (1989) and Rabinowitz in Rabinowitz and Auanger (2002). For monographs see Brooten (1996) and Boehringer (2007), and her summary in English, Boehringer (2014) 150–164. For this work, see Lear and Altman (2010) on the amazing reactions that treatment of this topic has provoked in France.

23 Here we resort to the distinction proposed by the linguist Kenneth Pike in the 1940s between the view and thought categories appropriate to the ethnologist ('etics') and those which are the subject of the investigation, namely indigenous categories, specific to the societies surveyed ('emics'); for the use of this working distinction in cultural anthropology see the important qualifications proposed by Olivier de Sardan (1998).

24 There are obviously other instances of female authors: for an edition of texts by Greek female poets see, e.g. Snyder (1989), Battistini (1998), Greene (2005), and Klinck (2008). Unfortunately, only a tiny proportion of ancient documents that have survived are the work of women. On monodic or choral enunciation in the works of Sappho, see the excellent study by Lardinois (1996).

may be related to a possible—albeit not certainly proven—performance by a woman in front of an audience of women or girls[25] does not diminish its importance.

Often the first lines do not reveal information about the gender of the poetic 'I' but clues appear in the following stanzas. This is the case, to mention one of the most famous instances, in fragment 31 (where the adjective χλωροτέρα at l. 14 and the pronoun αὔται at l. 16 remove ambiguity) or, as noted at the beginning of this article, in the Kypris Poem, with αὔται on l. 11. Sometimes, the actual name of Sappho appears, again removing ambiguity. Although very incomplete, our corpus offers four occurrences of this (fr. 1.21; fr. 65.5; fr. 94.5; fr. 133.2). In these cases the name of Sappho always appears as the second person, questioned via a vocative that takes place in the context of a dialogue which is embedded in the poem. This inclusion of direct speech in a sung poem identifies the fictional 'I' with the character of the poet (in this instance, the female poet).

In the majority of poems this poetic and fictional 'I', a woman sometimes indirectly named Sappho, speaks of intense love, draws parallels with Homeric or divine *palaia*, evokes the context in which these poems were sung and danced; this 'I' calls upon the goddesses Hera and Kypris, describes the effects on the body of passing time, sets out the qualities of the young women around her, talks about departures, separations, radiant memories, and bright hopes. Because of these recurring themes and multiple lexical clues, many commentators have inferred that the female 'I' refers in general to Sappho, that she is the main protagonist of the action referred to in the poems even where the actual name of Sappho does not appear. Whether the performance of the poem is choral or monodic,[26] and regardless of the gender of those singing, during the performance they all pronounce the lines composed by Sappho in the first person female voice.

25 On the extensive debate concerning the context in which the poems of Sappho were performed, cf. Lardinois (1996). See also Snyder (1991) and (1997), and the contributions collected by Greene (1996a). More recently, see Ferrari (2007) 11–12 and 23–25, for the intended target of the poems of Sappho, between an 'internal' and 'external' audience; likewise also Caciagli (2011) 135–199. Contra: Calame (forthcoming).

26 On the enunciative polyphony and the different scenarios presented by the poetry of Sappho, see Lardinois (1996) in a study aptly entitled 'Who Sang Sappho's Songs?'

A Female Object of Love: Is Eros ‘Gendered’?

In the same vein, what about the loved one? In the vast majority of the fragments that have survived, the person who is the cause of the erotic impulse of the fictional ‘I’ and whose lack is felt so keenly turns out to be a woman.[27] Sometimes the woman is named (Atthis, Anactoria, Mnasidika or Dika), sometimes not, but the indications given by the poem often allow us to deduce the sex of the individual (that is the case, in particular, in frs. 21, 22, and 31). A few very rare passages are exceptions to this rule, and in these the erotic pattern differs from the majority of cases, in that love for a man is in fact felt by a third party and is not assumed by the poetic ‘I’.[28] Thus, fr. 44 narrates the wedding of Hector and Andromache without the fictional ‘I’ being involved. In fr. 16, Helen leaves her home country because of her love for someone; fr. 15 discusses the complicated relationship between Doricha and Sappho’s brother, Charaxos, whose distress is mentioned in fr. 5 and in the ‘Brothers Poem’. So, to put it more clearly, when the poetic ‘I’ relates to Sappho, the person loved by this ‘I’ is not a man.

The very incomplete nature of the corpus has undoubtedly often removed elements conveying information about the gender of the person who is the object of this love felt by the fictional ‘I’; but even in these cases, lexical and thematic repetitions enable parallels to be established with the more complete, continuous fragments.

The poem now known as the ‘Kypris Song’ is therefore doubly important: a new fragment of Sappho is a valuable discovery; and given the large body of texts and images that document the relationships between men and women or between men in ancient Greece, a poetic fragment describing love between women is even more important.[29]

Does this mean that, given that the love described in the poem is felt by a woman towards a woman, *eros* would be “gendered”? Would it be different from the one linking Paris to Helen, or Aurora to Tithonus? That is not what we are saying. Instead, the way Sappho describes the symptoms caused by *eros*, if she does so in purely poetic terms, are not fundamentally different from the symp-

27 We are using the generic term “woman” for this discussion on gender. According to the poems, however, these can of course be girls (παρθένοι or κόραι; see also νύμφαι): see Calame (2013b).

28 The brief fr. 121 is an exception, but its context does not seem to represent Sappho as the poetic ‘I’. See also frs. 102, 137, and 138.

29 On the important corpus of texts and images concerning male homoeroticism, see *inter alia* Dover (1978), Halperin (1990), Lear and Cantarella (2008).

toms that Anacreon or Theognis describe.[30] Moreover, nothing in the poems of Sappho leads us to believe that the poetess wants to express a difference in kind between *eros* as it develops between two women and *eros* between a man and a woman, let alone the idea of a hierarchy of love on the criterion of normality or conformity to tradition, according to the moral arguments[31] or rhetorical reasons the *sunkriseis* would develop in later centuries.[32]

Whilst parallels may be discreetly established between erotic relationships, there are many possible identifications and they are not limited by the gender of the individuals. In fr. 16, the departure of Helen arouses memories of Anactoria for the fictional 'I'—an erotic situation substituting 'Sappho' implicitly at the same time for the abandoned Menelaus, for Helen, who is both the subject and object of desire, and perhaps for the amorous Paris (the hero is not specifically mentioned in these lines). Similarly, the (new) fr. 58, which is a poem about love rather than old age, by recalling the love of Aurora for the youthful Tithonus, unfurls a plethora of possible parallels between the fictional 'I', Aurora and Tithonus.[33] Finally, the love of Hector and Andromache is described at length in fr. 44: it gives rise, in the final lines, to a synaesthetic celebration by evoking variegated colours, mingled smells and music that rises to the abode of the gods.

This "fluidity" in the gender of *eros* in the poetry of Sappho could give the impression of a multiple *eros*, since it characterizes without distinction the erotic urges of men and women for men and women, but this is an optical illusion. This variety of erotic forms exists only in *our* understanding of the term. There is, for the Greek culture of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, consistency and a significant homogeneity. *Eros* is the same for everyone, in a society 'before sexuality'; its essential characteristic is not a gender issue but lies, as we shall see, in the effect it produces.

30 See Calame (1999b) 25–49.

31 On the criteria of normality or abnormality in the field of ancient sexuality, which do not overlap with those of contemporary sexuality, see Winkler (1990) and, more recently, Ormand (2008).

32 This is the case with Lucian, *Amores*; Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love*, or even Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.37–38. On the practice of erotic comparison and for an anthropological interpretation in terms of standards, see Boehringer (2007b).

33 On the "transgendered" *eros* in fr. 58, see the different interpretations of Winkler (1990b), Boehringer (2013) and Calame (2013a); on this poem, see also the contribution of Bierl (2016).

Dizziness and Vertigo of Love

In the general enunciative passage that opens the Kypris Song by establishing the relationship between the *you* (the goddess who is invoked) and the poetic 'I' (μ', l. 5), the passionate state causing the feeling that the invocation of the loved one could put aside, with the help of Aphrodite, is specifically evoked: it is the erotic desire that 'stirs up and tears apart'. From this perspective the likely occurrence of the term ἵμερος (l. 6) is particularly interesting in this context. Indeed the term is used not only in poem 31 (ἰμέροεν, l. 5) to describe the smile of the woman which arouses the state of passion felt and described by a female 'I', but it also appears in one of the poems of remembrance to describe the effect caused on the heart of a woman consumed with desire by recalling the youthful Atthis (fr. 96.15–17; see also fr. 1.26–27).

We should recall the etymology that Socrates attributes to the term ἵμερος (ἱέμενος ῥεῖ) in *Cratylus* (420a) as corresponding with ἔρως (ἐσρεῖν) the fluid and dynamic aspect of the two terms is emphasized, referring to a moving force, an impulse, not a state or identity. Could it be the influence of melic poetry that drives Socrates to consider the terms ἵμερος and ἔρως following his analysis of θυμός (419), and to emphasize the strength of a current (τὴν ἔσιν τῆς ῥοῆς) that pulls (ἕλκοντι) attracts (ἐπισπᾷ) and moves? It is obviously not possible to invest the melic θυμός with the meaning and importance conferred by Plato, two centuries later, in his representation of the various movements of the soul.[34] We should instead see Socrates as influenced by the melic and epic concept of this idea in the development of his own system.

Shifting and movement are an important characteristic of desire in Sappho, with the difference that movement is neither uniform nor channelled like the flow (ῥοή) described by Socrates. The 'Kypris Song' evokes a moving force to which the 'I' is subjected and whose effects it suffers (πάθαν in l. 3 and πάθην in l. 10). The person in love is stirred up in all directions, incoherently: a seemingly futile and crazy movement, expressed by the adverb ἀλεμάτως (l. 5) that P. Oxy. 1231 allows us to restore. The description of this movement might seem metaphorical to us, as our culture distinguishes the mind from the body, but the 'Kypris Song' immediately portrays the 'I' as being in both body and mind able to perceive the body—and it is not illogical to think that the term θυμός, as a place stricken by desire, may appear in the missing lines. In this poem, the 'I' is aware that she is literally transformed by shaking (σάλοισι, l. 5), a

34 In his recent study on the mediation of emotions in Plato, Renaut (2014) 26–47 studies the characteristics that distinguish the Platonic θυμός from the Homeric θυμός.

phenomenon which the poetess describes elsewhere by verbs also expressing the action of an external and irresistible force: in fr. 130 (‘Eros again here [δηὖτε] stirs me [δόνει]’), Sappho uses the verb that refers to the effect of the wind in the Homeric epics,[35] the wind to which the poet specifically compares *eros* in fr. 144: ‘Eros manhandled (ἐτίναξε) my heart like the wind in the mountains falls on the oaks’.

The disorganized nature of this movement, and thus the legitimacy of the question that Sappho asks Kypris about her intentions ([νῶν]), is even more striking in the infinitive δαΐσδην. Far from being the cause of a consistent ‘flow’ eros splits up and tears apart, and this feature clearly recalls the many, contradictory symptoms described in fr. 31. There, the body is shaking, it sways under the force of a desire that, in the ‘Kypris Song’, loosens the limbs (λύσαντι γόν’, l. 6), possibly preventing them from dancing, as in fr. 58. The lethal effect is a common feature: ‘I feel close to death (τεθνάκην)’, reads fr. 31. In the new fragment 58, the embedded structure of the poem draws parallels between the symptoms of passing time and those of *eros*.[36] Finally, recurrent expressions for this force that breaks the limbs (λυσιμέλης, fr. 130.1) and knees (ἰμέ]ρωι λύσαντι γόν’, l. 6) are a reprise of a traditional formula to describe the death of a warrior in the Homeric corpus.[37] There is the new paradox of a soul sleeping as if near death yet fully aware of its condition (τοῦτο σύνοιδα, l. 12) and capable of intent (θέλω, l. 9).

The congruence of these contradictory statements is expressed in the first line of the ‘Kypris Song’: the verb ἄσαιτο (l. 1) indicates a condition of pain or painful pleasure caused by the sense of loss, of dizziness; laced here, it reveals the symptoms the poetess sets out in the following lines. This same feeling is described by Sappho in the ‘Hymn to Aphrodite’ in which the poetic ‘I’ asks the goddess not to overwhelm her θυμός by a sense of loss (ἄσαισι) and sorrow (ὀνίαισι, fr. 1.3). The adverb θαμέως, which is now attested, thanks to the ‘Kypris Song’ and the ‘Tithonos Song’ (fr. 58.7) in the Sapphic lexicon, gives an indication of how this sensation manifests itself: not as a brutal attack, shock or acute pain, but as a persistent and repetitive psycho-physiological state that is stubborn and enduring, just like a constant bass backing in music (in fr. 58, it is actually the sound of a complaint, the στεναχίσδω in l. 7). This is to say an inexorable sense of loss that is not erased by other sensations but to which

35 Hom. *Il.* 12.157, 17.55.

36 See Boehringer (2013).

37 Τοῦ δ’ αὖθι λύθη ψυχή τε μένος τε, *Il.* 5.296, 8.123, 8.315. Our thanks to Olivier Renaut for drawing our attention to the almost oxymoronic aspect of this hendiadys.

pain, joy, surprise are added, mixed, and impressed upon. The 'I' is in the grip of vertigo, at the same time as having the insight to observe its effects. *Eros* is the sum total of these effects.

Thus, the '*new* new Sappho' contains a lexical and semantic richness that its fragmentary character would scarcely have led one to suspect. Whereas the 'Brothers Poem' provides new data for the biographical fiction of the poet, the 'Kypris Song', for its part, with its ritualized language and poetry, decidedly makes Sappho the poet of *eros* between women, and of *eros* in general. Hence, probably, the (re-)performance of her poems in male symposia during the classical period.

If we possessed the poem in its entirety, perhaps we would hear the goddess name Sappho, as is the case in fragment 1. Prayers to the deity and the appeals by the fictional 'I' created the circumstances during the singing performance for the name of the poet to be heard, placed, via reported speech, in the mouth of both Kypris and the poetic performer(s). If the names of the gods need to be uttered in order to make them appear, Sappho, in turn, only occurs in the erotic act of being named by the goddess of love. A good reason, once again, to address Aphrodite.

CHAPTER 17

Loving, but not Loved: The New Kypris Song in the Context of Sappho's Poetry[1]

Renate Schlesier

Since the first notification of a papyrus with two new Sappho poems by Dirk Obbink on the world-wide-web in January 2014, and especially since its publication in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* some months later together with four other papyri (all poems in 'Sapphic stanzas' and belonging to Book 1 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho), there has already been much debate on the two new incomplete poems. This debate has concentrated on the so-called 'Brothers Poem' of which the last five stanzas are almost complete; less has been said on the second poem, the 'Kypris Poem', of which the first four stanzas (when joined with another papyrus) remain, unfortunately, poorly preserved. In what follows I shall concentrate on this latter poem, taking into account in particular the *editio princeps* and the reconstructions of and comments on the text by Martin West and Franco Ferrari which were published in subsequent volumes of *ZPE*, as well as Dirk Obbink's new restorations published in this volume.[2] Furthermore, I shall attempt to contextualize the poem, mainly with regard to Sappho's hitherto extant work.

1 I am very grateful to the editors for giving me the opportunity to publish these notes in this volume connected with the Sappho conference organized by Toni Bierl in Kaiseraugst/Basel in June 2014, and for their helpful comments on a previous version of my paper; to Dirk Obbink who shared long hours of fruitful discussion on the new papyrus with me when we met in Warsaw, Basel, and Oxford in Summer and Fall 2014 and February 2015, prolonged by extensive e-mail exchange; and to numerous others among my friends, colleagues, and students, with whom I had the chance to speak about the two new Sappho poems during the first year after their publication.

2 Obbink (2014b), West (2014), Ferrari (2014), Obbink (ch. 1, this volume). See also Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) and Obbink (2015b). Cf. Benelli (2015). On the Kypris song, see furthermore the contributions by Bierl (ch. 15), Boehringer and Calame, and Rayor to this volume.

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Aphrodite and Her Titles in Sappho

Some preliminary observations are in order, since the new Kypris song is a further testimony of the singularly eminent position occupied by Aphrodite in Sappho's poetry.[3] In the indirect and direct transmission of her songs, encompassing no more than circa 10 % of her production, Aphrodite is by far the most prominent deity and seems to be typically presented as *alter ego* of the poetess. This prominence emerges from many poems in several, if not all, books of the Alexandrian edition of her work.[4] In Sappho's extant poetry, Aphrodite is explicitly mentioned in no less than eighteen fragments,[5] and is evidently or probably referred to in at least eight or more others.[6] Thirteen or fourteen of these twenty-six or twenty-eight fragments are addresses to the goddess, and in three of them the goddess addresses the poet by her name, 'Psappho' (while such an address by a deity is completely absent from the extant work of all male archaic poets).[7] The name 'Aphrodite' itself appears in seven fragments,

3 This conspicuous focus on Aphrodite distinguishes Sappho from all the male poets of the archaic period.

4 Aphrodite is not at all 'virtually missing' outside of Book 1, as Obbink (2015b) 6 asserts. See the exhaustive evidence of verses in several meters documented in nn. 5–11 below.

5 Aphrodite—under different names and cult titles (see below, nn. 8–11)—in Sappho's poetry: frs. 1, 2, 5, 15, 22, 33, 44, 65, 73a, 86, 90, 96, 102, 112, 133, 134, 140 (and now the new Kypris poem). Here and elsewhere, if not otherwise noted, the numbers of the Sappho fragments correspond to the edition of Voigt (1971), whose Greek text I adopt, while also taking into consideration the editions of Lobel and Page (1955) and Campbell (1982a). On Aphrodite and her titles and epithets in ancient Greek epic see Boedeker (1973) 16–50.

6 Aphrodite, evidently referred to, but without transmitted name: fr. 35, fr. 101 (both are addresses to the goddess), fr. 159; probably: fr. 40 (address pointing to the sacrifice of a white goat), use of notorious epithets: fr. 58.9 τὰν [πολυώ]νυμον ('the one [fem.] with many names'), fr. 103.3 παῖδα Κρονίδα τὰν ἰόκ[ολπ]ον ('child of the son of Kronos, the violet-breasted' [fem.]), fr. 103.4 ἰόκ[ολπ]ος, and see also fr. 164 (τὸν Ϝὸν παῖδα κάλει, 's/he calls her/his son': i.e. Aphrodite's calling of Eros?). In addition to these eight fragments, two others may also point to Aphrodite: as has often been noted, the goddess is almost certainly referred to in fr. 16 (v. 12 or vv. 13–14), cf. now, with reference to the new papyri, Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 17, West (2014) 2–3, and Obbink (ch. 1, this volume). Furthermore, in fr. 95.9 the emphatic appeal μὰ γὰρ μάκαιραν ('for in the name of the blessed one [fem.]') may refer to Aphrodite as well, since *makaira* is also the epithet she receives in an address by the poetic persona in fr. 1.13. Cf. fr. 15.1, where the same term seems to be used.

7 'Psappho', addressed by Aphrodite: fr. 1.20, fr. 65.5, fr. 133b. Cf. also a further fragment where the goddess addresses the poetic persona (without mentioning her name) together with Eros: fr. 159. On female personal names in Sappho see Schlesier (2013). On addresses to humans in her poetry see moreover Schlesier (2015), especially with regard to fr. 94, the only other

though only in two as an address.[8] Among the cult titles and epithets, 'Kytherea' is used three times (twice as an address).[9] Yet most of the time, Sappho uses for Aphrodite titles and epithets that emphasize the particularly close connection of the goddess with the island of Cyprus which was certainly one of her eldest and most important cult places in Greek antiquity: Kypris (so far attested four times, including now in the new poem) and Kyprogenea (two or three times), regularly in an address,[10] as well as 'queen (*basilea*) on Cyprus'.[11]

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fragment where Sappho is addressed by her name, this time by an (anonymous) human female who seems to have played the role of Aphrodite in the past. Elsewhere in early Greek poetry the mentioning of the author's name is very rare (the speaker never being a deity): Hes. *Theog.* 22; Alcm. fr. 39.1; Solon fr. 33.1; Thgn. 22.

8 'Aphrodite' in addresses: fr. 1.1 (in vv. 1–2 connected with four epithets: ποικιλόθρονος, ἀθανάτα, παῖϲ Δίοϲ, δολόπλοκοϲ, 'with artful coloured throne', 'immortal', 'child of Zeus', 'weaver of cunnings', in v. 4 addressed as πότνια, 'female sovereign', and in v. 13—pointing to an encounter with the goddess herself—as μάκαιρα, 'blessed' [fem.]), fr. 33.1 (connected with the epithet χρυϲοϲτέφανοϲ, 'with golden wreath'). On the prominence of gold as terminological feature in Sappho's poetry, with special regard to Aphrodite and her epic epithet χρυϲέη ('golden'), see Schlesier (2014b). On the complicated structure of fr. 1 see Schlesier (2011a). On invocations of the goddess in Sappho, in comparison with addresses of other deities: Schlesier (2011b) 16–17. The name Aphrodite also appears in fr. 73a.3, fr. 96.26, fr. 102.2, fr. 112.5, fr. 133b (connected to the epithet πολύολβοϲ, 'with much bliss'), although she is not addressed in these fragments.

9 'Kytherea' in addresses: frs. 86.3 (a prayer of the poetic persona), 140.1 (an address to the goddess by female chorus members [*korai*], in the context of the cult of Adonis); cf. fr. 90a col. ii.5–6: Κυθερήαϲ τρόφοϲ ('nurse of Kytherea'). In scholarship, this title is often interpreted as reference to the island of Cythera south of the Peloponnese, which is presented as her destination in Hesiod, *Theog.* 198 (as explanation of the title 'Kythereia'). However, Morgan (1978) suggests an etymology connected with κεύθω ('to hide', 'to conceal'), something presented as typical of the habitus of the goddess in ancient tradition. Note that Hesiod (*Theog.* 199) designates Cyprus, not Cythera, as her birth-place and calls her, accordingly, 'Kyprogenea'. See also below, n. 10. On Aphrodite and Cythera see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 217–226.

10 'Kypris', hitherto always in addresses: frs. 2.13, 5.18, 15.9, and now in the new Kypris poem, v. 2 (the title possibly also in fr. 16.12, and inc. auct. 42.7). 'Kyprogenea' in addresses: frs. 22.16, 134; cf. also fr. 44.1 (Κυπρọ[). In addition, see the address (certainly to Aphrodite) quoted by Strabo 1.2.33 (= fr. 35, transl. Campbell): 'either Cyprus or Paphos or Panormus (detains) you' (ἤ ϲε Κύπροϲ ἢ Πάφοϲ ἢ Πάνορμοϲ). Cf. Sappho test. 220 (Himerius). 'Kyprogenea' (as invocation): also in Alcaeus fr. 296b.1; cf. Alc. fr. 380 ('Kypris', however, is absent from the extant work of Alcaeus). On Aphrodite and Cyprus see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 309–369.

11 'On Cyprus queen': fr. 65.6 (Κύπρωι̣ β[α]ϲίλ[ηα). However, the gen. Κύπρω ('of Cyprus') would be a possible reading as well, see Voigt ad loc. In the context of this very mutilated

As a matter of fact, this special relationship of Aphrodite to Cyprus, as expressed in those titles, is a familiar feature of Greek literature since Homer. It is remarkable, however, that her title Kypris, being absent from the *Odyssey* and only appearing in Book 5 of the *Iliad*,[12] is not used as a distinctively local epithet. Instead, it is exclusively connected with a particular episode of the Trojan war, the wounding of the goddess by the Greek warrior Diomedes while she tries to save her mortal son, the Trojan prince Aeneas (thereafter successfully saved by Apollo) from Diomedes' attack. Strikingly, this action makes her the target of accusations by both Athena and Hera, the main divine allies of the Greeks, who slander her to Zeus; these are paralleled by accusations against Diomedes for his attack on the goddess first on the part of Apollo (to Ares) and then of Ares (to Zeus).

In this context, two elements deserve special attention: first, the fact that both male gods describe Diomedes' wounding of Kypris by an identical formulaic verse (followed by another formulaic one): Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτα σχεδὸν οὔτασε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ ('first, he had wounded Kypris close to the hand at the wrist'),[13] using an expression that often designates, in the *Iliad*, the targeting of a mortal warrior at this particularly sensitive body part, but is also associated with dancing in a chorus and becomes, beginning with the *Odyssey*, a locution for the gesture with which a man seizes a woman,[14] especially in connection with marriage. In other words, by this locution Kypris is in Homer emblematically associated with dangerous fighting and with ambivalent—painful as well as lustful—relationships between the sexes, as well as between a mortal man and a goddess. Second, Athena, alluding disparagingly to the story of

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poem on papyrus Aphrodite seems to declare her love for the poetess, addressing her by name (v. 5: Ψάπφοι, σεφίλ[) and perhaps promising her a better afterlife (v. 10: καί σ' ἐνν Ἀχέρ[οντ, 'also you on the Acheron'). On the appeal to Aphrodite in Sappho's claims to immortality for her poetic persona see Schlesier (2011b), cf. Boedeker (1979). Note that in the first poem (the so-called 'Brothers Poem') of the new papyrus, 'queen' (*basilea*) Hera (v. 10[6]) is presented as recommended addressee of a prayer, though 'queen' as cult title of the Lesbian Hera is not otherwise attested.

12 'Kypris': Hom. *Il.* 5.330, 422, 458, 760, 883. See also *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 1–2: ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης / Κύπριδος ('the works of much-golden Aphrodite / Kypris').

13 *Il.* 5.458 and 883.

14 The first instance pointing to this terminological significance of the gesture χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ is *Od.* 18.258. See later the depictions of bride and bridegroom on Attic vase paintings. Elsewhere in epic, this gesture is also connected with dancing: *Il.* 18.594 (Ariadne's chorus of girls and young men in Crete, on the shield of Achilles); cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 196 (dances of goddesses, including Aphrodite).

Helen, pretends that Kypris' wounding would rather be self-inflicted: ἦ μάλα δή τινα Κύπρις Ἀχαιϊάδων ἀνιεῖσα / Τρωσὶν ἅμα σπέσθαι, τοὺς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησε / [...] πρὸς χρυσῇ περόνῃ καταμύξατο χεῖρα ἀραιήν ('certainly Kypris indeed, sending up one of the women of Achaea / to be in company with the Trojans, whom she now exceedingly loves, / [...] had scratched her slender hand with a golden brooch').[15] Clearly, in this passage of the *Iliad* Kypris is defined by the male gods who defend her and by the goddesses who dismiss her as a fighter, although weaker than a mortal man, as well as a seducer of mortal women to transgressive sexual behavior, in each case exposing herself to grievous experiences.

In Sappho, by contrast, Aphrodite is never dismissed nor does she need to be defended. Through the title 'Kypris', in particular, she is presented, in the three fragments besides the new poem in which this title appears, as a strong ally and close partner of the poetic persona. Remarkably, in none of these does the goddess seem to be directly concerned with the erotic sufferings of the poetic persona herself, as is the case in the new Kypris poem.

In all three of the hitherto known Kypris poems (fragments 2, 5, and 15), as in the new one, the goddess is addressed; however, the invocation is not to be found at the beginning of the poem in any of these fragments. It seems to be a common feature of these poems, unlike the new Kypris song, that the invocation only appears near the end, functioning as a triumphant culmination that stresses the intimate connection between the poetic persona and the goddess. Thus in the last stanza of fragment 2, after evoking the enchanted landscape of an aphrodisiac sanctuary, Kypris is invoked (v. 13) to appear there as servant of 'nectar admixed to festive pleasures' (⟨ὀ⟩μ⟨με⟩μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ, v. 15), in a symposiastic[16] atmosphere that seems to transgress the

15 *Il*. 5.422–423 and 425. Athena's formulation in v. 423 partly repeats the one of Aphrodite in *Il*. 3.415 telling Helen that she still 'now exceedingly loves' her (νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα).

16 The symposiastic character of the last stanza of fr. 2 is clearly emphasized by the role of Kypris as cupbearer who is summoned to pour nectar into golden cups. The song does not specify, however, that persons other than the poetic persona are to be served the drink of the immortals by the goddess. Neither an audience nor human companions are addressed or even mentioned. On the connection of Sappho's poetry with the symposium and especially with the world of *hetairai* associated with it: see Schlesier (2013) and (2014a) 191–202. Cf. Yatromanolakis (2004) 69, according to whom in Sappho's fr. 2 and fr. 94 a 're-enactment of symposiastic snapshots draws on cultural discourses and imagery relating to banqueting rituals'. See also Bierl (2011b) 139. Sappho's poetry was undoubtedly performed at symposia of later periods. However, several contributors to this volume, with the exception of Bowie, deny this for Sappho's lifetime.

boundaries between mortals and immortals, although exclusively with regard to the poetic persona.

In fragment 5 (now augmented thanks to one of the new papyri),[17] Kypris, while not addressed in the beginning (as had often been assumed after its first discovery on a papyrus) is finally addressed in the last stanza (second half of v. 18): cὺ [δ]ẹ̀ Κύπ̣[ρ]ị c̣[έμ]να ('as for you, venerable Kypris').[18] Since this poem apparently points to the safe return of a brother and to his former mistakes, it seems probable that Kypris is invoked here in order to close the poem with a positive perspective. What remains unclear, however, is the reading of the next verse (v. 19): ọụκ̣ọṿ. [. . . . . .]θεμ[έν]α κάκαν. Has the goddess formerly executed something 'bad' (κάκαν, as adj. acc. fem., associated to a lost noun, or as noun acc. fem. or else gen. plur.) that is οὐκ ὄνεκτον (West: 'insupportable'), and should she now be ready to offer a reversal, granting the wish of the poetic persona (so the prevailing hypothesis about the content of v. 20, the last of the poem)? Or should the goddess 'lay off' something unpleasant (in a gesture comparable to her 'laying down the anger', while being called 'violet-breasted', in another poem)?[19]

In fragment 15, Kypris is also addressed, and likewise in the last stanza, but this time she is invoked as an ally not in support of another person, but against a woman,[20] who, according to the poetic persona, should not be allowed by the goddess to boast of being granted a further success in love.

As for the title 'Kyprogenea' in Sappho, the picture which emerges is even more elusive. Although it is possible that in fragment 22.16 the goddess is invoked rather near the end of the poem, before a stanza in which the poetic persona expresses her wishes—which ones, though, is not clear—, one cannot be sure that this stanza closes the poem. The one-verse fragment 134 possibly

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17 See Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 11 and 23–27, West (2014) 5–7, Ferrari (2014) 4–9, Obbink (ch. 1, this volume). Cf. the translation in Rayor and Lardinois (2014). On the first attestation of fr. 5 and its diverse restorations see Voigt ad loc.

18 If this restoration by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) is correct, the adjective cέμνοc would by now be a *hapax* in the extant poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus. See, however, Snell's restoration (with the epithet following the title) β̣[α]cίλ[ηα cέμ]να in Sappho fr. 65.6, compared to fr. 66c.1 μνα (Voigt ad loc.).

19 Fr. 103(4): ὄργαν θεμένα τὰν ἰόκ[ολ]πος.

20 The reading of the name Doricha, in fr. 15.11, seems sound, *pace* Lidov (2002). On this name and the identification of Doricha as a *hetaira*, lover of Sappho's brother Charaxos in ancient tradition, see Schlesier (2013) *passim*. Kypris is addressed in fr. 15.9, but since the beginning of the poem is missing, it cannot be excluded that she was already mentioned before.

consists of an address to the goddess, 'I talked with myself through a dream, Kyprogenea' (ζὰ ⟨ . ⟩ ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ Κυπρογενηα),[21] but no guess can be made about the position of this single verse in a particular poem. The incomplete word Κυπρο̣ at the beginning of the first verse of fragment 44 (of which at the end, only two other letters, ας, are preserved) does not allow to decide if this line included the title 'Kyprogenea', or if a paraphrase, like 'queen on Cyprus' (as in fragment 65.6), would be a more plausible supplement.[22]

Before considering the new Kypris poem in detail, it remains to turn to the instances where the name of Aphrodite is explicitly mentioned.[23] In contrast to the consistent use of 'Kypris' and 'Kyprogenea' in Sappho's poetry, some of the seven fragments in which the name 'Aphrodite' appears employ it in contexts that are not directly associated with the close relationship between the poetic persona and the goddess (fragments 96, 102, 112). These fragments seem rather to mention the name of the goddess in a descriptive, almost objective manner: in fragment 96.26 the very mutilated context could suggest that here Aphrodite is pouring nectar,[24] as in fragment 2. The two-verse fragment 102 consists of an address to a 'sweet mother' and explains the erotic longing (*pothos*) of a girl as provoked by Aphrodite.[25] In fragment 112, a bride (or a groom?) is addressed as particularly favored by Aphrodite.[26] A further fragment, again poorly preserved, in which the name of the goddess appears (fragment 73a.3), does not allow to decide if she is presented here as involved with the poetic persona[27] or not.

The remaining three fragments with the name 'Aphrodite' (fragments 1, 33, 133b), however, unmistakably emphasize a privileged connection with the goddess. Two of them are addresses to her, and in the third (fragment 133b) the poetic persona is addressed by name (the speaker is presumably the goddess

21 On the term διαλέγομαι (here used in tmesis), later prominent in philosophy and rhetoric, cf. Tzamali (1996) 465–466. See also ibid. in defense of the vocative Kyprogenea.

22 For metrical reasons, Kyprogenea seems less probable. A bare mention of the island of Cyprus, however, should certainly be discarded, since there would be no plausible relation to the wedding of Hector and Andromache, the topic of this fragment.

23 On the only other title of Aphrodite in Sappho, 'Kytherea', see above, n. 9.

24 Fr. 96.26–28: καὶ δ[.]μ̣[ ]ος Ἀφροδίτα / καμ̣ [ ] νέκταρ ἔχευ' ἀπὺ / χρυςίας [ ]ν̣αν ('also … Aphrodite / … poured nectar from / a golden …').

25 Fr. 102: γλύκηα μᾶτερ, οὔ τοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴςτον / πόθωι δάμειςα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν ('Sweet mother, in no way I am able to weave the web, / subdued by longing after a youth because of supple Aphrodite').

26 Fr. 112.5: τετίμακ' ἔξοχά ϲ' Ἀφροδίτα ('Aphrodite has honored you outstandingly').

27 I would assume, however, that this could actually be the case.

herself): Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν …; ('Sappho, why do you … the much-blissful Aphrodite?').[28] The address to Aphrodite in fragment 33 sounds as if it gives an answer to this question:[29] αἴθ' ἔγω, χρυσοστέφαν' Ἀφρόδιτα, / τόνδε τὸν πάλον ⟨……⟩ λαχοίην ('If only, golden-garlanded Aphrodite, I could obtain … this lot'). In my view, both these fragments create the impression that here the invoked or invoking Aphrodite is not so much concerned with a love affair, but rather with a particularly ambitious, self-reflective and religious interest on the part of the poetic persona, pointing rather to the latter's own claim to immortality and focussing above all on the goddess's belonging to the powerful Olympian gods, providing her with an eminent status as daughter of Zeus. Yet this could also be true of fragment 1,[30] in which Aphrodite is already addressed in v. 1 and in v. 20 addresses 'Sappho' in turn.

But what about lovesickness and the topic of recurrently unrequited and lost love or else of an absent beloved, themes so prominent in Sappho as also in the male lyric poets of the archaic period?[31] It is striking that such themes are not associated with Aphrodite by her male colleagues and that in her own extant work, they are less often related to the goddess than one would possibly expect. The famous fragment 31 (φαίνεταί μοι, 'He appears to me […]'), where the female 'I' is presented as a disregarded, terribly suffering lover confronted by a man and a woman erotically involved with each other, does not seem to have mentioned Aphrodite (or else Eros) whatsoever.[32] Nor

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28 This line is counted as second and last verse of fr. 133 in current editions, but it probably belongs to a different poem than fr. 133a. Note that Aphrodite receives here the epithet used in the 'Brothers poem', v. 20[16], for those humans who could hope to be turned into 'blessed' (μάκαρες) and 'much-blissful ones' (πολύολβοι) by a *daimon* (Dionysos, as suggested by Obbink?) sent by Zeus. I am not convinced by the biographical interpretation of West (2014) 9, that mere material interest in 'the family's fortunes' is at stake here. In fr. 133b, at any rate, the adjective does not have to do with wealth, but rather with religious bliss, and likewise, I would contend, in the 'Brothers poem'.

29 Though the two fragments cannot belong to the same poem, since their meters do not match.

30 As I argued, in more detail, in Schlesier (2011a) and (2011b), also with regard to the new poem on the Cologne papyrus and its scholarly discussion. See further Schlesier (2014b) 293–295.

31 See Cyrino (1995). Note that the common scholarly opinion that Sappho's poetry is to be characterized by unrequited passion for female adolescents cannot be substantiated by the extant evidence—now including the Kypris poem—, as has been argued by Parker (1993). For a criticism of Parker's arguments see Lardinois (1994).

32 I am not convinced by the speculative assumption of D'Angour (2006) 300 and (2013) 64, 70–71, that Aphrodite might have been addressed in the lost stanza(s) at the end of fr. 31.

is the goddess explicitly included when the poetic persona complains about the rejection of her love by a particular human.[33] The experience of longing for an absent beloved expressed by the term *pothos* is almost never, in Sappho's hitherto extant work, explicitly connected with the goddess (or with Eros),[34] although the fragments containing this terminology are mostly too short or too mutilated to exclude this in principle. Conversely, as in the male archaic poets, in Sappho as well it is rather Eros, not Aphrodite herself, who is declared responsible for the erotically excited physical and psychic state of the loving poetic persona.[35]

On the other hand, before the discovery of the new Kypris song a complete poem in seven Sapphic stanzas—the so-called fragment 1—was long known, having been transmitted continuously from antiquity thanks to its quotation by the rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[36] In this poem, as in the new one, lovesickness and the invocation of Aphrodite by her name as helper of the poetic persona is the central topic. However, the relationship of past and present in this song which takes the form of a prayer is a matter of debate. For sure, five stanzas of this poem, all but the first and the last, display recurrent situations in which the goddess payed attention to 'Sappho's' call, again and again coming to her aid in the state of unrequited or lost love. But these former epiphanic situations are clearly located in the past, and it does not necessarily follow that the present request of epiphany is occasioned by the same cause.[37] It seems at least possible that something much more ambitious, immortality, is at stake here, and if this is the case, it would distinguish this poem from the new Kypris song, in which the present invocation of the goddess could actually be connected with unrequited love.

33 In addresses: fr. 71.1 (Mika), fr. 131.1 Lobel and Page (Atthis). Cf. fr. 88, fr. 129a, and fr. 129b, where the gender of the (anonymous) addressees is however not clear. See also fr. 168b.

34 *Pothos*: fr. 22.11, fr. 36, fr. 48, fr. 94.23. For an exception see however fr. 102; cf. also fr. 15.11.

35 Fr. 47, fr. 130 (and possibly fr. 21.8). Cf. fr. 172 (Eros ἀλγεσίδωρος, 'giver of pains'). See, however, the glorious view of Eros (or *eros*?) in fr. 58.26 as well as the presentation of Eros as θεράπων of Aphrodite by the goddess herself in fr. 159, and as μυθόπλοκος ('weaver of tales') in fr. 188. Cf. Eros as 'coming' (ἔλθοντα) god in fr. 54. On *eros* (or Eros?) see also fr. 15.12, fr. 23.1, fr. 112.4.

36 A fragmentary Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P. Oxy. 2288) corresponds to vv. 1–21 of fr. 1.

37 For my arguments against this commonly held opinion see above, n. 30.

On the Text of the New Kypris Song

In light of the hitherto existing ample evidence for Aphrodite and her titles in Sappho's poetry summarized above, the new Kypris song is of course a most welcome supplement that deserves to be thoroughly examined, as will be attempted now. Because this poem on P. Sapph. Obbink is directly contiguous to the 'Brothers Poem' and separated from it by a mark functioning as a coronis, there is no doubt that the papyrus reproduces the first two stanzas of the 'Kypris Poem'. The text has been read and reconstructed by Obbink as follows:[38]

πῶϲ̣ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣ʼ, ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηϲι,
κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι;
    ποῖ]ον ἔχηϲθα

νῶν] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μʼ ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ην
ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γ̣όνʼ ωμε̣[
…].α.α..[..]α̣ι̣μʼ ο̣ὐ̣ π̣ρ̣ο[..].ερηϲ[
    …]νε̣ερ.[.]αι̣

Since it overlaps in part with another papyrus (P. Oxy. 1231, fr. 16),[39] two further fragmentary stanzas are to be taken as addition of the new text:

38 The text of v. 3 differs from his *editio princeps* in Obbink (2014b), where he had printed καὶ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάλ̣ι̣ν̣ κάλ̣[εϲϲαι (see also below, n. 40). Obbink (ch. 1, this volume) gives the decisive formal reasons for the new reading: καὶ is 'too short for the space' (as is ὠϲ, suggested by Ferrari), πάλ̣ι̣ν cannot be right, since θ is 'confirmed by multi-spectral imaging', and at the beginning of the last word, χ as well as κ can be read. He justifies the restorations (suggested by Lidov) of πάθ- as πάθαν with recourse to Pindar ('gen. pl. of Pindaric πάθη'), and of (χ)άλ- as χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι with recourse to the use of χαλάϲϲομεν in Alcaeus, fr. 70.10. See below for my arguments in favor of another restoration of this verse.

39 This had previously been edited as a fragment of fifteen verses (= fr. 26) by Lobel and Page (1955) and Voigt (1971), vv. 11–12 being supplemented from Apollonius Dyscolus (*Pron.* 64b) and Herodian (*On anomalous words* α 24.6). These editors had also included as vv. 2–4 a quotation from *Et. Gen.*, a choice which turned out to be erroneous in light of P. Sapph. Obbink. Thanks to another new papyrus, it is now obvious that the *Et. Gen.* quotation belongs to another fragmentary poem, counted as fr. 16a (formerly fr. 16.21–22 and 28–32) by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 5 and 9. See also Obbink (2014b) 49, West (2014) 3, and Obbink (ch. 1, this volume). The new Kypris poem overlaps with several letters and syllables of all first eight verses of P. Oxy. 1231 F16, which in turn provides parts of six more verses. Some missing letters of the Kypris poem were supplemented thanks to

9 .....]…[..] cέ, θέλω[
10 ..... τοῦ]το πάθη[ν
11 .....].αν, ἔγω δ’ ἐμ’ αὔται
12 τοῦτο cύνοιδα

13 .....].[.].τοιc[....].
14 .....]εναμ[
15 .....].[.].[

Obbink translates the three partially readable stanzas as follows:[40]

> How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
> Kypris, Queen, whomsoever one really loves,
> and not especially want respite from suffering?
> What sort of thoughts do you have
>
> to pierce me idly with shiverings
> out of desire that loosens the knees …
> … not …
> …
>
> …] you, I wish […
> …] to suffer this […
> …]. This
> I know for myself.

Clearly, the poem is incomplete. The first two verses of the fourth stanza are extremely mutilated, the last two missing—hence this stanza is not recoverable at all—, and the poem could have continued with one or more (up to three) stanzas.[41]

this previous evidence. Therefore, the following readings are secured: v. 1 ω, v. 2 ὄττινα, v. 3 πά, v. 5 ἀλεμάτ, v. 6 γονω, v. 7 μ’ οὐ πρ, and v. 8 αι.

40 Obbink (ch. 1, this volume). Cf. the text and translation of the *editio princeps*: Obbink (2014b) 49 (cf. 37–39), with his comments 45–49; there he gave the following translation of vv. 1–3: ‘How wouldn’t anyone feel anguish repeatedly, / Kypris, Queen, and especially wish to call / back, whomever one really loves?’

41 A length of seven stanzas is attested for fr. 1, the opening poem of Book 1 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. However, this is not to be considered as the standard length of songs in this book. Fr. 5, fr. 17, and possibly also fr. 16, only contain five stanzas. Six or seven stanzas

As alternatives to Obbink's reading in his *editio princeps*[42] of some parts of the new papyrus text, other suggestions have been made, especially by West and Ferrari. They offer the following conjectural versions of the first two stanzas:

The version of West:[43]

1 Πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέωϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,
2 Κύπρι δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν’, ὄττινα [μ]ὴ φίλ̣[ηϲθα
3 κῶϲ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθ̣ο̣ϲ̣ καλ̣[ύπτην
4 οὐκ] ὀνέχηϲθα

5 κνώ]δ̣αλ’ οἶϲί μ’ ἀλεμάτωϲ̣ δαΐϲδ[ηϲ;
6 μή μ’ἔ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύϲ̣αντι, γόνωμ’ ἔν̣α̣[ιρε
7 κἀκ]λ̣άπαϲδ̣’ ἄ̣μμ’· οὐ πρότερ’ ἦϲ[
8 ...]νε’ ἐρα̣[ίϲ]αι

West's translation:

> How can a woman help being regularly heartsick, my Lady, if you do not love her, and when she would most wish to conceal her passion, you do not hold back the mordacious pests with which you ravage me to no purpose? Do not, I beseech you, despoil me with raging love and devastate us. You were not previously … to me when I was in love.

The version of Ferrari:[44]

1 πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέωϲ ἄϲαιτο,
2 Κύπρι δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν’, ὄττινα [μ]ὴ φίλ[ηϲθα
3 ὦϲ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθ̣[οϲ] κάλ̣[υψαι
4 μηδ’] ὀνέχηϲθα;

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could be assumed for the 'Brothers poem' of which the last five stanzas are preserved. Therefore, the new Kypris song may have had five, six, or seven stanzas.

42 The translation in Rayor and Lardinois (2014) was based on this reading. Cf. now Rayor's new translation (in this volume) based on Obbink's new text in v. 3.

43 West (2014) 12; see also 9–12 with his textual arguments and interpretative suggestions.

44 Ferrari (2014) 13, including suggestions and translations for the third and fourth stanzas as well as an apparatus. Unlike Obbink and West, though, he does not accept an enjambement of the first stanza with the second; see furthermore 13–15 with his comments.

5 cὺν] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μ’ ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ηϲ
6 ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γόν’, ὤ⟨ι⟩μ’, ἔγ[ω [δέ
7 λαί]λ̣απ̣αϲ [φ]α̣ῖμ’ οὐ προ[τόνοιϲ] π̣ερήϲ[ην
8 ...]νε̣ερ.[.]αι

Ferrari’s translation:

> Come non si cruccerebbe più volte,
> Kypris padrona, chiunque tu non favorisci
> quando in sommo grado vuol celare la sua passione
> né lo trattieni?
>
> Fra sussulti ondosi tu vai straziandomi
> con il desiderio che, ohimé, già mi piegò le ginocchia, ma io
> credo che le raffiche non sopravanzeranno gli stralli
> se ……

Obviously, there are important divergences between these three scholars. Even when they agree on the text, the translations sometimes turn out to be quite different.

Textually speaking, West and Ferrari agree with Obbink’s *editio princeps* especially on the reading of v. 1. Concerning the rest, the disagreements affect above all the proposed supplements of letters at the end and the beginning of incomplete verses, but in some cases also the insecure reading of letters and the construction of words in the middle of verses. On the whole, there is more agreement between West and Ferrari than between the two of them and Obbink, especially concerning verses 2–4.

The textual suggestions are not least shaped by the interpretative conception of the poem, in other words, by the idea each individual scholar advocates concerning what Sappho presumably wanted to express. Yet the poem, especially the first stanza and its possible enjambement with the second stanza, conveys syntactical problems too. Remarkably, this is also the case for the preceding poem on this papyrus, the ‘Brothers Poem’, that displays instances of idiosyncratic syntactic constructions that cannot easily called into question, since the transmitted text contains almost no lacuna. While Ferrari reads vv. 1–4 of the Kypris Poem as one single interrogative sentence, West includes in it also v. 5 and, finding this long sentence—especially the intervening clause in vv. 2–3—too complicated, suggests another quite odd complication: a change of verb from third person in v. 1 to second person in v. 2 and then back to third person in v. 3 and once more back to second person in vv. 4–5 (all those changes

being also adopted by Ferrari). None of this is self-evident. In my view, the option of dividing the first six verses into two sentences (actually two questions, each with a grammatically different subject) of three verses each, the first with three third-person verbs, the second with one single second-person verb, as proposed by Obbink, is defendable for reasons I am going to develop presently.

West's and Ferrari's assumption that the first sentence consists of four or even five verses compelled them to restore the last word of v. 2 as a second-person verb (φίληcθα, 'you love', 'tu favorisci'), assuming that it addresses Kypris who is actually invoked in the beginning of this verse. From that it ensues that West and Ferrari need to introduce a negative particle, because, as they want to believe, the situation described in v. 1 is incompatible with the goddess' love for a person and rather points to the contrary. There are at least two objections to this interpretation: first, a statement saying that a loving person is NOT loved by Aphrodite would be in harsh contrast to all what we know from Sappho's poetry about her idea of love and particularly her own relationship to the goddess,[45] and is therefore highly unlikely. Even in descriptions of suffering from the most painful lovesickness, the poetic persona never criticizes Aphrodite nor concludes that she is not loved by her. All the more so since love, in Sappho as in other archaic poets, is not considered as something that excludes pain by definition, but quite the opposite. Second, the negation supplemented by West and Ferrari in v. 2 ([μ]ή, 'not', instead of [δ]ή, 'indeed'), cannot convincingly be justified as avoidance of a repetition, devaluated by West as 'inelegant' after a first δή in v. 1.[46] Much of Sappho's extant poetry indicates that, quite to the contrary, one of its significant stylistic traits is actually emphatic repetition (of particles, pronouns, adverbs, and other linguistic features), and that Sappho uses this formal device even poetologically. This is frequently connected with one of the topics she shares with her male poetic colleagues, i.e. iterative and promiscuous love, for which the emphatic term δηὖτε ('indeed again') is emblematic.[47] In fragment 1, Sappho even repeats this term thrice in close

45 See above, the first section of my paper.

46 West (2014) 10. On correlations of the emphatic particle δή ('indeed') in archaic poetry see Obbink (2014) 47. See also, as possible intertext here referred to by Sappho: Hom. *Il.* 5.422 (with a single δή), quoted above. The repetition of δή will later be inflationarily used by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (273c), when he mockingly reproduces the rhetorics of a lawcourt dialogue. Cf. Benelli (2015) agreeing with Obbink in keeping the second δή (to be followed, however, by West's and Ferrari's φίληcθα).

47 See the illuminating study by Mace (1993).

proximity.[48] If a comparable repetition by means of the doubling of δή in vv. 1 and 2 is to be found in the new Kypris poem, this would further emphasize, even on a formal level, the lasting semantic impact[49] of the adverb θαμέωϲ ('repeatedly') used in v. 1 close to the first δή.

The conviction that in accordance with conventional syntactical and rhetorical rules the subject of the first sentence changed in v. 2 constrains West and Ferrari to a further odd interpretation: they claim that Sappho must have expressed here the wish 'to hide her passion'. I think that, like myself, many other readers of Sappho will be baffled by this supposition. West writes that 'it is a commonplace of ancient literature that the lovestruck try initially to conceal their condition' and adduces as confirmation a series of quotations, starting with the *Theognidea* and Euripides' *Hippolytos* and continuing with examples from the Roman empire to the Byzantine period.[50] The trouble is that this 'commonplace' is never found in Sappho. From her poetry it is obvious that concealment of erotic passion is by no means her concern. On the contrary, she exposes it overwhelmingly and even exhibits her name 'Psappho' proudly and sarcastically as eventually defined by an erotically raving state of mind, μαινόλαι θύμωι.[51] West's and Ferrari's restoration of καλ (v. 3) as καλύπτην (West) or κάλυψαι (Ferrari), i.e. 'to hide', should therefore be discarded. Furthermore, this makes their supplement to the preceding letters, παθ (v. 3), read as πάθο̣ϲ̣ ('passion'), equally unconvincing. There is really not much in favor of this guess. West himself admits that this would be the first instance of the noun (which in fact is not attested before Aeschylus).[52] Obbink now suggests the restoration πάθα̣ν ('sufferings', gen. plur. of πάθα), associated with χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι ('to relax'), although he acknowledges that κ- and χ- are both paleographically possible.[53]

48 Fr. 1.15, 16, 18: this is part of questions in indirect discourse by which the 'Sappho' of this poem renders the enquiries Aphrodite used to address to her.

49 This impact of θαμέωϲ, as expressed in the repetition of δή, would receive even greater emphasis by the repetition of πάθην (v. 3 and v. 10), and by κὠϲ (v. 3) echoing πῶϲ (v. 1). See below, nn. 61 and 78.

50 West (2014) 10. Cf. Ferrari (2014) 14.

51 Fr. 1.18—in response to Archilochus' disparaging presentation of a (heterosexually) sex-obsessed female as μαινόλιϲ γυνή, 'mad woman', in fr. 196a.30? See also the concise remark on Sappho by O'Higgins (2003) 87, in her pertinent chapter about 'Women's iambic voices': 'There was something in her style and subject matter that drew her into the orbit of Archilochus and the others.'

52 Cf. Benelli (2015) who accepts West's πάθοϲ καλύπτην. On πάθοϲ in Aeschylus see Schlesier (2009) 86–90. Cf. also the fem. noun πάθα first attested in Pindar, e.g. *Ol.* 6.38.

53 For Obbink's arguments justifying his new restoration see n. 38 above. However, another restoration would equally be possible. My arguments in favor of πάθην κάλ[εϲϲαι (πάθην

As a result, there would be no compelling reason to deny the possibility that the first sentence ends with v. 3 and is governed only by third-person verb forms. It comes as a surprise that this sentence is interrupted in v. 2 by the invocation of Kypris as 'mistress' (δέϲποινα). As a matter of fact, such a combination of an aphoristic utterance with an address is a typical feature in iambic and elegiac poetry (as attested in Archilochus and the *Theognidea*), but is never combined with an address to a deity.[54] Against this background, it is striking that in Sappho's new Kypris poem, an authoritative statement is conveyed to the goddess in the same way as male archaic poets convey such statements to their human companions. Moreover, if Obbink's restoration is correct, the vocative Κύπρι is followed by δέϲποινα, unheard-of before in ancient tradition as a divine epithet.[55] According to Obbink's reading, the goddess is then addressed by a second-person verb only in v. 4 (ἔχηϲθα, 'you have'), the beginning of a second sentence, continuing until v. 6. If this corresponds to what Sappho has composed, it really is a bold poetic maneuver of cross-over, formally linked

instead of Obbink's πάθα̣ν, and κάλ̣[εϲϲαι as in his *editio princeps*) are developed below (with nn. 60–61). I do not see why West (2014) 10 considered πάθηγν as too long for the space on the papyrus.

54 Gnomic statement plus vocative: in Archilochus, fr. 13, fr. 14, and fr. 15 (the addressees are presented as male companions of the poetic persona, Pericles, Aesimides, and Glaucus). See also often in the *Theognidea*, e.g. 77–78 and 1353–1356, and with vocative at the beginning of the second line of the statement, as in Sappho's new Kypris song, and no second person singular in the sentence: 117–118, 119–120, 329–330, 1219–1220 (the addressee is Cyrnus). To my knowledge, before Sappho the only instance of an apostrophe of a deity combined with an aphoristic statement is to be found in Hom. *Il.* 17.19–21, although the direct addressee of the speaker Menelaus is not Zeus, here invoked by a vocative, but the Trojan warrior Euphorbus.

55 Never before Sappho is *despoina* attested as an epithet for Aphrodite or for that matter for any goddess (Obbink [2014b] 47, West [2014] 10). See also the address to Hermes in Sappho, fr. 95.8: ὦ δέϲποτ' (first attestation as title of a male deity). In Homer, *despoina* typically specifies powerful queens. On the hitherto existing evidence for this epithet, also used as name, see Henrichs (1976) adducing on p. 263 Anacreon fr. 348.2–3 as first evidence of the term for a goddess so far (here applied to Artemis as 'mistress of wild beasts', ἀγρίων δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν). Aphrodite, addressed as δέϲποινα Κύπρι, is associated with illicit erotic practices in Eur. *Hipp.* 415 and with the promiscuous sex of prostitutes (who designate young men e.g. as ἀπφάρια, 'little brothers') in middle comedy (Xenarchus, fr. 4.21, with v. 15). In epic, Kypris never occurs with an epithet, and the epic epithets used for Aphrodite regularly precede the name of the goddess (see Boedeker [1973] 20 and 22–25) and do not follow it. For an exception see *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 1–2 (above, n. 12): Kypris following the name Aphrodite. Cf. also above, n. 18, and Sappho's fr. 1.1–2 where Aphrodite is not only preceded by two epithets, but also followed by two others.

up with an enjambement between the first and the second stanza (vv. 4–5): in a sophisticated manner, an emphatic postponement of the goddess' decisive reasoning and behavior takes place that creates a brief suspense while Kypris, the divine subject of the second-person verb, has been anticipated and nominally revealed already two verses before, by a vocative intervening in v. 2, in the form of the most ancient title of the goddess connected with an epithet that would stress her human-like and human-related rulership.

Thus the first sentence turns out to function as a general gnomic utterance that is imparted to the goddess as being true for every human in corresponding situations and therefore skillfully cast as a "rhetorical" question,[56] but not a '*cri du cœur*',[57] as Ferrari assumes. Moreover, this analytical statement is far from being restricted to 'a woman', as West presupposes in his translation. Sappho, at least, had felt no need to gender the indefinite personal pronoun τιϲ[58] ('someone') in v. 1 (the unchanged subject, in Obbink's reading, of the sentence until its end in v. 3). But the acceptance of the gnomic value of this sentence, for human females and males alike, is perhaps mainly impeded by a refusal to take the third-person verb at the end of v. 1, ἄϲαιτο, more seriously, although Ferrari has rightly stressed the consistent connection of such a term with nausea in Sappho.[59] Accordingly, Sappho is not talking of a person who is 'regularly heartsick', as West has it, or 'hurt and hurt again', as Obbink suggests, but 'frequently disgusted'—and against this background, the question "by what?" cannot be avoided. The reason cannot be just love or else being heartsick.

56 Such a question in which, as happens here with the οὐ in v. 1, the negation is abolished by the implied affirmative answer, became, in the wake of ancient Greek tradition, one of the major persuasive and ironical devices of rhetoric and philosophy.

57 Ferrari (2014) 13.

58 In a comparable way, Sappho does not gender the same indefinite personal pronoun in fr. 1.18 and 19 either. For the impact of this deliberate practice on the message of this poem, therefore not pointing to exclusively female lovers of the poetic persona in the past, see Schlesier (2011a) 421–423.

59 Ferrari (2014) 13 also refers to other instances in Sappho's poetry of the *asa*-terminology (fr. 1.3, fr. 3.7), to which fr. 91 and fr. 103(8), and possibly fr. 68a.4, should be added, as noted by Obbink (2014b) 46–47—although he interprets ἄϲαιτο as a reference to 'heartache and anguish' (with Page on fr. 1). In my view, however, such a mostly psychic meaning is far from certain (as is 'vertigo', suggested by Boehringer and Calame, in this volume). For the heavy physical implication of this terminology (pointing to surfeit and oversaturation in every respect) in Sappho as in the medical writers, see with regard to fr. 1 Schlesier (2011a) 424. The caustic *asa*-terminology is repeatedly used by Alcaeus as well (perhaps also in Archilochus, fr. 127).

My tentative answer would take into account that here, a physical nausea seems to be issued not from physical surfeit, like too much drinking, eating, or sex, but apparently from a psychic impulse, the will to πάθηṿ ḳάλ̣εccαι (v. 3), that is to 'call'[60] to the 'experience'[61] (of love) the person who is loved. By this token, a retrospective explanation is given why the τιc, in v. 1, is 'frequently disgusted'. The wish to receive a 'respite from suffering' (πάθαṿ χ̣άλ̣[αccαι, Obbink), however, would not explain why the τιc is not just upset because of its unreciprocated love, but, more specifically, disgusted. The disgust, I am arguing, is issued from his own heavy urge (θέλοι μάλιcτα) to 'call' (κάλεccαι) the beloved—or more precisely: 'whomsoever (ὄττινα, v. 2)[62] is loved'—to respond to the love, that is 'to experience' (πάθην) the same as the lover, for good or bad. Thus the lover is not only exposed to unreciprocated love, but is also, or even especially, disgusted because of his own reaction to such a situation. In other words: the lover is not already disgusted by the beloved's rejection, but by his own (the lover's) overwhelming psychic drive to react to it (by calling the beloved). Clearly, the unspecified experience to which the beloved is to be called can only be love. On that reading, this is it what Sappho, in a rather objective, almost

60 As a matter of fact, κάλ̣[εccαι was Obbink's first reading, and he does not exclude this reading even now. The verb is often used with a dependent infinitive ('to call someone to do something') since Homer, e.g. *Il.* 10.197, Soph. *El.* 996, *Phil.* 466. Here in Sappho, it would be an infinitive from which another infinitive (πάθην) seems to depend. A comparable, even more complicated idiosyncratic feature is to be found in the 'Brothers poem', vv. 8–13 [4–9] (six interconnected infinitives on three syntactical levels).

61 The verb πάcχω is used also in two further poems of Sappho, and the infinitive πάθην (re)appears later in the Kypris song (v. 10, cf. below, n. 83). In Sappho, the verb typically points to (erotic) experience, cf. West (2014) 10 (fr. 1.15: ὄττι δηὖτε πέπονθα, fr. 94.11: κάλ' ἐπάcχομεν). In fr. 94 the verb is used twice (already in fr. 94.4), as presumably in the Kypris song. It should be kept in mind that repetitions are one of Sappho's preferred stylistic devices. On repetitions (and other rhetorical features) in fr. 94 see Schlesier (2015). On the syntax of the Kypris poem's vv. 1–3 see below, n. 74.

62 This relative, the object of the (implicit) subject τιc in v. 2, is not gendered either. Sappho stresses here its generalizing value, as she does frequently elsewhere, especially in authoritative statements, for instance in fr. 16.3–4 (there as well, though in neuter form, depending on the non-gendered personal pronoun τιc). See also fr. 31.2, where it is applied to a man, 'whosoever' (ὄττιc) sits vis-à-vis a particular seductive woman. See moreover the same relative (though as the I's object, in generic plural) ὄττινας γὰρ εὖ θέω, κῆνοί με μάλιcτα πάντων cίνονται, 'for whomsoever I treat well, those harm me most of all' (previously considered as belonging to fr. 26, as its vv. 11–12, but now disclosed as part of fr. 16a, see above, n. 39). With the supplement from a new papyrus, it reads henceforth: cίν[ν]οντ' ἐξ ἀδοκήτω ('harm unexpectedly'), cf. Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 18.

clinical report[63] sketched in vv. 1–3, is reminding her addressee Kypris, against the background of an appeal to the undeniable experimental evidence of an anthropologically informed diagnosis.

Yet this would not of course be the last word—at any rate, it stands right at the beginning of the poem. But is the poetic persona asking Kypris for a delivery from erotic assault, as West and Ferrari prefer to believe? Assuming this means being led by the imagination of a Sappho who emulates, *avant la lettre*, Euripides' Phaedra, a presumption that cannot be supported by anything in Sappho's extant work. And I doubt that the poet would have looked for a dissonant term designating beastly creatures (κνώδαλα), as West fancies, when she wanted to provide her raving love with an appropriate sound and shape. At any rate, one would not find in the rest of Sappho's transmitted corpus any evidence for the wish NOT to be exposed to such violent love or else to conceal it, nor for the idea that the goddess Aphrodite could be persuaded to hold it back from her, as if it were perpetrated by a bunch of ugly beasts.[64]

With the second question, when starting in v. 4,[65] the poetic persona rather breaks cover (which is not to be confused with a frustrated wish of concealment). Only now does she introduce herself explicitly, if only in the most minimalistic form of one single letter, with a generic first-person pronoun (μ᾽ε, acc. with elision, v. 5), and she describes graphically her own state as object of lovesickness: in v. 5 first in terms of a large-scale natural, almost cosmic, phenomenon, as if it were an earth-quake or a seaquake[66] (*editio princeps*: ϲάλοιϲι, 'shiverings', or 'tossings', accepted by Ferrari), and then, produced by it, as a rending of the body (δαΐϲδην), like in a dionysiac *sparagmos*, before returning in v. 6 to the image of knees loosened by desire (*editio princeps*: ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γόν') or *eros*. This latter image displays an almost proverbial expression familiar from much archaic poetry, including Sappho's, that distinctively marks sexual arousal of males and females alike. Ferrari accepts this reading, but feels obliged in addition to impute to Sappho a tragedy- or opera-like regret

63 This report seems to be expressed in an ironical, if not an iambic manner. It could be compared with the one in fr. 31, in which O'Higgins (2003) 97 and 207, with reference to Aloni (2001) 31, aptly detected self-conscious irony.

64 In ancient tradition, however, not only Aphrodite herself, but likewise her servants and attendants are always beautiful.

65 In this case, it would be structured as anacoluthon that mimics natural speech.

66 For a similar conception of love, cf. Sappho's comparison of Eros with a tempest on the mountains in fr. 47. See also Ferrari (2014) 13–15 who thinks that v. 7 of the Kypris poem, as its v. 5, may use seafaring metaphors for the raging love (which in any case is a central topic of the second stanza).

that this is happening to her (his conjecture is ὤιμ', 'ohimé', 'alas'), something that, I am afraid, cannot be conceived of on the basis of what we know of Sappho's poetry. The central importance of the adverb emphatically located in the middle of v. 5, ἀλεμάτως ('in vain'), is then left unappreciated in Ferrari's translation, where it is simply omitted, while in West's translation it is associated with Kypris' putative sending of phantom-like monsters who ravage the speaking I 'to no purpose'.

However, with the supplements adopted by Obbink for the beginning of the two first verses of the second interrogative sentence (v. 4: ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα, 'what do you have', linking up with the next word, v. 5: νῶν], 'thought'),[67] the poetic persona is not begging of Kypris that she may NOT be in love, as West and Ferrari presuppose, but rather is asking the goddess a serious question about the rationale behind her actions towards her. Here the meaning 'in vain' (rather than 'idly', as in Obbink's or Rayor/Lardinois's translation)[68] is essential and even provides retrospectively the objective statement in the first sentence with an additional subjective clue. For when would the 'tearing apart' and the 'shakings' or 'wavy tossings' by means of erotic desire that Kypris dispenses be 'in vain' for the lovestruck I? Only if the beloved is not granted the same by the goddess, which explains why the lover would most of all want to call the beloved to the experience of love. By this token, a third question seems to be implied: "Why don't you, Kypris, transmit an erotic rage such as that targeted at me on the beloved, too?" Since in that case, the erotic rage of the 'I' would evidently not be 'in vain', but could eventually lead to gratification. In other words, what is at stake here is less an urge to relax from suffering, as Obbink argues (with the help of his restoration πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣ά̣λ̣[αccαι), but rather the will of the lover that the beloved too turn into a lover rather than remain only a beloved. Hence, in that case, the reason for the lover to be disgusted would disappear.

If this reading is correct, the first six verses of this poem then display a sort of abbreviated love theory, a poetical analysis of the preconditions both for

67 Both supplements suggested by Bowie (*apud* Obbink [2014b] 48, cf. [ν]ῶν ἔχοιcα: Sappho, fr. 96.2). Obbink ibid. also refers to another restoration proposed by L.A. Holford-Strevens: πῶc] ὀνέχηcθα ('how do you keep on').

68 After rendering ἀλεμάτως by 'in vain', Obbink (2014b) 48 finally discards it, since he presupposes, erroneously in my view, that this would make the goddess 'not responsible'. I would argue, however, that the opposite is true (for Kypris' presentation in this poem, the notion of "irresponsibility" offers a better fit). By contrast, the speaking human is defined by responsibility of thoughts, formulated first as a rhetorical question, and second as a straightforward one, both communicated to the goddess.

the unhappy, because not-reciprocated, love of a lover and for its opposite, shared enthusiastic satisfaction in love.[69] Leaving aside the very mutilated verses 7–8, which are only conjecturally recoverable,[70] the words preserved in the third stanza (vv. 9–12) seem to confirm that, after the analytical miniature formulated in two three-verse questions, Sappho finally advances even more explicitly in the same direction: that is, an intellectual self-reflection[71] about love—deliberately communicated to the goddess by the poetic persona as in an intimate conversation between almost equal partners, without any religious awe—, in accordance with a compositorial structure one finds in others of her songs as well, as has often been noted in scholarship.

As a result of this discussion, I would provisionally suggest the following translation,[72] based mainly[73] on the text of the *editio princeps* whose readings, I think, could be vindicated:[74]

69 If this is what is at stake here, it would invalidate psychological assumptions about Sappho as a person whose biography could be reconstructed with the help of her poems. Therefore I doubt that the Kypris poem may directly document 'the poet's own feelings', as Obbink (2014b) 34 asserts.

70 Just one remark on them: Tsantsanoglou (*apud* Obbink [2014b] 48) has suggested the reading [φ]αῖμ', 'I would say', in v. 7, adopted by Ferrari (2014) 13–14, who thinks that it was preceeded in v. 6 by an equally emphatic ἔγω (see however below, n. 102). This would certainly correspond to the feature of an authoritative speech gesture, something to be found repeatedly elsewhere in Sappho (cf. especially fr. 16.3–4, and the Cologne papyrus with the 'Tithonos poem' on old age), a gesture that at any rate dominates the following third stanza. For further suggestions on the second stanza see Obbink's apparatus (ch. 1, this volume).

71 Vv. 11–12: ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται / τοῦτο cύνοιδα ('but I for myself [fem.], / I as well know this').

72 My translation aims to be no more than a line by line literal version, respecting, insofar as possible, the original word-order.

73 The most important divergence from Obbink's new text (see above, and Obbink, ch. 1, this volume) is my restoration in v. 3 of πάθ- as πάθῃν, not as πάθα̣ν. For the same verse, in addition, I keep κάλ̣[εccαι (as in Obbink's *editio princeps*) instead of the new restoration χ̣άλ̣[αccαι, and I adopt West's κὤc instead of the new supplement κωὐ. See also nn. 38 and 60–61 above, with nn. 74 and 78 below.

74 As for the first three verses, I take them (with Obbink) as a complete sentence (a question). The meaning of these verses, however, depends heavily on the restoration of the end of v. 2 and the beginning and end of v. 3. The reading of v. 1 and the beginning of v. 2 is not a matter of debate: πῶϲ̣ κε δή τιc οὐ θαμέωϲ̣ ἄcαιτ̣ο (v. 1), main clause with third-person subject τιc, Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣' (first part of v. 2), inserted address of the goddess. For the rest of the sentence, the syntactical construction is complex and has been differently interpreted by scholars. A special crux is the relative clause following the address (second part of v. 2). Its relationship with the main clause in v. 1 and with the supplementary

πῶϲ κε δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣’, ὄττινα [δ]ή̣ φίλ̣[ηϲι,
κὢϲ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθην̣ κ̣άλ̣[εϲϲαι;
    ποῖ]ον ἔχηϲθα

νῶν] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μ’ ἀλεμάτω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[ην
ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γόν’ ωμε̣[
...].α.α..[..]α̣ι̣μ’ οὐ προ[..].ερηϲ[
    ...]ν̣ε̣ερ.[.]αι

.....]...[..] ϲέ, θέλω[
..... τοῦ]το πάθη[ν
.....].αν, ἔγω δ’ ἐμ’ αὔται
τοῦτο ϲύνοιδα

.....].[.].τοιϲ[....].
.....]εναμ[
.....].[.].[

clause in v. 3 is problematic. West tries to remove the problem by means of a restoration (ὄττινα [μ]ή̣ φίλ̣[ηϲθα), while understanding the relative clause as conditional (‘if [...]’) and in continuation of the address. For semantical reasons, however, both the subject of the relative clause taken as second-person verb form and its negation are improbable, as are his and Ferrari’s subsequent restorations of v. 3 (see my arguments developed above). In my view, Obbink’s restoration ὄττινα [δ]ή̣ φίλ̣[ηϲι (*ed. princeps*: ὄττινα [δ]ή̣ φ̣ι̣λ̣[είη), with τιϲ as the implied indefinite subject, is preferable. In this case, ὄττινα would refer to a suppressed antecedent implied in the main clause. As for v. 3, Obbink’s new restoration (κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι), however, seems not imperative (cf. n. 38 above). My alternative suggestion would be κὢϲ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθην̣ κάλ̣[εϲϲαι. For the crasis κὢϲ as alternative to Obbink’s supplement κωὐ see below, n. 78. For the restorations πάθην and κάλεϲϲαι as alternatives to Obbink’s πάθα̣ν̣ and χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι see nn. 60–61 above. At any rate, τιϲ functions here (again) as the implied indefinite subject. Moreover, ὄττινα, the object of φίληϲι in the relative clause, could maintain an impact on the following supplementary clause—as implied object of κάλεϲϲαι and subject of πάθην—, but a repetition of this indefinite (like the one of τιϲ) would be omitted (cf. Smyth [1984] §1980). For πάϲχω used absolutely cf. Hes. *Op.* 218. Note that in my reading of vv. 1–3, the effect—ἄϲαιτο—is expressed before the cause, whereas in Obbink’s reading, the cause precedes the effect. On his questionable new identification of the verb in the main clause see below, n. 75.

How would one indeed not be frequently disgusted,[75]
Kypris, mistress,[76] at whomsoever one loves indeed,[77]
even when[78] one would most want[79] to call to experience?[80]
What do you have

in mind, to tear me apart[81] in vain with shiverings
by desire loosening the knees? …

75 Not ‘feel anguish’, as in Obbink’s first translation (the verb is ἀcάω), or ‘be hurt’, as in his new one (taking now homeric ἀάω as the verb, which is improbable). See above, n. 59.

76 I would prefer the translation ‘mistress’ to ‘Lady’ (West, who however omits Kypris) or ‘Queen’ (Obbink and Rayor/Lardinois [2014]). The term should be distinguished, I think, from *basilea* (‘queen’) used in the ‘Brothers poem’, v. 10 [6], for Hera, and in Sappho fr. 65.6 for Aphrodite, as ‘queen on Cyprus’ (cf. above, n. 11).

77 Obbink translates only the second δή in v. 2 (‘really’). I think it is preferable to acknowledge the double δή and to translate it both in v. 1 and v. 2 as ‘indeed’. Cf. above, n. 46.

78 For the missing long syllable at the beginning of v. 3, Obbink now supplies (following a suggestion of Prodi) κωὐ (‘and not’), replacing the καὶ of the *editio princeps* (cf. καὶ Benelli [2015], that would also be too short). However, an alternative supplement is κὼc (= καὶ ὠc, ‘and when’), suggested by West (2014) 10, which I am adopting. Like κωὐ, it is long enough for the space, but does not introduce a further, not necessary, negation. In addition, it seems to be syntactically and semantically—and musically, as an echo of πῶc—preferable. Concerning the specific semantic value of κὼc as it could have been used in this poem, I am arguing that in Sappho, the particle καί is typically not used as a conjunction (‘and’), but almost ever as an emphatic adverb (‘also’), and that here, it would give ὠc (‘when’) a further emphasis (‘even’, ‘actually’). Instead of κὼc, another possible supplement is perhaps the conjunction θᾶc (Aeol. = ἕωc, ‘while’, attested in Alc. fr. 70.8 and fr. 206.6), giving the supplementary clause a temporal function implying purpose.

79 Obbink (2014b), West (2014), and Rayor and Lardinois (2014) translate θέλοι (v. 3) as ‘wish(es)’. In my view, the post-homeric word θέλω (and also ἐθέλω) in Sappho conveys rather the meaning ‘I am willing to’, ‘I want’, in distinction from the verbs she uses elsewhere for ‘to wish’ or ‘to pray’ (as e.g. ἄραμαι in fr. 22.17). Rayor and Obbink (ch. 1, this volume) now adopt ‘want’ for v. 3, but, inconsistently, not for v. 9.

80 Obbink (ch. 1, this volume) translates his restoration πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[αccαι by ‘respite from suffering’. See my arguments above (with nn. 60–61) for the alternative restoration πάθη̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[εccαι. With this restoration, the sense of v. 3 would be: ‘even when one would most want to call upon (that person) to experience (love)’. See also above, nn. 74–75.

81 For the infinitive depending on ἔχηcθα, δαΐcδην (not second person δαΐcδηc, as West and Ferrari have it), Obbink’s ‘to pierce’ fits less well the image of the cάλοι (‘shiverings’ [Obbink], ‘tossing motions’) that rather provoke a ‘tearing apart’. Cf. ‘to rend’ in Rayor and Lardinois (2014).

7 … not …
8 …

9 … you,[82] I want …
10 … to experience[83] this …
11 … but I for myself,
12 I as well know[84] this.

What is New and not New in the New Kypris Song?

As it were, the Kypris poem puts topics and features on display that are familiar from Sappho's hitherto extant poetry, though they are introduced to a different scenario, and new features can be detected here, too.[85]

To conclude this investigation, some special observations concerning the poem's terminology should be added: even in its poor state of preservation the fragment displays repetitions or variations with respect to vocabulary and stylistic patterns also to be found in other fragments.[86] Among terms frequent in Sappho, the verb φιλέω (Aeol. φίλημμι, 'to love'), particularly conspicuous in her poetry,[87] announces the central theme of this song; yet it does so with a

82 'You' = Kypris who seems to remain the addressee (from v. 2 on) in the potential dialogue implicated in the interrogative and reflective monologue of the poetic persona evolving in this poem.

83 Another translation of πάθην would be 'to suffer', as Obbink and Rayor and Lardinois (2014) have it, as well as Ferrari ('soffrire'). However I am arguing that πάθην in v. 10 repeats the same infinitive in v. 3 and should be translated, in both instances, by 'to experience', 'to be affected' (see above, n. 61).

84 Sappho seems to be the earliest witness for the discursive intellectual term ϲύνοιδα ('to know something about someone', 'to share the knowledge about something with somebody'), that will become so prominent in Attic tragedy, oratory, and philosophy beginning with Plato, as well as in Christian theology. In the Kypris song, the goddess herself, in particular, would be the one with whom the poetic persona shares a knowledge (specifically about the vicissitudes of love).

85 This results from the evidence outlined in the first two sections of this paper.

86 Some of the terminological correspondences in fragments already known (among them also θαμέωϲ and γόνα in the 'Tithonos poem' from a Cologne papyrus published in 2004) are noted by Obbink (2014b) 46–49. Terms that are not previously attested in Sappho (or in Alcaeus) would include, in v. 5, ϲάλοι and δαΐϲδην (according to Obbink's readings). Cf., however, ϲάλ[in Alcaeus, fr. 73.2.

87 It is documented in eight fragments: frs. 1.23, 58.25, 59.2, 65.5, 67a.4, 88.15 and 24, 129b,

slight suspense, only at the end of v. 2—appropriately though indirectly referring to the invocation[88] of Kypris[89] at the beginning of this verse.[90] If Obbink's supplement is correct, the verb is used in the third-person singular, φιλείη or φίληιϲι,[91] that fits the general statement opening the poem, and not, with a

possibly also fr. 7.6. In the extant evidence, the verb ἔραμαι ('to love or desire passionately') is attested much less often: fr. 16.4, fr. 49.1 (West [2014] 12 thinks that it could have appeared in the Kypris poem's v. 8).

88 This invocation, however, yields no compelling argument for the reading of the second-person verb form φίληϲθα, as West and Ferrari assume (see above), nor a need for its negation by μή, as if for Sappho, the goddess of love could, or should, not love someone who is in love, whether a painful or a happy one.

89 As has been shown in the first section of this paper, at all three other instances in Sappho (frs. 2, 5, and 15) in which Kypris is addressed, the invocation is never placed in the opening verse but rather at the end (cf. also Kyprogenea, in fr. 22.16). Remarkably, the Kypris song also does not immediately start with an invocation of the goddess (as notably the one of Aphrodite in fr. 1.1). But even here, where Kypris is invoked relatively early, in v. 2, this functions as a *coup de théâtre*, since as an address to a deity, it comes completely unexpectedly after the gnomic mood—elsewhere in archaic poetry typically addressed to human partners—of the rhetorical question starting in v. 1. See also above, n. 54.

90 The convoluted syntax (see above, n. 74) of the first sentence doubtlessly deserves special attention: it begins with a third-person verb and then encapsulates the address to Kypris, but, after that (according to the editor's reading) continues until its end, again with two other third-person verbs sharing with the first the common subject τιϲ, as if the address had not happened. One could argue that this represents, on a formal linguistic level, the perplexing mixture between a gnomic utterance and an invocation of a goddess. Conversely, West's and Ferrari's insertion of a second-person verb at the end of v. 2 (see above), pointing to Kypris invoked at its beginning, mitigates the shocking effect of the vocative 'Kypris *despoina*'. On this vocative, and its peculiar combination of title and epithet, in connection with a gnomic statement, see above, nn. 54, 55, and 89.

91 In his new text, Obbink (ch. 1, this volume) replaced the optative φιλείη as restoration of φιλ- by the indicative pres. φίληιϲι (my suggestion in personal communication, with reference to Kühner and Gerth [1898] 258 about relative clauses not assimilated to the optative of the principal clause, when the 'Vorstellungskreise' differ). Cf. the third-person indicative φίληϲε used for Kypris in Hom. *Il.* 5.423, in a passage (quoted in the first section of my paper) where several terminological and stylistic correspondences to the new Kypris song are to be found (see also above, n. 46). Note that in fr. 1.23, φίλει (and fut. φιλήσει) is used, likewise as part of a general statement (but there uttered by Aphrodite). In v. 2 of the Kypris poem, φιλείη links up (as would φίληιϲι) with the equally third-person verb ἄϲαιτο used in v. 1—issuing to the sharp semantic contrast between being disgusted and being in love (comparably expressed in fr. 1), a stylistic feature notorious from iambics, particularly Archilochus. See also above, nn. 51, 54, 59, 63, and below, n. 99.

negation, in the second person singular, as has been suggested by West and Ferrari. The gnomic flavor, first indicated by the indefinite personal pronoun τιϲ (v. 1), being the subject of the relative clause as well, is stressed by the relative pronoun ὄττινα ('whomsoever'), its object (v. 2). This generic relative also is quite conspicuous in Sappho,[92] where it regularly points to analytical generalizations deliberately advanced by the forceful authoritative voice of the poetic persona about a typically human recurrent situation in which she herself may be included. In neuter form, the relative serves even Sappho's bold claim of an all-encompassing theory about love and beauty in her famous priamel:[93] κάλλιϲτον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄττω τιϲ ἔραται ('as for me, the most beautiful is that whatsoever one loves').

Correspondingly, these items of vocabulary in the first two verses of the Kypris poem already indicate that a gnomic reflection of general applicability is developing here, and not just a particular experience restricted to women or else to the historical person of Sappho herself. This stance is further pursued in the following verse, where two other especially emphatic terms appear, equally frequent in other poems of Sappho: θέλοι μάλιϲτα[94] ('one would want most of all'). She typically uses a combination of these two terms to designate the declared prerogative of the poetic persona,[95] but here they are adapted to the generalizing aim of the statement to which they belong. The same is true for the dependent infinitive κάλεϲϲαι (Obbink's restoration in the *editio princeps*), 'to call', a verb by which Sappho elsewhere describes the conjuring, by the poetic voice, of something or someone missed and meant to show up, not least an object of love urged to reciprocate.[96]

Strikingly, all this vocabulary, together with the particularly loaded physical semantics conveyed by terms for surfeit or the disgust ensuing from it, as well

92 Examples for the relative ὄττιϲ in Sappho: above, n. 62. Cf. the neuter used thrice: ὄττι [...] κὤττι, fr. 1.15, κὤττι, fr. 1.17. See also, for the indefinite personal pronoun τιϲ in fr. 1.18 and 19: above, n. 58.

93 Fr. 16.3–4.

94 Kypris poem, v. 3: again, τιϲ would be the subject of a further verb in the optative, θέλοι. Note that the verb is repeated, in first-person present, in v. 9 (θέλω).

95 E.g. fr. 1.17, combining the two terms analogously to the wording of the new poem: μάλιϲτα θέλω.

96 See e.g. fr. 60.4, and especially fr. 1.15–16: κὤττι / δηὖτε κάλημμι ('whatever I call indeed again'). Note also the combination of the relative and the particle. I am arguing that this particular emphasis on and connotation of the verb in Sappho's poetry makes the reading κάλ̣[εϲϲαι in v. 3 of the new Kypris song more probable than χ̣άλ̣[αϲϲαι, Obbink's new restoration (ch. 1, this volume).

as for desire and the corresponding 'loosening' (or 'maddening'),[97] also occur in the famous so-called 'Hymn to Aphrodite' (fragment 1), where such a terminology is equally part of an intimate communication with the goddess. But there, it is the Olympian Aphrodite herself who pronounces a general statement about the discomforting vicissitudes of love.[98] Yet the poetic persona—although she enters in a face-to-face dialogue with the goddess (the 'fellow-fighter'[99] she again calls upon at the end) as if she were an epic hero or heroine, and imagines herself as almost her equal—is left with her mortal suffering in the present and to some extent in the past, though with hopes for the future, perhaps even for a superhuman *telos* in a blissful afterlife.[100] The 'Kypris Poem' is no less dramatically structured and coherent, but here, conversely, it is the suffering human who is in charge of gnomic thinking, and not the divine addressee, the all-too-anthropomorphic epic Kypris, the goddess who may be a cultic protector of seafaring, but in any case has the tendency, in ancient Greek cultural imagination, to lead women, or else men, to unrestricted sexual behavior, in her quality as a powerful *despoina* marked by irresponsible thoughts and unmitigated arbitrariness of action.

As far as we can judge from the mutilated residues of the text, what seems to dominate here is actually less the goddess but rather something specifically human:[101] the need to analyse and reflect on what happens if one is exposed to love and to its capricious and deceptive goddess who did not (or no longer) simultaneously expose to love whomever one loves. In fact, this accounts for every human, female and male alike. And this could explain why among the mortals in this song, at least in its extant parts, neither the indefinite third-person agent with whom it starts is gendered, nor the elusive love object that

97 Nausea: here v. 1, cf. fr. 1.3; desire: here (possibly) v. 6, cf. fr. 1.27; loosening: here (possibly) v. 6 (λύ{ι}σαντι), cf. fr. 1.25. See also West (2014) 11 who suggests the alternative reading λύσσαντι ('maddening').

98 Articulated in the penultimate stanza, fr. 1.21–24, which is, surprisingly enough, often interpreted in scholarship as a consolation for the suffering lover (but note the conspicuous absence of personal pronouns there, a fact rarely respected in translations and interpretations).

99 Fr. 1.28: σύμμαχος, a noun attested before Sappho only in Archilochus, fr. 108.1 (for Hephaestus, invoked as 'fellow-fighter' of the male poet in his capacity as warrior).

100 See above, n. 11.

101 In this respect, there are some analogies with another famous poem, equally about unrequited love, but especially describing the physical effects of this painful experience, fr. 31, where, however, the goddess of love is absent (*pace* D'Angour [2006] and [2013], see above, n. 32), as is, strikingly, any explicit word terminologically pointing to love.

subsequently emerges in his wake, but exclusively the I of the poetic persona, whose stubborn will, declared in front of the goddess,[102] ultimately takes over.

Thus the Kypris song seems to deploy a poetical theory of love *en miniature*. This is conveyed by means of a conversational gesture, in the manner of gnomic statements in iambic or elegiac poetry, however not addressed to a human companion, but to the goddess of love, who is disclosed as addressee in the second verse, making it clear that in love affairs she always lurks in the background and sometimes, at least for her favorites, also in the foreground. From an almost clinical report based on general experience and individual expertise, a reflection evolves about what it means to love whilst not being loved. This analysis is offered (in the form of two questions) to Aphrodite, the *alter ego* of the poetic persona in Sappho's work, as something to think about. Yet she is invoked here, more specifically, not only as Kypris but also as *despoina*, that is, with both her most ancient title and an epithet never attested before Sappho for a goddess—as if Sappho wanted to emphasize her own poetical skill with which she underscores the closeness of this goddess to human power, but less to human insight and reason.

102 Kypris poem, v. 9: cέ, θέλω ('you, I am willing to'), and especially vv. 11–12: ἔγω [...] ἐμ' αὔται [...] cύνοιδα (note here the particularly bold tripling of the I, which is apparently only now gendered as female, in v. 11: ἐμ' αὔται). This emphatic stress on the first person as subject in control of its agency and simultaneously object of self-reflection in the third stanza would be weakened, I think, if ἔγω already appears in the second stanza, as Ferrari (2014) 13–14 conjectured for v. 6. Note that the expression ἐμ' αὔται is also to be found in fr. 31.16 (after a first, equally quite late gendering of the I, in fr. 31.14), though connected there not to knowledge but to a physical feeling, which the female I 'seems' (φαίνομ') to perceive as not far from death.

CHAPTER 18

Reimagining the Fragments of Sappho through Translation

Diane Rayor

It is difficult to fix words or meaning on a text in flux. Yet that is precisely what a translator must do: interpret and then set that interpretation into print. In January 2014, I submitted the page proofs for Andre Lardinois' and my Sappho book; the very next day, we found out that a new Sappho papyrus had been discovered.[1] Fortunately, Cambridge was willing to 'stop the press!'. We waited with the same impatience as everyone else until the *ZPE* volume provided the Greek text in April, followed by a flurry of translation. The new Sappho discoveries allow us to reinterpret old fragments in light of the additions to them.

While some of the smaller additions merely clarify the previous Greek text or supplement very fragmentary lines, others are more substantial. For instance, fr. 17 initially was missing the left and/or right hand margins of all twenty lines of the poem. The new discovery adds or completes words in ten line endings and sixteen line beginnings. With this significant increase to the Greek text, we can see in what ways previous guesses about meaning fit and what is now proven incorrect. Nevertheless, even with the additions, the poem is still fragmentary, which has led to a wide variety of interpretations of the first stanza. Textual decisions drive interpretations, while, equally, interpretive stances drive textual decisions. As Renate Schlesier (p. 380) succinctly states: 'The textual suggestions are not least shaped by the interpretative conception of the poem, in other words, by the idea each individual scholar advocates concerning what Sappho presumably wanted to express'. Translation is an especially intimate and visible active reading in which the reader of the Greek poem becomes the writer of the English poem.[2]

1 Rayor and Lardinois (2014). I presented a shorter version of this paper at the Society of Classical Studies annual meeting, 2015; I am grateful to André Lardinois and Anton Bierl for encouraging me to expand it and for their detailed critique. I also thank Joel Lidov, Eva Stehle, Deborah Boedeker, and Gregory Nagy for their especially helpful comments, and Dirk Obbink for the updated text.

2 Venuti (1995) 18: 'Translation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader. This

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This article focuses on the process of re-translating fragments, particularly the striking new readings of the 'Kypris Poem' (formerly known as fragment 26) and of fragment 17. The scholarship that has followed the publication of the texts in April 2014 has again both enriched and narrowed the possibilities for both poems. Most recently, in this volume (ch. 1), Dirk Obbink has corrected the Greek texts again, profoundly affecting the Kypris Poem.

I posit that translations of Sappho, particularly those for readers who cannot consult the Greek, optimally work on three levels: 1) The translation invokes the absent song. 2) The translation reads as poetry. 3) The translation evokes the physical fragment on worn or torn papyrus.

To make these multi-layered translations, I have to pay attention to a number of things. To invoke the absent song, I work with sound, and pay attention to signs that could indicate a variety of performance possibilities (such as feminine plurals for choral song or pronoun use).[3] To insure that the translation reads as poetry, I echo whatever techniques from Sappho that I can make work in English, such as repetition, alliteration, or stanzas. When possible, I help the reader bridge breaks in fragments by selecting words on each side of the gap that work together, as in the Kypris Poem:

[*c.*8] . . . [. .] cέ, θέλω[⏑ – x	… you, I wish …
[– ⏑ – x τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – x	… to suffer this …
[– ⏑ – x –] ̣αν, ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται	… I know
τοῦτο cύνοιδα	this about myself.

To evoke the physical fragment on papyrus, I employ various strategies, such as brackets, ellipses, and page layout.

Readers of Sappho come to the Greek text with their own expectations of what makes a Sappho poem. Because translators are readers first and then writers of text, translations provide a lens on the storytelling process.[4] Basically, the translator's reading becomes the new poem. However, I strive to recreate the original as reliably as possible, given that 'no translation will ever be a perfectly reliable guide to the original'.[5] In translating fragments, I imagine

difference can never be entirely removed, but it necessarily suffers a reduction and exclusion of possibilities—and an exorbitant gain of other possibilities specific to the translating language'.

3 Stehle (1997) 262–318.

4 See Rayor (1987) 30–33 and Bassnett (2002) 81–83.

5 Robinson (2003) 6–7: 'A text's reliability consists in the trust a user can place in it … as a representation or reproduction of the original'.

the song behind the scraps of words and phrases. Instead of filling in the gaps with guesses, I note in brackets only the most visible editorial suppositions, and let readers fill in the blanks through their own cognitive processes. The mind connects the dots to produce some kind of story: 'The holes in the text are not left empty in the reading process. As we read, we fill in, "read between the lines"'.[6] This happens even with small scraps, such as we see in fr. 103b:[7]

]ρηον θαλάμω τωδεϲ[	… bedroom …
]ιϲ εὔποδα νύμφαν ἀβ[	… the bride with shapely feet …
]νυνδ[	… now …
]ν μοι[	… to me …

The more fragmentary the text, the more difficult it is for the translator to convey song or poem. Some papyrus is too fragmentary to reveal poetry, so I settle for glimpses of the story and the representation of the physical text, the torn papyrus.

Brothers Song

As illustration, we may examine these three layers with the Brothers Song. When we are blessed with five complete stanzas, much can be done to replicate, or rather imitate, Sappho's gracefulness. Since the first layer is song, I begin with the basic structure of entreaty in Sapphic stanzas, then work with sound by reading the poem aloud in Greek and English. A single word can shape the tone of the fragment. For example, the first extant line of the Brothers Song, that I cite in full below,[8] begins with ἀλλ' ἄϊ θρύληϲθα ('but always you keep repeating'), which I render as 'you keep saying':[9]

6 Rayor (1990) 15.

7 Greek: Aloni (1997) 180.

8 Greek: Obbink (2014b) 37; translation: Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 160. I follow here the line numbering of the fragment, not of the poem as reconstructed by Obbink in Obbink (2015a) and ch. 1, this volume.

9 The verb θρύληϲθα itself implies repeated speech; 'you keep saying' balances repetition without awkward redundancy.

[1st stanza missing]	[1st stanza missing]
ἀλλ’ ἄϊ θρύληcθα Χάραξον ἔλθην	you keep saying that Charaxos must come
νᾶϊ cὺν πλήαι. τὰ μέν̣ οἴο̣μα̣ι Ζεῦc	with his ship full. Zeus knows this,
οἶδε cύμπαντές τε θέοι· cὲ δ̣’οὐ χρῆ	I believe, as do all the gods.
ταῦτα νόηcθαι,	Don’t think about that,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεcθαι	but send me, yes command me
πόλλα λί̣ccεcθαι βαcί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἥ̣ραν	to keep praying to Queen Hera
ἐξίκεcθαι τυίδε cάαν ἄγοντα	that Charaxos return here
νᾶα Χάραξον	guiding his ship safely
κἄμμ’ ἐπεύρην ἀρ̣τ̣έ̣μεαc. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα	and find us secure. Everything else
πάντα δαιμόνεcc̣ιν ἐπι̣τ̣ρόπωμεν·	we should turn over to the gods,
εὔδιαι ̣γὰρ̣ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήτα̣ν̣	since fair winds swiftly follow
αἶψα πέ̣λ̣ο̣νται.	harsh gales.
τῶν κε βόλληται βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω	Whenever the king of Olympos wishes
δαίμον’ ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη	a helpful god to turn people away
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μ̣άκαρεc πέλονται	from troubles, they are blessed
καὶ πολύολβοι·	and full of good fortune.
κ̣ἄμμεc, αἴ κε τὰν κεφάλα̣ν ἀέρρ̣η	For us too, if Larichos lifts his head high
Λάρι̣χοc καὶ δή ποτ’ ἄν̣ηρ γένηται,	and in time grows into a man,
καὶ μάλ’ ἐκ πόλλαν βαρ̣υθυ̣μίαν̣ κεν	our spirits may be swiftly freed
αἶψα λύθειμεν.	from such heavy weight.

The poem’s story implies that the eldest brother Charaxos is late in returning home with his trading ship to the concern of his family, who may depend on the success of his voyage and who also have other troubles at home. The tone is emphatic in its criticism of the addressee, who may be one of Sappho’s brothers, either a middle brother (unnamed) or Larichos (named in the last stanza). The rest of the poem progresses logically with Sappho’s criticism, followed by her solutions to the problem at hand.[10] Most translators have rendered θρύληcθα as ‘chatter’ or ‘babble’, which sound overly condescending and rather silly to my ear. Partly, the difference is in understanding Sappho as voicing her critique of the situation or as a scold (which carries baggage in English, particularly as a

10 See Stehle’s contribution to this volume (ch. 12).

label for a woman). Also, in a song, sound matters, so I avoid words that sound ugly or do not fit with the rest of the song.

In addition to sound, layout on the page matters for the second layer—poetry—in translating Sappho. I use the line length in a visibly pleasing and consistent pattern on the page to represent the discipline of the four-verse Sapphic stanza, aiming for the basic pattern best shown in the first, third, and fourth stanzas above.[11] I also work with pattern, rhyme, and repetition to help convey the meaning and emphasis of the original and to help compensate for the loss inherent in translation. For example, the Brothers Song strongly contrasts the 'you' in the first stanza with the 'me' in the second. While the Greek expresses the iterative in two different ways with ἄϊ θρύλησθα 'you keep saying' (line 1) and πόλλα λίσσεσθαι 'to pray frequently' (line 6), I make the contrast stand out with 'you keep saying' and 'me to keep praying,' by using repetition and rhyme. In other words, Sappho advocates shifting from repetitive, empty speculation or focus on the potential wealth of her brother Charaxos' return with cargo, to productive prayer for Charaxos' safety: replacing 'saying' with 'praying'. Furthermore, the translation echoes Sappho's redefining of what a successful voyage home means—not with 'his ship full' (line 2) but with 'his ship safely' (line 8).[12] However, the translation also emphasizes that particular contrast with the repetition of 'full' in 'full of good fortune' for πολύολβοι 'much wealth or good fortune' (line 12) since Sappho prioritizes her brother's safe return (full of good fortune rather than full of cargo).

Lastly, to indicate the third layer—that Sappho's original Brothers Song is now a fragment missing one stanza—I chose simply to not capitalize the first word, rather than to begin the fragment with 'but' (ἀλλά). 'But' sounds harsher in English than in Greek, would draw attention away from 'you' (the real subject here), and interferes with the rhythm of the line.

Kypris Song

The foundation for reliable published translations is accurate Greek texts. However, as we know, the fragments of Sappho's poetry remain in flux. The new Sappho papyri demonstrate the problems, indeed the folly, of relying on

11 In Greek, the first three lines have the same meter, followed by a short fourth line.

12 See Nünlist (2014) for the marked contrast between 'with his ship full' and 'with his ship safe'.

reconstructions or uncertain letters for interpreting fragments. Sometimes the uncertainties are more or less resolved: The additions to fr. 5 solve difficulties, confirm guesses, and connect fr. 5 thematically with other family and seafaring poems.[13]

The new Kypris Song, however, radically changes the reading of the old fr. 26 to which it adds. This is my initial rendering in 2013 before the discoveries:

1) (P.Oxy. 1231) fr. 26.1–5:[14]

]θαμέω[	... *often* ...
ὄ]τιννα[ς γὰρ	... because the people I treat well,
εὖ θέω, κῆνοί με μά]λιστα πά[ντων	wrong me most of all
σίνονταα]ι	[ ]
]ἀλεμάτ’	... *daydreaming* ...

The initial five lines of the Kypris Song overlap (in italics) with fr. 26 sufficiently to show that the previous suppositions were completely incorrect: lines 2–4 are actually the closing lines of another recently discovered fragment (16a). The three stanzas of the Kypris Song address Aphrodite, and focus on the pain of erotic passion.

The Kypris Song presents ongoing textual issues and thus can illustrate the difficulty of settling on one translation. In fact, Dirk Obbink's (ch. 1) contribution to this volume provides a further revised Greek text. The five versions that I present here are in chronological order: 1) my initial rendering in 2013 before the discoveries (above); 2) my first version of Obbink's 2014 text[15] for the Society for Classical Studies abstract in April 2014; 3) my revision submitted for publication in May 2014; 4) Obbink's latest text (ch. 1, in this volume); and 5) and my latest version in response.

2) In April 2014, I initially[16] followed Obbink's restorations and interpretation (Kypris Song, 1–6):

13 Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014) 11, 23–27.

14 Greek: Campbell (1982a) 76.

15 Obbink (2014b) 49.

16 Rayor in SCS abstract for the 'New Fragments of Sappho' panel.

πῶς κε δή τις οὐ *θαμέω̣ς̣* ἄσαιτ̣ο,	How could someone not *keep* feeling pain,
Κύπρι δέϲσπ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣ʼ, ὄτ̣τ̣ι̣ν̣α [δ]ὴ̣ φι̣λ̣[είη	Queen Aphrodite, wishing most of all
καὶ] θέλοι μάλιστα π̣ά̣λ̣ι̣ν̣ κάλ̣[εσσαι;	to call back the person one loves?
ποῖ]ον ἔχησθα	[What] do you have
νῶν] σ̣άλοισί μʼ *ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ς* δ̣αΐσδ̣[ην	[in mind], to *idly* rend me [with shaking
ἰμέ]ρωι λύ{ι̣}σαντι γ̣όνʼ ωμ̣ε-[x	from desire] loosening [my knees]?

We can view the transition of meaning and tone from the pre-2014 fr. 26 to the new Kypris Song even by examining the two overlapping words: θαμέως 'often/repeatedly' (line 1) and ἀλεμάτως 'day-dreaming/idly' (line 5). The meaning of θαμέως remains consistent in the various English renditions. The sole word visible in the P. Oxy. 1231 of fr. 26.5 (ἀλεμάτως), however, entertains a wider range of meanings. Each possibility calls up a different image of the speaker and the person she addresses. Before the discoveries, in an attempt to squeeze as much meaning as possible from the fragment, I pictured 'idly' as perhaps 'idle thoughts' or even 'daydreaming'. Yet in the context of the new additions, the word most likely means idle or vain, as in 'to no purpose'[17] and is an adverb referring to Aphrodite. 'Daydreaming' is out.

According to the second translation (above), the lover suffers because of the beloved's absence (such as in Sappho's frs. 16, 94, and 96). However, the order of the phrases or imagery in lyric poetry is important. Here the word and phrase order of the Greek present a more complex idea of passion, in which love itself causes pain and—even so—desire for the beloved. In the first two lines of this fragment, the absence of the beloved does not cause anguish, but rather the anguish is caused by the loved one herself. This happens repeatedly, followed finally by the loved one's absence, as implied in the desire for her return. The paradox is that even with the repetition of pain (θαμέω̣ς̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο line 1), in the third line the speaker wishes most of all to seek that person's return ('whomever one loves' ὄτ̣τ̣ι̣ν̣α [δ]ὴ̣ φι̣λ̣[είη).

3) Understanding the poem in this way, led to my third version of May 2014 (Kypris Song, 1–3):[18]

> How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
> Queen Aphrodite, by the person one loves—
> and wishes above all to ask back?

17 West (2014) 12.

18 Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 41.

The Kypris poem presents contradictory expressions of love, in which the presence and absence of the loved one cause pain. Although it is a rather complicated argument to follow, this reading follows the Greek text available in May 2014, and aligns with my understanding of the complexity of eros in Sappho. As it turns out, however, part of line 3 in that Greek text is incorrect, and therefore my elaborate argument and translation are wrong as well.

My translation (3) depended upon Obbink's 2014 text (2014b), particularly the third person singular ending of φι̣λ̣[είη and the entire third line: καὶ] θέλοι μάλιcτα π̣ά̣λ̣ι̣ν̣ κάλ̣[εccαι ('and wishes above all to ask back'). M.L. West, accepted by Franco Ferrari, instead conjectures a negated second person singular verb ([μ]ὴ φίλ[ηcθα) addressed to Aphrodite and an alternate third line: κὢc] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθο̣ς̣ καλ̣[ύπτην 'How can a woman help being regularly heartsick, my Lady, if you do not love her, and when she would most wish to conceal her passion, you do not hold back'.[19] This posits awkward shifting pronouns for the two stanzas and someone wishing to 'conceal passion'—highly unlikely in Sappho's poetry. Renate Schlesier clearly details some of the problems with this reading:

> While Ferrari reads vv. 1–4 of the Kypris Poem as one single interrogative sentence, West includes in it also v. 5 and, finding this long sentence—especially the intervening clause in vv. 2–3—too complicated, suggests another quite odd complication: a change of verb from third person in v. 1 to second person in v. 2 and then back to third person in v. 3 and once more back to second person in vv. 4–5 (all those changes being also adopted by Ferrari). None of this is self-evident. In my view, the option of dividing the first six verses into two sentences (actually two questions, each with a grammatically different subject) of three verses each, the first with three third-person verbs, the second with one single second-person verb, as proposed by Obbink, is defendable …[20]

Obbink's texts present a generic situation (lines 1–3 someone in love with somebody) followed by one referring to Sappho herself (lines 4–6 'me/Sappho').[21] Sappho introduces an indefinite lover hurt by an indefinite beloved before asking Aphrodite a second question addressing her situation. Basically, the West/Ferrari text calls for a strained and awkward reading—even more so than my translation (3) above.

19 West (2014) 12 quotation; Ferrari (2014).

20 See Schlesier's contribution to this volume (ch. 17), pp. 380–381.

21 See Benelli (2015).

Obbink's revised Greek text (ch. 1, this volume), on the other hand, makes clear, straightforward poetic sense. Schlesier's[22] division of the first six verses into two three-verse questions also fits well with the revised text. Here Obbink's translation (4), with the main changes in italics,[23] is followed by my most recent translation (5):

4) Obbink

πῶϲ *κε* δή τιϲ οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄϲαιτ̣ο,
Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣’, ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηϲι,]
[*κωὐ*] θέλοι μάλιϲτα *πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣ά̣λ̣[αϲϲαι;]*
[ποῖ]ον ἔχηϲθα

[*νῶν*] ϲ̣άλοιϲί μ’ ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐ̣ϲ̣δ̣[*ην*
[ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}ϲαντι γ̣όν’ ωμε̣-[x
[. . .] .α .α . .[. .]α̣ι̣μ’ ο̣ὐ̣ π̣ρ̣ο[0–3] .ερηϲ[
[– ⏑]νε̣ερ .[.]αι̣

[*c*.8] . . .[. .] ϲέ, θέλω[⏑ – x
[– ⏑ – x τοῦ]το πάθη[ν ⏑ – x
[– ⏑ – x –] .αν, ἔγω δ’ ἐμ’ αὔται
τοῦτο ϲύνοιδα

How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
Kypris, Queen, whomsoever one really loves,
and *not* especially want *respite from suffering*?
What sort of thoughts do you have

to pierce me idly with shiverings
out of desire that loosens the knees …
…] not [...
…] …

…] you, I wish [...
…] to suffer this …
…]. This
I know for myself.

5) Rayor

How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
Queen Aphrodite, by the person one loves,
and not want above all less suffering?
[What] do you have

[in mind], to idly rend me shaking
[from desire] loosening my knees?
… not …
*

22 See Schlesier's contribution to this volume (ch. 17).

23 See Obbink's contribution to this volume (ch. 1).

... you, I wish ...
... to suffer this ...
... I know
this about myself.

The importance of using the most up-to-date Greek text is clear, as the revised third line seems to mean almost directly the opposite of the 2014 version (Obbink 2014b): wanting a respite from suffering rather than still wanting to ask the one who inflicts the harm to return.[24] The poem, as it now stands, poses the question: 'How can someone be repeatedly hurt (line 1), and not want some respite from that suffering (line 3)?' This is not a call for the suffering to end altogether, but for the suffering to go into remission, loosen, relax, for there to be a break, or some relief (among the many word choices I auditioned). The lover wants to suffer less.

The basic sense of lines 1 and 3 are interrupted or modified by line 2; the order of information (word, phrase, or image) matters in Sappho's poetry. Line 2 in word order reads: 'Kypris, mistress, whomsoever indeed one loves'. The line begins with a vocative addressing the love goddess and ends with a love verb, which clarifies what kind of anguish the verb ἄϲαιτ̣ο (line 1) refers to. The direct address to Aphrodite is one of the verbal and thematic overlaps in this poem and fr. 1, in which Sappho prays to Aphrodite to respond to her again concerning matters of love. The feminine δέσποινα ('mistress'), which usually refers to a human woman who owns a slave or is mistress of the house, here has the sense of 'my master': 'Whoever is frequently hurt by whomever one loves, Aphrodite, my master, how can that person not want some relief from suffering?'[25] The lover resides in lines 1 and 3, while the causes of suffering (the goddess and the beloved person) physically separate the suffering lover from the lover's desire for respite. Taking the poem step by step, we have: line 1 the person hurt, line 2 Aphrodite and the person causing hurt, line 3 desire for respite. The next three-line question continues addressing the goddess, but moves from a general situation to the speaker specifically: 'Why are you shaking *me* with knee-buckling desire?'[26]

24 Although uncertainties remain, the lambda in πάλιν (back) is actually the theta in παθαν (suffering).

25 See Part 3 and Nagy (ch. 21) in this volume for detailed analyses and different interpretations of the Kypris Song.

26 Cf. Sappho fr. 130: 'Once again Love, that loosener of limbs,/ bittersweet and inescapable, crawling thing, seizes me.' Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 77.

Once I settle on the most plausible Greek text based on scholarship and my own understanding of Sappho, and sketch out potential meaning, then I return to the three-layered process of translating to recreate song, poem, and fragment. Bringing Sappho into English is a difficult balancing act between leading Sappho to the reader, as well as the reader back to Sappho's Greek: 'A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges'.[27] The translation, therefore, gives new life to a poem inaccessible to non-readers of Greek. As Susan Bassnett says, 'The translation effectively becomes the after-life of a text, a new "original" in another language … as an act both of inter-cultural and inter-temporal communication'.[28] On the one hand, the English version needs to work as English lyric to adequately present Sappho's stunning poetry. On the other hand, it is Sappho's poetry, not the translator's own, and so should be recognizably Sappho's in imagery, argument, order, and form as much as possible—and clearly a translation.

My language choices rest primarily on how the poem sounds aloud, within boundaries of sense and with some kind of consistent vocabulary to represent the Greek. In *Sappho's Lyre* (Rayor 1991), I replicated Sappho's variation of 'Aphrodite' or 'Kypris'; in *Sappho* (Rayor and Lardinois 2014), I only use the more immediately familiar 'Aphrodite'. In a more 'foreignizing' translation, I would say 'Kypris, my master' (Kypris Song, 2).[29] Unfortunately, our gender-biased language resists calling Aphrodite 'master', and 'mistress' has unwanted sexual overtones in English.[30] 'Queen' at least maintains gender and power. The new line 3 presents a more challenging problem. Although the choice of 'less' does not capture the full sense of χάλ̣αccαι, it is a better solution in terms of sound in the poem than other possibilities. (Try saying aloud 'respite from suffering' or 'relief from suffering'.)

Translators shape and guide the interpretative options of the Greek source text. By necessity, I choose specific words, phrasings, and format that limit readers of my translations. Yet wherever possible, I attempt to recreate in the translation the openness of the source text to interpretation. I provide the most

27 Venuti (1995) 306.

28 Bassnett (2002) 9.

29 Venuti (1995) 20: 'Foreignizing translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language. In its effort to do right abroad, this translation method must do wrong at home, deviating enough from native norms to stage an alien reading experience'. When effective, those disruptions can enhance English poetry.

30 See von Flotow (1997) for more on gender issues in translating; on translating Sappho, 58–63.

possible information by not leaving out any words, but try not to add anything in that is not textually sound. I aim to neither under- nor over-translate.[31] That is particularly difficult with the Kypris Song because the text is still fragmentary and not fully set. In my two versions, I try to give the reader as much to grab on to as possible in this tantalizing new poem by translating plausible reconstructions, which may indeed slip into over-translation.

Fragment 17

In general, my practice is to leave the gaps open to be filled in with readers' imaginations and scholarly notes. Yet as translator, I also have to take a stand and determine which Greek text to accept and what English to set on the page. For my last example of retranslating Sappho, I offer three versions of Sappho fr. 17: 1) *Sappho's Lyre* (1991),[32] 2) *Sappho* (2014),[33] and 3) my most recent version. The most striking contrast is between (1) and (2), where the latter is substantially supplemented by the new discoveries. Additions in the new Greek text, that I cite according to P. GC inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii, are in bold:[34]

Πλάσιον δὴ μ̣[. . . . .] . . .οις' α[. . . .]ω
πότνι' Ἦρα, cὰ χ[. . . . .]c̣ ἐορτ[ ].[
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτ[ρεΐδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηcαν-
τ' οἰ βαcίληεc,

ἐκτελέσσαντες μ[εγά]λ̣οιc **ἀέθλοις̣**
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ε̣ἴ̣[λιον]· **ἄψερον δέ̣**
τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τες, ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν **γὰρ̣ εὔρη̣**[ν
οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο,]

πρὶν cὲ **καὶ Δί'** ἀντ[ίαον] π̣εδέλθην̣
καί Θυώνας ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα·
νῦν δὲ κ[αί *c.*12] . . .πόημεν
κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον]

31 Newmark (1981) 7.

32 Rayor (1991) 54.

33 Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 34.

34 Greek text from Lardinois' handout at the SCS panel on Sappho, January 2015.

ἄγνα καὶ κα̣[*c*.12 ὄ]χ̣λοϲ
παρθέ[νων *c*.12 γ]υναίκων
ἀμφιϛ̣ . [
μέτρ’ ὀ̣λ̣[

παϲ[
. [.] . νιλ[
ἔμμενα̣[ι
[ʾΗ]ρ’ ἀπίκε[ϲθαι .]

1) fr. 17 *Sappho's Lyre* (1991)
Queen Hera, may your [graceful form]
... near me–
the prayer of the Atridae ...
kings;

after accomplishing ...
first around [Troy] ...
they departed to this land,
but could not ...

until ... you and Zeus ...
and Thyone's alluring [son].
Now ...
as in [olden times].

Holy and ...
[virgin] ...

2) fr. 17 *Sappho* (2014)
Near ...
your ... festival, Lady Hera,
which the kings had performed
atoning for the son of Atreus

after they had completed great labors,
first around Troy and later stopping
here, for they could not
find the seaway

before seeking you and Zeus, god of
suppliants, and Semele's alluring son.
Now ... we too perform
as in those olden days.

Holy and [beautiful] ... throng
of girls ... and women
around ...
measures ...

every ...
*
to be ...
[Hera] to come.

The new additions to fr. 17 demonstrate how tenuous are our guesses in filling gaps. Primarily, the new text completes lines, providing left and right margins. This makes it possible to follow a narrative that we could only guess at before. In my 1991 translation (1), I open the poem with a prayer for Hera to appear. Joel

Lidov argues against that reading in a 2004 article and discusses the problem of previous reconstructions of the first stanza:

> In current commentaries and translations, the first stanza of fr. 17 is read as a prayer for Hera's presence … it depends on an improbable use of the opening word πλάσιον, involves an awkward third-person periphrasis for the second-person appeal, and creates insoluble difficulties of supplementation and usage in the third line.[35]

Lidov then proposes a more plausible reconstruction that frames the opening as a prayer to Hera against storms, and uses the pejorative sense of ἀράταν as 'curse'.[36] This conjecture, in turn, was proven wrong by the new discoveries.[37]

For the translation of fr. 17 shown in (2) above, Lardinois, Lidov, and I wrestled with the possible meanings of the first stanza, and then I shaped our reading into poetry. At that time, Lidov made a persuasive case that the local Lesbian kings held the festival in honor of Hera to atone for Menelaus. If *Atreïdai* is dative singular, it refers to Menelaus here, and 'the kings' are kings of Lesbos. If *Atreïdai* is nominative plural, however, then the two sons of Atreus (Agamemnon and Menelaus) are the kings.[38] According to West, the kings are the Atreïdai who founded the festival to Hera in fulfilment of a vow.[39] Even with the more complete Greek text, many interpretive questions remain, since the Atreïdai could be singular or plural, and ἀράταν could mean 'prayer', 'curse', 'atonement', or 'vow'.

Obbink's Greek text of fr. 17 (P. GC inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii), printed in ch. 1 in this volume, remains almost entirely identical to the previous one.[40] Here the difference in translations (2) and (3) derives almost entirely from the intervening year of scholarship.

35 Lidov (2004) 387.

36 Ibid. 394.

37 See Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 5–6.

38 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19–20 consider both possibilities.

39 West (2014) 4. Neri (2014) 20 argues for Burris, Fish, and Obbink's explanation (2b) of '… which, prayed for, the Atreids, the kings, caused to be performed'.

40 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 10.

3)

πλάϲιον δη μ̣[. . . . .] . . .οιϲ α[. . . .]ω	Nearby …
πότνι’ Ἦρα, ϲὰ χ[. . . . .]ϲ̣ . ἐορτ[ ] .	Queen Hera, a festival for your [sake]
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτ[ρέϊδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηϲαν-	that the kings, the sons of Atreus,
τ’ οἰ βαϲίληεϲ,	vowed to celebrate
ἐκτελέϲϲαντεϲ μ[εγά]λ̣οιϲ ἀέθλοιϲ̣	after they first completed great labors
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ἴ̣[λιον]· ἄψερον δὲ̣	around Troy, and later stopped
τυίδ’ ἀπορμάθεν[τεϲ, ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν γὰρ̣ εὔρη[ν]	here, since they could not
οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο,]	find the seaway
πρὶν ϲὲ καὶ Δί’ ἀντ[ίαον] π̣εδέλθην̣	until seeking you and Zeus, god of
καί Θυώναϲ ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα·	suppliants, and Semele’s alluring son.
νῦν δὲ κ[*c*.10] . . .πόημεν	Now … we too celebrate
κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον,]	as in those olden days.
ἄγνα καὶ κα̣[*c*.12 ὄ]χ̣λοϲ	Holy and [beautiful] … throng
παρθέ[νων *c*.12 γ]υναίκων	of young women and wives …
ἀμφιϲ̣ .[	on either side …
μέτρ’ ὀ̣λ̣[	the meter [of joyful shouts].
παϲ[	Every …
.[.] .νιλ[	*
ἔμμενα̣[ι	to be …
[Ἤ]ρ’ ἀπίκε[ϲθαι.	[Hera], to come.

In the second line, Sappho addresses Hera concerning an ancient festival in her honor (‘for your sake’)[41] that the Atreïdai (Agamemnon and Menelaos) instituted on Lesbos.[42] After Troy, they stopped at Lesbos (‘here’ line 7) for the festival and to pray to Hera—along with Zeus and Dionysus (v. 9–10)—to help them find their way home (line 8). Sappho and others on Lesbos continue to celebrate the festival (‘now’ line 11) in Hera’s precinct. The contemporary festival (lines 11–20) may have included a choral performance of this very song by ‘young women and wives’ (line 14), joyfully ululating (ὀλ[ολυγας line 16).[43]

41 See Lidov’s contribution to this volume (ch. 19).

42 See Nagy’s contribution to this volume (ch. 21).

43 See Ferrari (2014) 15.

One of the things that the three translations reveal is the difficulty in representing Greek terms for women in English. Young women of marriageable age, παρθένοι (line 14), may be designated as 'virgins' (although not necessarily technically), or 'girls' (young to older teenagers, depending on marriageable age in that location), or 'young (unmarried) women'.[44] The generic word for a woman (*gyne*) is also 'wife' (particularly one who has already produced a child). The 'throng' (lines 13–14) of women, therefore, includes two groups, marriageable ones (παρθένοι) and women of any age who are already married (γυναῖκες).

A second concept, πότνια, a term of respect or reverence for a goddess, is also difficult to pin down in English. In my three translations of fr. 17, I went from 'queen' to 'lady' and back to 'queen'. In fr. 1, I translate πότνια as 'queen' for Aphrodite (since she is on her throne).[45] Sappho addresses Hera (fr. 17) directly over the other two gods (Zeus and Dionysus) in a festival to Hera, so the power in 'queen' seems appropriate.

Hera's name ([Ἤ]ρ' partly visible on the papyrus in line 20) completes a lovely ring composition with line 2. When a word is partly visible, the reconstruction fits the available space, and it shows internal consistency with the poem as a whole, then it makes sense to include that word in the translation. In fr. 17.2, the one visible letter chi could be a form of χάρις ('grace' or 'charm'). In translation (1), I thought it referred to Hera, but the new discoveries proved that wrong. In translation (2), I left it out because it did not seem to fit. For translation (3), I accepted Lidov's argument since the festival is in Hera's honor and 'for your sake' (χάριν) makes sense grammatically.[46] In all of these decisions, I aim for directness, as that is how Sappho's poetry speaks to me.[47] Her poetry, sophisticated and complex, should also ring clear and the sense hit home.

As translator, I aim to activate potential meaning and to reveal the uncertainties of the physical texts, without losing Sappho's poetry. Even the most fragmentary remains can evoke song or at least be read aloud in English. The theory of translation as performance 'conceptualizes translation as a three-dimensional activity that not only operates between two languages, but performs the first language in the second language.'[48] My consistent theory of translating is that the experience of reading a translation should be as close as

44 See Sissa (1990).

45 Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 25: ποικιλόθρον' (poikilos-throne) according to the three standard Greek texts (Voigt, Campbell, and Aloni) and P. Oxy. 2288, emphasizing her physical position of power.

46 See Lidov's contribution to this volume (ch. 19).

47 See Mendelsohn (2015) 77.

48 Von Flotow (1997) 44.

possible to reading the text in its original language.[49] I aim to convey the pleasures of the Greek to a non-Greek-reading audience. Rather than narrowing the range of meaning of these fragments, the conscientious translator allows for options of interpretation as open and rich as those available to readers of the Greek. Each papyrus contains potential and uncertainties. Retranslating Sappho's fragments in light of new finds illuminates the process and demonstrates the need to question previous assumptions to incorporate new discoveries.

Readers come to Sappho with assumptions about Sappho as a historical person, her poetry, performance situations, and the individual poems and fragments. We read each piece as fitting into the overall picture in our minds: the kind of language she uses; the way she ends her poems; whether it is choral, the speaker is Sappho, or is addressed to a circle of women. I picture Sappho performing in multiple venues—sometimes solo, hanging out with a group of female friends or singing for a particular occasion, and other times performing with a chorus of women for festivals or other public events. In a way, the translator is like the Sapphic lover, always choosing between enduring and daring (τόλματον), with experience but no easy answers.[50] Translations should respect the possibilities of the poems, so that readers can re-create their own Sapphos, based on all the bits of text that still exist.

49 The experience of reading the Greek text is not equivalent to that of the original audience: see Bassnett (2002) 30–36 for the problems of equivalence.

50 Rayor and Lardinois (2014) 44: fr. 31.17 'Yet all must be endured [dared], since …'

PART 4

Hera Song (*fr.* 17)

CHAPTER 19

Notes on the First Stanza of Fragment 17

Joel Lidov

The opening lines of fr. 17 present a wealth of choices, but nonetheless remain exceptionally difficult to supplement satisfactorily. The following comments are meant to clarify the problems and possibilities. I add an exploratory suggestion for the first two lines.

(1.) In line 1, the sequence . . . οιϲα[could be divided . . . οι σα[(3rd pers. opt. singular of a thematic verb), . . . οις α[- (second declension accusative plural or second person optative) or . . . οισ' α[(dative masculine/feminine or—with or without elision—nominative or vocative feminine participle). Meter and spacing make it likely that the preceding traces represent the sequence consonant, vowel, consonant, rather than a sequence containing an open vowel. The traces suggest that rho is mostly likely for the first consonant, epsilon for the vowel (that is, the other vowels appear to be excluded), and a triangular letter such as lambda, kappa or chi (less likely delta) for the second consonant. (A reading of ϝε is physically possible, but I do not see how it could be fit into a sentence).

(2.) The final omega of line 1 could be, as a verb, the first-person singular indicative, present or future, or subjunctive, aorist or present, or a third-person singular imperative; as a noun it could be a feminine nominative (typically a proper noun, of a type like Ψάπφω), or a second-declension genitive.

(3.) The initial πλάσιον would most likely be construed with a genitive, but it could be used alone. With a genitive at line end, it might be possible to construct a line such as πλάσιον δή μ̣- ... βώμω 'near your altar' (the altar is a feature of the Messon sanctuary mentioned in Alc. fr. 129.3; Prof. Fish assures me that this would fit the spacing).[1]

1 Ferrari (2014) 16 and Neri (2014) 14 suggest that if used absolutely here, πλάσιον would serve the expected deictic function, locating the performance (there are no other examples of πλάσιον used this way). I think it is also possible that the precinct is large enough for the performance of the song (perhaps at an altar or before a shrine) and the multiple activities of a festival to be in different, but adjacent, places. I am not persuaded by Neri's or Caciagli's (this volume)

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(4.) A dative in the gap is not excluded, if it could be construed with a verb, perhaps a compound verb; the verbs most typically found with πλάσιον have the meanings ‘be’, ‘stand’, ‘lie’, or ‘sit’. A participle with such a meaning here would have to agree with Hera (vocative or as subject of a second person verb governing ἐόρταν). It would require that a governing verb be in the next line, which would be difficult. On the other hand, a dative would be attractive if it suggested a parallel with a dative in lines 3–4.

(5.) Two tendencies peculiar to Book 1 may constrain supplements in line 1: there are few, if any, middle participles outside fr. 2 (as discussed in the main article); and, although there are many references to speech and prayer, there are only a few uses of the specific vocabulary of music or singing (fragments 21.12, 27.5, 30.4), none of them referring to the performance in progress. These considerations would affect the suggestions μ̣[ελπο]μ̣ε̣ν̣οιϲ’ (BFO, 19), μ̣[οισοπ]ο̣λ̣οιϲ (Ferrari 2014, 15–16), ἀ̣[είδ]ω (Lidov in BFO, 19, which is in any case too short).

(6.) In the second line the nominative Ἥρα, is excluded by the meter. If Hera is also the agent in these lines, there must be an optative second person verb in line 1. However, she may be the addressee interested in or responsible for the fulfillment of a first- or third-person wish or statement.

(7.) The final traces of the second line allow only the alternatives ἐόρτ[α] or ἐόρτ[α]ν̣. The nominative ἐόρτα is quite rare in archaic or early Classical Greek. If the word ends in -αν—genitive plural (see below) or accusative singular—the preceding ϲα might be emended to σα⟨ν⟩ (or σα⟨γ⟩, to accommodate assimilation before chi). The most common verbs in Greek for conducting a festival appear to me to be ποιέω and ἄγω (or ἀνάγω). The former occurs twice more in the poem (lines 3 and 11) apparently in regard to performance of the rituals of this festival, even though the instance in line 11 has a neuter plural object; the latter, in a passive construction with the nominative form, is suggested in Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19 to supplement the end of line 1: ἀ[γέϲθ]ω.

(8.) The word that is the most obvious supplement for the preceding gap, χ[αρίε]σ̣σ̣(α), would be an unexpected adjective with ἐόρτα. It normally describes particular things that can be appreciated in a moment of sensation, typically by a person present: the works or accomplishments of men (generally

examples of passages in which a dative could be construed with πλάσιον that they are better read that way.

in Homer; see LSJ s.v. and Broger 1996, 33), the sound of a song (Pindar *Pythian* 5.107) or of a chorus (Alcman fr. 27.3), the sensation of a grove (Sappho fr. 2.2), the beauty of a bride (Sappho fr. 108 and fr. 112.3), the pleasantry of a sympotic companion (Alcaeus fr. 368.1; this instance resembles the later Attic use to designate social charm). It would more likely describe a single event at a festival than the festival itself, which extends over a period of time and encompasses many parts (the opening of Plato's *Republic* is instructive; Pindar uses ἑόρτα several times for the combination of sacrifice, contests and other activities—that is, a 'festival,' not merely 'games'). However, in a hymnic context it can also describe something pleasing to the god, the usual use of a χαρ- form in a hymn: a temple roof (*Iliad* 1.139) or a choral performance (Pindar *Nemean* 3.10–13). Nonetheless, it remains open whether χ[αρίε]ϲ̣ϲ̣' itself is the best word to complete this thought.

(9.) χαρίεσσα would be even more unexpected as an epithet of Hera (the word is not used of gods, let alone as a free-standing epithet), which is what it would have to be if the final word is ἐόρταν. That would also require 'your' to be emended to the accusative. The interleaved word-order—vocative name, accusative possessive adjective, vocative adjective, accusative noun—strikes me as strained (certainly, if ἐόρτα were nominative, no one would read the adjective here to be vocative with the name).

(10.) Any χαρ- word would suggest a mention of a festival in terms of the mutual pleasure of men and gods, a reading that would satisfy the general expectation that the gods accept or are pleased by the mortals' effort or dedication. We find this idea with ἐόρτα and a different word for 'pleasing' in Alcman fr. 56.1–2: ὄκα / σιοῖσι ϝάδηι πολύφανος ἑορτά ('when the festival with many torches pleases the gods') and, again with ϝανδάνω but with only an implicit mention of a festival, in *Homeric Hymn* XIV, to the Mother of the Gods, to describe her pleasure in the noises made in celebration. Since some scholars (since Robert 1960a) have argued that Hera is assimilated to *Mater* in the Messon *temenos*, this could be particularly relevant here. Metrically, μ̣[ᾶτε]ρ (or Μ̣[ᾶτε]ρ) would fit in the gap in line 1, though it is on the short side. If we think in terms of a noisy festival (as I have already suggested for fr. 5), ὄ]χλος in line 13 makes more sense, and the connection to Alcaeus fr. 130b.18–20, 'the sound of the sacred yearly shout', is strengthened.

(11.) An alternative to χ[αρίε]ϲ̣ϲ̣' could be σὰ χ[άριϲ .]ϲ., the noun originally suggested by Fränkel ([1975] 182 n. 31) to represent Hera as subject. It could be independent of 'festival' in the nominative or govern it as a genitive plural.

σᾰ⟨ν⟩ χ[άριν = 'for your sake' could also be possible. The letter following]c must be a consonant and is most likely a sigma, but could just possibly be tau or theta, allowing an elided infinitive or an imperative such as οἴσθ'(α) or ἴσθ'(ι) with χάριν. A tau is the basis of Ferrari's suggestion ([2014] 15–16):

> πλάσιον δὴ μ[οισοπ]ọ́λ̣οις ἀ̣[ήσθ]ω,
> πότνι' Ἦρα, σὰ χ[άρις ἐ]ς̣ τ̣' ἐόρτα̣ν̣
>
> Qui vicino spiri il tuo favore verso i ministri
> delle Muse, Hera veneranda, e verso la festa

This satisfies many conditions for these lines, but remains problematic. For the noun and the traces in the first line, see above; in addition, it seems somewhat odd to call the chorus 'servants of the Muses' at the very moment that they are attendants of Hera. There is no reason to suppose that the word had already lost its specificity in the parallel cited, Sappho fr. 150.1. As Ferrari's translation shows, the idea of motion here is obscured, rather than avoided. Finally, the postponement of the preposition to so distant a position after its first object would be extreme even in Pindar. With a theta, we could try a genitive plural:

> πότνι' Ἦρα, σᾶ⟨ν⟩ χ[άριν ἴ]ς̣θ̣' ἐόρτ[α]ν̣
>
> Lady Hera, be grateful for—*or*: know the gratitude of—your festivals.

But χάριν εἰδέναι in the sense similar to χάριν ἄγειν does not occur before Isocrates and I cannot find a parallel for taking such an expression to be equivalent to 'receive'. So a better possibility would be σὰ⟨ν⟩ χ[άριν, ἴ]σθ̣', 'for your sake, be sure, ...' with 'a festival' as the subject or object of a construction in line 1.

(12.) The problem, then, is to put together supplements for lines 1–2 that would fit the traces, avoid the likely restraints mentioned above, as well as unlikely or awkward constructions, and emphasize or at least be consistent with the performer's or the god's interest in the pleasure the god derives from a festival as prerequisite to the favor the god will show. So I suggest a form of ἕκων, a word found in archaic epic and lyric, though not in Aeolic, to emphasize the performer's desire to please:

> πλάσιον δὴ, μ̣[ᾶτε]ρ̣, ἔ̣κ̣οισ' ἀ[νάξ]ω
> πότνι' Ἦρα, σᾶ⟨ν⟩ χ[άριν, ἴ]ς̣θ̣', ἐόρτ[α]ν̣

Nearby, mother, I willingly will lead
a festival, be certain, Lady Hera, for your sake.

This combination of supplements employs the normal verbal idiom for festivals, locates the action at the shrine, incorporates the reference to Hera as *genethla* in Alcaeus fr. 129 (and, obviously, depends on the syncretism with the worship of the Mother figure), shows a structure parallel to Alcaeus fr. 308, as discussed below, and combines μᾶτερ and ἐόρταν as also found in Sappho fr. 9. On the other hand, the supplements in the gaps, especially the first, are only marginally long enough and the reading of the verb employs the less well-established alpha-form of the prefix (see app. crit. to Sappho fr. 16.15 in this volume, and Voigt's index s.v. ὄν). Because I have emphasized the absence of a declaration of the gender of the singing *persona* in fr. 5 and the Charaxos poem, I would prefer a word to describe the festival itself as the source of pleasure, perhaps using the structure -οισα[ν ἄξ]ω.[2] But whatever its shortcomings, this supplement creates a meaning and context that may suggest new avenues for exploring the poem.

(13.) In line 3 it has been assumed, since the discovery of the new fragments, that the relative pronoun τὰν refers to ἐόρταν and not, as previously supposed, to 'Hera, your' (a possessive adjective as antecedent is normal [Kühner and Gerth (1904) sect. 544(.3) anmerk. 4]). This new reading has the advantage of being a very easy syntactic sequence. We can, however, still take it with Hera and there are reasons to do so (it would be necessary to do so if ἐόρταν is the genitive plural). The verbal adjective ἀράταν should mean 'prayed for' or 'prayed to' (I am assuming that the Homeric pejorative use, 'prayed against', noted by Voigt, is not relevant, given the causative meaning of the verb ποιέω; I defended it in Lidov [2004] under the impression that a verb of perception could be supplied). But one prays for what the gods give—objects of desire: goods, a marriage, a safe return—and a festival is not a divine gift. On the contrary, it is a human gift to the god.[3] The verb cannot be taken to mean

2 No form of ϝανδάνω fits the traces. Reading ἔ̣χ̣οισα[ν ἄξ]ω…ἐόρτ[α]ν̣ would solve the problems, but I have not found any parallel to justify transferring this attribute of participants to the festival itself.

3 S. Caciagli in this volume recognizes the problem, and the advantage of a word describing something pleasing to Hera that I discussed in regard to the first two lines, and suggests that ἀράταν here can have the meaning 'attractive, agreeable'; he draws attention to the unmetrical correction ἐράταν in *PSI* 123 (which is irrelevant; we have no idea how the corrector understood the original text) and to the use of the *hapax* ἀρητόν in Callim. *Hymn* 4.205 as

'vowed'. LSJ s.v. ἀράομαι I.A.4 is misleading in its sole citation, *Iliad* 23.144, in which Achilles says that Peleus prayed 'if Achilles return, he will dedicate…'. That is, he prayed for Achilles's return, and promised that Achilles would do something if he did return. When Achilles, in the passage cited, turns this into reported speech, ἠρήσατο is the *verbum dicendi*, the "if clause" becomes a participle, and the apodosis of Peleus' future more vivid condition is expressed in future infinitives: πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς / κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα…/ σοί τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην. LSJ, by omitting the participle, confuses the construction. Peleus includes a vow in his prayer for Achilles's return, but that does not give the verb 'pray' the meaning 'vow'.[4] It is therefore difficult to make the festival the object. To suppose that the kings prayed that the gods allow them, after leaving Troy, to reach the festival, which they knew about—as if the single word 'festival' by itself could be the equivalent of *nostos*, something one prays for—requires complicated narrative and semantic inferences for which no clue is given, although of course they are not impossible. But the alternative poses no difficulties. For the construction in which the relative reaches back over a potential nearer antecedent there is a good parallel in Alcaeus fr. 308.1–4:

> Χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὀ μέδεις, cὲ γάρ μοι
> θῦμος ὔμνην, τὸν κορύφαις' ἐν αὔταις
> Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδαι μίγειcα
>   παμβαcίληϊ
>
> Hail, ruler of Cyllene, for of you it is
> my will to sing, whom in the very mountains
> Maia bore…

Here the "hymnic relative" that begins the second part of the prayer refers back to σέ rather than to the nearer θῦμος. In Alcaeus' poem ὔμνην refers, as ἐόρτα apparently does in Sa. fr. 17, to the immediate performance. The paral-

'"gladly."' But the translation there is *ad hoc*; Leto's receipt from Delos of what she required in her distress—as if in response to prayer or through magical action—does not justify generalizing the sense 'pleasing' to a human gift to a god. (I discussed that passage, and its relation to this line, in more detail in Lidov [2004] 398 n. 18).

4 G. Nagy in this volume defends that meaning in the verb ἀράομαι, despite the absence of any archaic or later example, on topical and comparative grounds: vows are inherently part of prayers, the synchronically synonymous word for prayer εὔχομαι developed the meaning 'vow', and it also occurs in Latin words of similar meaning. He does not consider the possibility of taking Hera as the antecedent.

lel is in fact exact with ἔκοισ' ἀνάξω…ἐόρταν, since that would correspond to μοι θῦμος ὔμνην. We could then paraphrase Sappho's clause: 'Hera, you whom, in the middle of their troubles, on behalf of (or at the behest of) the son of Atreus, the kings [anaphoric: 'those (well-known) companions of the son of Atreus'] made—in your (newly established or already existing) festival—the object of prayer [predicate accusative with ποιέω or ποιέομαι, see LSJ s.v. III] as they sought a way to complete their journey safely'. The periphrasis with ποιέω in place of ἀράομαι emphasizes—as it probably also does in line 11 below—the activity of conducting a festival as a means of soliciting the god's good will. The difference in antecedent is a matter of emphasis in the interpretation; a final determination must probably await examples that furnish a better understanding of the semantics of ἀρατός.

(14.) In line 4 it is highly unlikely that τοι is the enclitic pronoun, as West proposes ([2014] 4 with n. 7).[5] In the modern scholarship Wackernagel's law has been refined to show that enclitics are placed not as the second word, but after the first constituent of their (phonological) clause. (See Dover [1960] 12–24; Taylor [1990] 64–65; Dik [1995] 31–37; Matić [2003]; Dik [2007] 14–41; Bertrand [2008] 239–249. For further bibliography, including references to the fundamental work of Wackernagel and Fränkel on which these scholars build, see Dik [2007] and Bertrand). The definition of 'constituent' gives the composer many options: an initial conjunction may or may not be included, certain adverbs or a string of adverbs may be optionally appositive, and a tightly bound adjective + noun may constitute a single constituent (these all figure in West's examples of enclitics 'placed later than expected'). But in fr. 17.4 three separate lexical words, not in agreement, could not be other than three constituents. In later prose an enclitic pronoun has, as an alternative, a position after the verb—as would be the case here—rather than after the first constituent (properly defined) of its clause, but that position is very rare in Homer (if it happens at all; Bertrand [2008] 243); despite some variation in explanation among the

5 An accent mark in the new papyrus raises the possibility (pursued by G. Nagy, in this volume) that a hitherto unrecognized form of the emphatic second person pronoun, τοί, occurs here. Neither of the other two papyri with these letters show that their readers found a difficulty with the form; the grammatical tradition (as represented by Apollonius Dyscolus) explicitly says that Attic, Ionic, and Aeolic use σοί for the emphatic form and that τοι is unaccented (quoted in Voigt, fr. 40 TEST); and the form is not found accented in the texts of Homer or elsewhere in Sappho or Alcaeus. Accepting it here would be to call all of these indicators into question. In any event, the interpretive advantage of doing so, the emphasis on Hera, is achieved more easily by taking her as the antecedent to τάν.

methods derived from various disciplines, the consensus is consistent in this definition. Sappho seems to stay unambiguously within the earlier, Homeric rules. I easily find more than two dozen clear examples of the postpositive pronoun in second position in all the fragments, but none of the few possible examples of the contrary are certain (some are supplied by editors; some are potentially the emphatic pronoun, following an elided epsilon; some are open to multiple interpretations; some, all of these.) A consequence of this is that only the middle ποήσαν-/τ' is possible, since τοι is not found as the demonstrative or article.[6] In οἰ βασίληες the article would be anaphoric, referring back to well-known kings associated with the son of Atreus. Note, in addition, that the new confirmation of the adjective phrase ϝῷ θύμωι κε (instead of the enclitic pronouon ϝοι) in fr. 5.3 guarantees that the enclitic κε is in a normal position. (The rule also affects the interpretation of fr. 96.15–17, where the position of ποι indicates that ἰμέρωι must belong with the preceding participle, 'remembering Atthis with desire', and that a new phrase begins with λέπταν).

(15.) There is a difficulty in line 11, where the only possible letters before πόημεν are βῑ, or ρῑ, or most likely ρᾱ, and this syllable must be preceded by an open short syllable. For the first two, the less likely readings, I have found no possible supplement. For the third, West's suggested πέρα ([2014] 4) is, as far as I can find, the only word available as part of the syntax (a first declension nominative is excluded by the plural verb). In the context, as he says, πέρα πόημεν would have to mean 'continue to do'. But the word, not found elsewhere in early Greek, is always accompanied by the idea of a limit: 'beyond, exceeding, excessively', and is most common with a negative: 'no further' (see citations in LSJ). Simon Burris's suggestion (see Obbink's *apparatus criticus* in ch. 1 of this volume), that the word could be the feminine vocative of a three-ending adjective ending -ερος, such as ἀμμέτερος, or of a comparative adjective, offers more opportunities (a vocative noun would have a short alpha). I do not know if the same god can be addressed at the middle as well as at the beginning and end of one prayer of this length, but the addressee could also be one who assists in the performance, such as a Muse or one of the participants, although the fragments of Book One offer no other examples. An address to Hera to

6 The Homeric demonstrative could have the tau: such an epicism would be consistent with the less-unusual missing augment in the previous line but inconsistent with the short first alpha of ἀράταν. The emphasis of a deictic demonstrative in this position strikes me as awkward, but it makes little difference to the overall sense.

give direct assistance (rather than through a helper) would be unusual both in respect to the form I have discussed and to the usual representations of Hera, but cannot be ruled out.

(16.) In the final adonean Hera's name is the most likely supplement for the first word of the readable letters, -]ρ(') απικε[(scil. ἀπίκεσθαι). A run-over word ending -ηρ' would have to have an open vowel in the syllable ending the preceding line, and I have found no likely candidate. The epsilon in the fourth syllable of line 20, visible only in the P.Oxy. fragments, precludes an imperative (a long syllable is required), so the form must be the infinitive.

CHAPTER 20

Sappho Fragment 17: Wishing Charaxos a Safe Trip?*

Stefano Caciagli

Over the last 200 years, scholars of Sappho have concentrated on her audience and consequently her social role: according to various theories she was a teacher, a leader of a female religious group or an initiatory group, a trainer of choruses, a member of a companion group, and so on.[1] Through a comparison between her and Alcaeus, I proposed in *Poeti e società* (2011) that Sappho was a member of a fairly stable group that consisted of both young and adult 'friends'.[2] Although the core of her audience probably consisted of these 'friends,'[3] Sappho's audience could change when the context changed, as Antonio Aloni

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1 On Sappho as teacher, see Welcker (1816) = (1845) 97–98, Müller (1841) = (1865) 364–368, and Wilamowitz (1913) 51; on the religious group see Wilamowitz (1913) 42, who argues that such a community could not exist in ancient Greece without a sacred aim [cf. Wilamowitz (1881) 274]; on the initiatory group, see Merkelbach (1957), Calame (1977), and Gentili (1984) = (2006) 138–161; on Sappho as trainer of a chorus, see Lardinois (1994) 79–80 and Ferrari (2007) 41–42; on Sappho's *hetaireia* see Parker (1993), Stehle (1997) 262–288, and Caciagli (2011) 285–298. For a survey of Sappho scholarship see DeJean (1989), Lardinois (1994), Most (1996), and Caciagli (2011) 300–303. For Welcker and Wilamowitz see Calder (1998) 55–80. Sappho is also the object of reflections connected with gender studies: see Winkler (1990a).

2 Sappho's scholarship often assimilates Sappho's companions to the παρθένοι of her group: this hypothesis goes back to Welcker (1816) = (1845) 97, who regards the μαθήτριαι in *Suda* σ 107 Adler as identical to the ἑταῖραι. However, the word ἑταῖρος seems to imply a relationship between men who have the same social status and age (cf. e.g. Chantraine [1968–1980] 381); so, if the *persona loquens* in Sappho fr. 160 is the poet herself, the word ἑταίρα in this poem may suggest that Sappho's audience consisted of her age-mates too. Moreover, in Ovid, *Her.* 15.199–202 Sappho's audience seems to consist of *nuptae* and *nupturae*, i.e. probably γυναῖκες and παρθένοι. The idea of a group consisting of adults and young persons is congruent with the male *hetaireia* because young men attended the gatherings of this kind of group. See Bremmer (1990) and Caciagli (2011) 97–132 with bibliography.

3 I put 'friends' in inverted commas in order to signify the difference between modern friendship and φιλότης, the latter of which implies reciprocity and many social obligations: cf. Benveniste (1969) I 335–353, Calame (2010) 19–23, and Caciagli (2011) 56–77.

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suggests.[4] Thus, a large audience could potentially be present at 'public' ceremonies: for example, the whole city could attend the second part of the festival of the *Adonia* (fragment 140),[5] which was performed outdoors, and the same can be said for wedding processions, whose function, among other things, was to publicise the legitimate union of the bride and groom. Sappho was involved in performances that took place in sacred spaces too, as we may infer from fragment 2. Here the composition of the audience was possibly influenced by the kind of ceremony: for example, it is possible to infer the attendance of Charaxos' family when fragments 5 and 15 were performed.[6] Finally, the poet may engage in domestic celebrations similar to male symposia, as is suggested by fragment 22: in this context, the audience were possibly Sappho's 'friends' and companions, as in other sympotic performances.

The new text of Sappho published by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) provides important insights into this question. The focus of my analysis will be fragment 17, because I believe that this poem holds a liminal position in Sappho's *corpus* between a sacral and a family poem. However, I will survey the entire *corpus* of sacral and family poems by Alcaeus and Sappho to understand the meaning, context, and audience of this poem: in fact, in a 'pragmatic' approach, this kind of comparison is essential to fill the gaps in our knowledge.[7]

Geographical Setting of Sappho Fragment 17: Messon

Comparison between Sappho fragment 17 and Alcaeus fragments 129–134,[8] as well as analysis of later *testimonia*, shows that Alcaeus' divine triad in these two poems is the same (Hera *karpophoros*, Zeus *hikesios* and Dionysos *omestes*). In 1960, Louis Robert showed that Alcaeus fragments 129, 130b and Sappho fragment 17 were probably performed in a place called Messon, north of the Kalloni

4 Aloni (1997) LVIII and 273–276.

5 The festival of the *Adonia* was spread over two days: the first day was set in a domestic context, while on the second the ritual was performed outdoors and was characterized by mourning like Sappho's in fr. 140: see Atallah (1966), Weil (1966), (1970), Detienne (1972), Burkert (1985) 176–177, and Caciagli (2011) 195–196.

6 See below.

7 On the pragmatic approach see Calame (1977) 29–32, (2008) 85–106, Vetta (1983), XIII–LX, Gentili (1984) = (2006) 15–47, Rösler (1984) 180–188, (1985) 138–142, (1997), Bierl (2003) 98–99, Neri (2011) 22–24, and Caciagli (2011) 11–19. The pragmatic approach presupposes an oral society; see Havelock (1963).

8 As to the relationship between Alc. frs. 129–134 and Messon, see Caciagli (2010) 227.

Gulf.[9] Here there are the ruins of a temple, which were excavated by Robert Koldewey at the end of nineteenth century.[10] The structure was built in the Hellenistic period (3rd–4th centuries BC), but there is evidence of an archaic stratum.[11] The location of this sanctuary in antiquity is important for understanding its religious functions: it was near the ancient road that connected—and indeed still connects—the west and the east parts of Lesbos, at the foot of the mountain that separates the territories of Pyrrha and Mytilene.[12] The name of the site, Messon in antiquity, today Ta Mesa, is probably related to the fact that it is in the centre—political as well as geographical—of Lesbos. This gulf is a shelter for ships because of its natural setting, and the shrine of Messon was at the end of this bay. The archaeological site is now approximately one kilometre from the seacoast, but, as Kontis says, 'in antiquity the distance [between the temple and the coastline] would be significantly shorter, without the alluvium gathered later, near the beach. So the limit of the sacral precinct will have been located entirely beside the sea'.[13]

Messon between Myth and Rite

The founding myths related to this shrine and the rites performed there are important for understanding the context in which fragment 17 was sung. However, Alcaeus and Sappho provide contradictory testimony. In fragment 129 Alcaeus implies that all the Lesbians have communally built the shrine (τόδε Λέσβιοι … τέμενος … κάτεσσαν, lines 1–3), which strongly suggests that the Lesbians regarded Messon as their federal sanctuary (l. 3 ξῦνον).[14] My suspicion is that the poet also hints at the asylum that he found here, possibly because the federal role of this sanctuary preserved him and his fellows from violence at the hands of the Mytileneans, i.e. of Myrsilus' partisans. Furthermore, in light

9 See Fig. 8.1, p. 199. For the epiclesis of Hera see Robert (1960) and Caciagli (2010). For Messon see Robert (1925) and (1960), Calame (1977) 223–224, Nagy (1993) 221–225, Labarre (1994), Tsomis (2001) 46, Nagy (2007), Caciagli (2010), and Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014). For Alcaeus fr. 129 see Robert (1960) 292–293 and 300–302; for fr. 130b, ibid. 304–305 and 314–315; for Sappho fr. 17, ibid. 314–315.

10 Koldewey (1890) 47–61.

11 See Labarre (1994) 423–424 and Spencer (1995) 22. For the archaic ruins see Koldewey (1890) 47–61, Acheilara (2004) 20, and Caciagli (2010) 247.

12 See Spencer (1996).

13 Kontis (1978) 352, my translation.

14 Cf. Robert (1960) 301–302 and Labarre (1994).

of the long description of an oath in lines 14–23, it is a possibility that Alcaeus and his fellows had performed an oath at the site at some point in the past.[15]

Sappho fragment 17 seems to connect the present ἑόρτα (line 2) with the visit of the Atreid(s) to the shrine: because of the proximity of the archaeological site to the sea, Kontis suggests that there is a connection between this episode of the *nostos* and Messon.[16] Here, according to Sappho, the Atreid(s) invoked Hera in order to find the best way home. Scholars agree[17] that this myth is to be compared with *Odyssey* 3.141–175, where Nestor, Menelaus and Diomedes arrive on Lesbos and ask an unidentified god which route to choose in order to avoid the terrible storm that Athena plans. From the *Odyssey* (3.130–179), Ps.-Apollodorus (6.1) and Proclus (*Chr.* 277–286) we know that the Atreids argued before becoming separated; Menelaus set sail for Greece to avoid the storm, while Agamemnon remained at Ilion to appease Athena's anger. After the stop on Lesbos, Nestor and Diomedes safely arrived home, while Menelaus wandered further to Egypt (*Od.* 4.78–89). The rest of the Greek fleet under Agamemnon was afflicted by a terrible storm during which, among others, the Lesser Ajax perished, an episode recounted also by Alcaeus (fragment 298). However, this was not the only version of the myth known to the Greeks. The herald's account in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (626–680) implies that the Atreids left Ilion together, inasmuch as the storm caught them together. The tragedian does not mention a Lesbian episode, but if we read Ἀτρέϊδαι in line 3 of Sappho fragment 17 as nominative plural (cf. below), the story referred to by the poet is consistent with the one in the *Agamemnon*.[18]

The *aition* of Sappho fragment 17 may not contradict Alcaeus, because the latter could be referring to the founding myth of the sanctuary while Sappho to that of the feast of line 2. So the myth of fragment 17 could be related to one of what may have been a variety of functions served by this sacred place. The *persona loquens* of this poem, who implies the presence of the Lesbian triad in Messon already during the heroic age, asks the audience to take action according to ancient precedent (11–12). Hera is possibly summoned to perform the same service that she had performed in the past: because the Atreid(s) had difficulties in finding the good sea-route, it is attractive to think of the present prayer to the goddess as concerning sea voyages.[19]

15 This possibility was orally suggested to me by Prof. Claude Calame.
16 Kontis (1978) 352.
17 E.g. Page (1955) 59–60.
18 See Page (1955) 60 and Nagy's contribution to this volume.
19 See Boedeker in this volume.

The shrine was famous also for the *Kallisteia*, which Alcaeus seems to be witnessing in fragment 130b.17–20; this was a sort of annual beauty contest for women that included ritual cries.[20] Hesychius (μ 932 Latte) mentions a federal festival linked to Messon during the μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι, when the Lesbians performed a communal sacrifice,[21] and an epigram from the *Greek Anthology* (9.189) may refer to a chorus led by Sappho in this τέμενος. The epigram says that this shrine was dedicated to Hera γλαυκῶπις,[22] an epithet that perhaps corresponds to γλαύκας in line 26 of Alcaeus fragment 129. Be that as it may, in this poem Hera has a strange epiclesis, since she is here a *karpophoros* (l. 7 πάντων γενέθλαν);[23] this epithet may be connected to the rich ground that the shrine occupies. However, nothing proves that the chorus led by Sappho in the epigram from the *Greek Anthology* was involved in the *Kallisteia* festival: we can also imagine that whoever wrote this epigram may have had in mind various allusions by Sappho to Messon and combined them with the fact that many of her poems display connections with choral performances.

This survey shows that the rituals at Messon were possibly of different kinds. It is speculative to relate Alcaeus fragments 129–134 and Sappho fragment 17 to specific rites such as the *Kallisteia* without a meticulous analysis of all the ele-

20 Cf. Theophr. fr. 564 Fortenbaugh ἐνιαχοῦ φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος καὶ κρίσεις γυναικῶν περὶ … κάλλους ὡς δέον καὶ τοῦτο τιμᾶσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Τενεδίοις καὶ Λεσβίοις (Ath. 13.610a) and *schol.* Hom., *Il.* 9.130 παρὰ Λεσβίοις ἀγὼν ἄγεται κάλλους γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει, λεγόμενος Καλλιστεῖα. As to πυλαιΐδεες in Hsch. π 4342 Hansen, it is uncertain if it refers to the Lesbian *Kallisteia*: see Caciagli (2010) 239–240. For ὀλόλυγα cf. Alc. fr. 130b.20.

21 The adjective '*mesostrophonios*' that names the days in which—according to Hesychius—the Lesbians perform a communal sacrifice (ἐν αἷς Λέσβιοι κοινὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν) possibly hints at Messon: its meaning is perhaps 'when (the Lesbians) move on towards Messon.' See Robert (1960) 303–304.

22 The manuscripts have γλαυκῶπις, corrected by Hecker into ταυρώπιδος: cf. Tümpel (1891) 567 n. 11, Page (1981) 338, and Caciagli (2010) 234.

23 I follow Picard (1946) 460 f. and Robert (1960) 285–300, who assume that the Hera of fr. 129 is a fertility goddess. Cf. Liberman (1999) 62, Gentili-Catenacci (2007) 182, Neri (2011) 223. *Contra* Hutchinson (2001) 198, who does not consider Robert's arguments about the link between the goddess of Messon and some Lesbian Roman inscriptions that assimilate a θεὰ Αἰολὶς καρποφόρος—probably the goddess of Alcaeus' fr. 129—to women from the imperial family. Furthermore, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 27 say that the Hera of fr. 129 is 'une sorte de Genetrix "de tous" plutôt que "de toutes choses" ou "de tout"': if there is nothing in the grammatical structure of these lines which implies this latter interpretation, we may take into account that a Hera *karpophoros* was in Argo and in the Sele estuary and that these Heras were possibly similar to the Hera in Messon. See Caciagli (2010) 231–234 with bibliography.

ments provided by these fragments. Given the prominence of Messon in Lesbos from the archaic period onwards,[24] and since the *testimonia* attest several rituals performed here, it is likely that different rites were took place at the same site at different times, possibly with different audiences too. Obviously, this caution applies to the supplements for the lacunae in fragment 17 too, which should not be based on the preconceived notion that fragment 17 is connected with the *Kallisteia* or other specific rituals.

The *incipit* of Sappho Fragment 17

It is difficult to make sense of what ritual the founding myth in fragment 17 refers to, in part because the *incipit* and the *explicit* contain many lacunae. An imperative is of course likely at a beginning of a prayer such as fragment 17, but many elements remain problematic in the first stanza of this poem. First of all, we have to consider the reading ἐόρτα or ἐόρταν in line 2. In this regard, τάν in line 3 may have to be construed with ἐόρτα(ν), since this is the nearest feminine word to the relative pronoun. If we accept ἐόρταν, a transitive verb or a preposition would be required to support this accusative; so σᾰ́, which is required by the metre and is probably a nominative, has to relate to a word in the nominative. In this framework, if we accept Joel Lidov's idea that 'any reconstruction should avoid the mistake … of … taking it (i.e. πλάσιον) with the dative', it is difficult to suppose that the word following πλάσιον, which ends in -οις, is not an accusative.[25] So, given the reading ἐόρταν, we have to assume that what follows πλάσιον is coordinated with this accusative, e.g. as Ferrari suggests: πλάσιον δὴ μ[οισοπ]ό̣λ̣οις ἀ̣[ήσθ]ω, / πότνι' Ἦρα, σὰ χ[άρις ἐ]ς̣ τ̣' ἐόρτα̣ν̣ / τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ π̣όησάν / τοι βασίληες. However, such reconstructions may render the syntactic structure of the first stanza a little too complex, since the verb ἄημι has to takes an accusative as well as ἐς/εἰς + accusative. In regard to Ferrari's reconstruction, we may also note that the expression ἄησθαι + ἐς/εἰς + accusative seems to be unattested.[26] Given that it is tempting to accept the conjecture ἀ[γέσθ]ω proposed by Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) for line 1, especially since the expression ἑορτήν ἄγειν is very common in Greek, I suggest that ἐόρτᾱ (preceded by an adjective) may be the more likely

24 See Labarre (1994).

25 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19; cf. Lidov (2004) 390–393: πλάσιον is 'used absolutely or takes the genitive (and μ[ου is not Lesbian)'.

26 See *ThLG* I 797–798 s.v. ἄημι.

reading. After πλάσιον, in my opinion, the likely reading is μ̣[ελπο]μ̣ε̣ν̣οισ’(ι) because the idea of a chorus that dances during a feast is absolutely congruent: the dative is not a real problem to this reconstruction, despite what Lidov says.[27]

The other problems in the first stanza are the case of Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ along with its number and the meaning of ἀράταν in line 3. The meaning of ἀράταν is tricky. If a verbal adjective is necessary (see below), I consider unlikely the interpretation advanced by Burris, Fish, and Obbink: ‘the festival which, having been prayed for by the Atreid [sc. Menelaus], the kings performed etc.’.[28] The same goes for ‘your … festival … which the Kings, the Atreidai, established on a vow’, which Obbink proposes in the first chapter of this volume, following West’s interpretation.[29] As regards the first reading, I find it improbable that someone would pray for a festival: a deity may be invoked, but not a celebration, which can be at most performed. In fact, a festival is the means to invoke or celebrate a deity. As to the second reading, I am not sure that the meaning of ἀρατός ποιεῖν or ποιεῖσθαι could be ‘established on a vow:’ for that meaning the verb εὔχομαι is used, not ἄραμαι.[30] So I suggest that ἀράταν means neither ‘prayed for’ nor ‘established on a vow.’ One of the *testimonia* of the poem, *PSI* 123, provides a suggestive clue. In this papyrus, the scribe glosses ἀράταν with ἐρᾰ́ταν.[31] Even though this adjective is *contra metrum*, its meaning may be of interest: ‘the lovely feast.’ I think it likely that the scribe of *PSI* 123 was troubled by ‘prayed for’ and suggested a more likely meaning. Here ἀράταν possibly means ‘attractive’ or ‘agreeable,’ maybe in reference to Hera: this meaning is close to that of ἀρητόν

27 I should like to note that Lidov’s idea about πλάσιον is not strictly necessary: cf. Neri (2014) 14, translated by Chiara Meccariello (see http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/Fragments/Translation.Neri.i.15.pdf): ‘the “few apparent instances” of the adverb with the dative are not so few after all, if one considers, for example, such passages as *Od.* 7.171 ὅς οἱ πλησίον ἷζε, Archil. fr. 128 ἐνδόκοισιν ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθείς (if the text of M[d] can be defended), and Eur. *IA* 1551f. ἡ δὲ σταθεῖσα τῷ τεκόντι πλησίον / ἔλεξε τοιάδ’ (where the *ordo verborum* makes it certainly preferable for the dative to be governed by πλησίον rather than ἔλεξε), and the fact that the adjective πλησίος and the verb πλησιάζω are regularly constructed with the dative’.

28 Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19, 21.

29 According to West (2014) 4, ἀράταν means ‘vowed,’ i.e. the Atreids established the ἐόρτα in fulfilment of a vow. Cf. Ferrari (2014) 17 and Nagy in this volume.

30 There seem to be no examples of ἄραμαι having the meaning of ‘establish something on a vow.’ Cf. *ThGL* I/2 1865–1866 s.v. ἀράομαι, 1934 s.v. ἀρητός, IV 2521–2524 s.v. εὔχομαι (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1618–1621 ἐάν τις ἀνθρώπων ἱερεῖόν τῳ θεῶν / εὐξάμενος εἶτα διασοφίζηται λέγων· / “μενετοὶ θεοί”, καὶ μἀποδιδῷ μισητίᾳ, ἀναπράξομεν καὶ ταῦτα).

31 Cf. Neri (2014) 15.

in Callimachus (*Del.* 205), where Leto 'gladly (i.e. in a agreeable, appropriate way) ceased from her grievous wandering'.[32]

As regards the Atreid(s) and the kings, the question is whether Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ is to be interpreted as a nominative plural or as a dative singular. In the *editio princeps*, Burris, Fish, and Obbink[33] prefer the dative for the following reasons: ἀράταν cannot be a dual, because the verb usually appears in the middle voice;[34] the idea that οἰ or τοὶ βασίληες is in apposition to the plural nominative Ἀτρέϊδαι is 'cumbersome and so perhaps unlikely'. Burris, Fish, and Obbink maybe prefer this interpretation because at *Odyssey* 3.167–175 only Menelaus lands on Lesbos, while Agamemnon remains at Ilion. In any case, the understanding Ἀτρεΐδᾳ is unsatisfactory: who then are the kings? And why are they being summoned with a deictic, if we read τοί in line 4 (see below)? Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) rightly link the kings to the ancestors of the ruling Lesbian aristocracy in the archaic age, recalling fragment 130a.15 of Alcaeus, where τεῖχος βασιλήϊον seems to refer to Hera's sanctuary at Messon (cf. also βασίληαν Ἤραν in line 6 of the Brothers Poem), but they do not consider the social implication of the use of the word βασιλεύς on Lesbos.

Before analysing this question, I would make some comments about the end of the stanza: with regard to the accent in P.GC. *inv.* 105 fragment 2 col. II line 12 τό...[, Burris, Fish, and Obbink say that this accent probably implies something other than an article, possibly a demonstrative. However, firstly the reference of a deictic demonstrative may be difficult to be understood; secondly, according to Neri, 'the nominative plural of the article (also as a demonstrative) is always οἰ. On the contrary, τοί is never attested: the accent added above ό by the corrector may indicate the *divisio* τ' οἰ'.[35] Moreover, 'τ'(ε) is out of place without a verb coordinated with πόησαν'. In light of these arguments, I would propose that the verb of the relative clause is πόησαντ'(ο)[36] and that we cannot rule out that οἰ βασίληες is in apposition to the plural nominative Ἀτρέϊδαι: on the contrary, this is likely from a historical and social point of view.

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32 Callim. *Del.* 205: ἡ δ' ἀρητὸν ἄλης ἀπεπαύσατο †λυγρῆς. Cf. Mineur (1984) 185–186 and Asper (2004) 431.

33 See Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19–21.

34 The dual seems to be unattested in Lesbian; cf. Neri (2014) 15.

35 Neri (2014) 14, translated into English by Chiara Meccariello.

36 For the middle of πόησαντ'(ο), cf. Hdt. 1.150.1 μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. Cf. Neri (2014) 15–16.

The Atreids in Fragment 17

In the first chapter of this volume, Dirk Obbink prefers the reading Ἀτρέϊδαι, i.e. a plural nominative: I suggest that this interpretation is congruent with the presence of βασίληες in line 4 and, more generally, with the social history of Lesbos. The word βασιλεύς is politically important in Lesbos, where the term was used to refer to the highest office.[37] However, this word is not neutral. In fact, Lesbian βασιλεῖς were in particular the Penthilidae, i.e. the royal *genos* of Lesbos:[38] they were divested of authority probably during the 7th century, but retained some measure of influence (at least) until Pittacus' regime.[39] The Penthilidae claimed to be descended from the Atreids; thus, for example, Alcaeus refers to this *genos* as Ἀτρεΐδαν in fragment 70.6. Furthermore, these Penthilidae, who claimed to be descendants of Agamemnon's son Orestes, were held to be the leaders of the Aeolic colonisation of Lesbos.[40]

As to this colonisation, according to *P.Oxy.* 3711,[41] one of the religious epithets of Dionysos in Messon, ὠμηστής, was linked to Smintheus. Antonietta Porro suggests a connection between this Smintheus and the colonisation of Lesbos:[42] in fact, according to Plutarch (*Sept. sap. conv.* 163a–d), Smintheus' daughter was offered to the Nereids and Amphitrite in order for the colonisation of the island to proceed. If *P.Oxy.* 3711 actually connects this myth with the sanctuary of Messon, it is possible that the legend said that the colonists landed at Messon.[43]

It is difficult to detect in the myth any Lesbian kings other than the Penthilidae, especially in a context in which one or both Atreidae are summoned. As a consequence, retrojection of the ancestor of the Penthilidae on Lesbos back

37 See Mazzarino (1943) 43 and Carlier (1984) 460.

38 I deliberately use the word γένος with the meaning of 'royal linage' in the light of the arguments of Bourriot (1976) and Roussel (1976). For the βασιλεῖς in Lesbos see Carlier (1984) 456–458.

39 For the Penthilidae, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 5.1311b.26–30, Strab. 13.1.3, Plut. *De soll. an.* 984e, *Conv. sept. sap.* 163a–d, and Paus. 3.2. Cf. also Carlier (1984) 458–461.

40 See Lentini (2000) 4–5 and Ferrari (2007) 33–34.

41 See *P.Oxy.* fr. 1 col. II l. 13–16.

42 See Porro (1994) 172.

43 See Porro (1994) 172–173. However, Shields (1917) 1–2 postulates that the colonists of Lesbos landed on Methymna. In fact, Anticlides of Athens (*FGrHist* 140 F 4), quoted by Athenaeus (11.466c), says that a girl was thrown overboard by the colonists as an offering to Poseidon; after some time, her lover Enalos, who followed her into the waves, extraordinarily arrived alone at Methymna.

to the heroic age would be a sort of legitimation for the ensuing Aeolic colonisation: this particularly applies if Agamemnon attends the festival referred to in line 2, because he was supposedly Penthilus' grandfather. The fact that the Atreids are the Lesbian βασιλεῖς par excellence, and that the reference to 'kings' would be unintelligible without a link to the legendary brothers suggests that Ἀτρέϊδαι has to be taken as a plural nominative and οἱ βασίληες as an apposition. So I suggest the following translation of lines 2–4: 'let there be celebrated, lady Hera, your … festival, which, agreeable to you (i.e. it propitiates Hera), the kings Atreids celebrated for themselves'.[44]

In conclusion, fragment 17 testifies to a different version of the Atreids' *nostos* from *Odyssey* 3: the first two stanzas of Sappho's poem seem to concern the founding myth of the festival mentioned in line 2, and this subject matter seems to be connected with the problem in the myth of finding a sea route. The existence of different versions is characteristic of Greek myth: Sappho chose this version—or simply used the only one she knew[45]—perhaps because of the importance of the Penthilidae in Lesbos; for this reason, the presence of both Atreids in Messon has a political and cultural motivation, also in connection with the Aeolian colonisation.

Sappho Fragment 17 and the *Kallisteia*

Scholars have sometimes connected fragment 17 with the *Kallisteia*, and used this hypothesis to fill the lacunae of this text.[46] However, taken together, the evidence of the epic tradition, the location of Messon, and lines 6–8 strongly suggest a connection between fragment 17 and the difficulties encountered during a sea journey. So I think that the festival mentioned in line 2 does not correspond to the *Kallisteia*. The function of the *Kallisteia* festival is complex, and may be connected with an initiatory process, in which case the beauty

44 Sapph. fr. 17.1–4 πλάσιον δὴ μ[.....]...οις ἀ[γέcθ]ω / πότνι' Ἦρα, cὰ χ[.....]ϛ̣ . ἐόρτα̣ / τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηcαν-/τ' οἰ βαcίληεc.

45 I am not really convinced by the hypothesis that Aeolic poets knew the Homeric poems: there is no evidence that they knew the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and, in fact, it is very hard to find reliable quotations of these poems in Sappho and Alcaeus. The poems that sound like epic, e.g. Sappho's fr. 44, deal with episodes that are not Homeric but Cyclic. See Caciagli (2011) 15 and (2014) 60. *Contra* West (2002).

46 See West (1970) 327, Calame (1977) 223–224, (2009) 4–7, and Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 7. The latter (p. 22) suggest ὀλ[ολύσδην in line 16, referring to ὀλολύγα at Alc. fr. 130b.20, where the context is the *Kallisteia*.

contest would represent the transition to the status of adult women.[47] The purpose of this festival is beyond the scope of the present argument, but I note that fragment 17 attests the presence at the performance of both women and girls, while all the *testimonia* about the *Kallisteia* refer only to γυναῖκες.[48] Obviously, it is possible that young girls were present at the *Kallisteia*, but it may be significant that, according to the *testimonia*, adult women were the leading participants in this ceremony: if the *Kallisteia* were an initiatory ceremony, it would be strange for the παρθένοι not to be mentioned by the sources. The founding myth does not concern the beauty contest anyway, and there are no hints of the *Kallisteia* in fragment 17: the poem concerns a return home over the sea, and the present request is possibly connected to this question, as is suggested by ἀπίκε[σθαι *vel similia* in the last line of the poem.[49] These considerations probably preclude identification of the *Kallisteia* with the festival performed in fragment 17.

The Brothers Poem and the Occasion of Sappho Fragment 17

Before the publication of the new Sappho texts I had already suggested that fragment 17 concerns Charaxos: he is the only person linked with Sappho who sailed the seas as the Atreids did.[50] Therefore, I postulated that, through fragment 17, Sappho along with her friends and maybe family members seeks the protection of Hera and her *paredroi* Zeus and Dionysos,[51] so that Charaxos may find the proper sea route and arrive safely on Lesbos. Apart from the mythological part of fragment 17, I have based this hypothesis on the theme of Sappho fragments 5 and 15. The new text of fragment 17—especially lines 7–8 ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν γὰρ̣ εὔρη[ν] / οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο—is congruent with this hypothesis. The fact that the Atreids petitioned Hera for a route to leave Lesbos and that Charaxos' friends ask her that he find the route to return to Lesbos are not in contradiction with each other: it is possible to suggest that the mythical episode

47 See Brelich (1969) 338–340 and Calame (1977) 223–224.

48 See below.

49 See Neri (2014) 18.

50 See Caciagli, L'usage du mythe chez les poètes éoliens (forthcoming), (2010) 236–227, and (2011) 153–156, as well as Neri (2014) 22. For Charaxos' troubles at sea, see Sappho fr. 15.1–8 [according to Fraenkel's (1928) reconstruction], the Brothers Poem, and Ovid *Her*. 15.65–88. For Charaxos as a merchant seaman (especially in wine), cf. Strab. 17.1.33 and Ath. 13.596b; see also Caciagli (2011) 250–269.

51 For the function of Zeus and Dionysos in the Lesbian triad see Picard (1946).

that concerned the Atreids was the *aition* of one of the functions of the Messon sanctuary, i.e. the protection from the dangers of the sea. Moreover, the aim of the Atreids and Charaxos is to return home. If the βλάβη that Charaxos can suffer probably concerns sea storms (cf. 5.1 ἀβλάβη[ν, 15.2 ε̣ὐπλό̣ϊ[α, 6 ἄ]νεμ[ος, 7 λί[μ]ε̣νος), the Atreids possibly had to find a route to avoid the storm that Athena planned.

The Brothers Poem, which is clearly not a religious poem of the type that fragment 5 probably is,[52] possibly provides fresh perspectives on this hypothesis. The *persona loquens* uses a first person plural that may or may not include the addressee, owing to ambiguity regarding its gender, because ἀρτέμεας (line 13) could be masculine or feminine. In any case, the poet probably addresses a relative or a close friend, since we are led to believe that the addressee is deeply concerned with Charaxos' situation. In regard to this addressee, it is significant that we can identify him with one of the following figures: one of Sappho's parents, Scamandronymos or Cleis; one among her brothers, e.g. 'Eurygyios';[53] a friend of Charaxos or Sappho; or a member of their less immediate family, such as a cousin or brother-in-law.[54] First of all, we have to consider the leading role played by the addressee, so much so that the addressee can send Sappho to pray to Hera: for this reason it is unlikely that the addressee is one of Charaxos' friends or distant relatives. It is possible to dismiss Sappho's father too: if the Ps.-Ovidian *Epistula Sapphous* (61–62) is to be trusted,[55] he died

52 Following an oral suggestion by Neri, I take fr. 98 and the Brothers Poem to be a prelude of sorts to ritual songs; so the Brothers Poem would be an 'introduction' to fr. 17.

53 For the name of this Sappho's brother see Di Benedetto (1982) 217–219. Eurygyios, a spelling consistent with Εὐρύγιος in *Suda* σ 107 Adler, is possibly the correct reading in *P.Oxy*. 1800 fr. 1 l. 8: ἀδελφοὺς δ'] ἔσχε τρεῖς, | [Ἐρ]ι̣[γυιον (*vel* [Εὐρ]ύ̣[γυιον) καὶ Λά]ρ̣ιχον, πρε|σβύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον. The *editor princeps* of this text, Hunt, prefers the reading [Ἐρ]ι̣[γυιον on the basis of Arr., *Anab*. 3.6.5 (cf. Diod. Sic. 17.81.3), where it is said that a general of Alexander the Great was called Ἐρίγυιος ὁ Λαρίχου, and *Suda* σ 107 Adler, where one of Sappho's father names is Ἠρίγυος, possibly a corruption of Ἐρίγυιος. If in fr. 213Ah.40–41 it is possible only to read]|γυιος (Ἐρί-]|γυιος is supplement by Page), in *schol*. Pind., *Ol*. 10–11 D.—a biographical epigram—the name of Sappho's father is Εὐρυγύου, metrically guaranteed. So, there is no good evidence that the name of Sappho's third brother was Erigyios.

54 Bettenworth (2014) suggests that Sappho's wet-nurse is the addressee, on the grounds that the attitude of the poet in l. 5 (θρύλησθα) might have been too aggressive if the addressee was Sappho's mother Cleis (cf. Obbink [2014] 41 and Ferrari [2014] 4). In any case, I think that a wet-nurse could hardly have had the authority to send the poet to Messon.

55 The sources of the *Epistula Sapphous* are obscure, but it is likely that its author knew Sappho's poetry: even if the story of Phaon was mainly based upon comedies that dealt

when the poet was a child. As for Sappho's mother, I am not convinced that a woman could play such a leading role in archaic Greece, especially when it was necessary to make a long trip in order to pray to Hera (the distance from Mytilene to Messon is approximately 30 kilometres). At any rate, we have to consider that the *persona loquens* will not go unbidden to Hera, but a κέλευσμα is required.[56] Why would an adult woman like Sappho have to be subordinate to her mother? And why could her mother not go herself? Charaxos and Larichos are excluded by the text itself: the narrator complains that Larichos is too young to raise his head, while Charaxos, who was Sappho's eldest brother and probably the leader of her family after Scamandronymos's death, is obviously absent.

So it is possible that the addressee—and the head of the household during Charaxos' absence—was Eurygyios,[57] Sappho's third brother. We do not know whether he was older than Larichos, but this may perhaps be inferred from the fact that in *P.Oxy*. 1800, a biography of Sappho, the name of Eurygyios appears before that of Larichos and Larichos is perhaps referred to as ‹νέον› ὄντα.[58]

with the poet, some elements could be inferences drawn from her verses, for which reason it may be mistaken simply to dismiss a "fact" like Scamandronymos' death. Cf. Knox (1995) 278–279.

56 Sappho has to ask someone in order to go to Messon (l. 9–10): even if the poet has a leading role in her group, it seems to be necessary that she be prompted to attend the sanctuary. I suggest that only the (male) leader of her faction or family could perform this task. As for the poet's mother Cleis, it is difficult to read μα̣[[hence μᾶ[τερ by West (2014) 9] in *P.Oxy*. 2289 fr. 5, i.e. in the *incipit* of Brothers Poem: in fact, a comparison to frs. 2.1 and 4.4 of this papyrus seems to show that the stroke on the right of the μ in fr. 5 is part of μ itself and not of a possible following α. Furthermore, I am not convinced that Sappho's mother was still living during Charaxos' affair, which possibly dates between 585–570 BC, given that Rhodopis' *floruit* was under Amasis (570–526 BC, cf. Hdt. 2.134.2): if Snell's ἐγέννα̣[τ' ἔφα in fr. 98a.1 or *similia* are acceptable *supplementa*, the past tense of φημί would even suggest that Cleis had died in the first decade of the 6th century BC, i.e. during Pittacus' government. This assumption is not in contradiction with the fact that Larichos is young in the Brothers Poem, possibly closer to becoming an adult (cf. lines 21–22) if Charaxos' affair takes place 15 or 20 years after the seizure of power by Pittacos. According to Ferrari (2014) 1, who goes by the evidence from Ancient Chronographs, Sappho was born between 640–630 BC and, consequently, Charaxos' affair dates to 620–610 BC; however, this dating is not consistent with Rhodopis/Doricha's *floruit*. For the chronology of Lesbian history see Mosshammer (1979) 246–254. On the relationship between Doricha and Rhodopis see Caciagli (2011) 250–261.

57 See also Lardinois (2014) 191 and Lardinois's contribution to this volume.

58 See n. 53.

Given the lack of *testimonia* about Eurygyios' behaviour, it is difficult to guess why, if he was—as I have proposed—the temporary leader of Sappho's family, she hoped that Larichos became a man. In any case, it is important that Sappho invites the addressee to send her to Hera, whose epithet is significantly βαcίλ̣η̣αν (cf. also Zeus in line 6). This sentence probably hints at Messon. So, according to the Brothers Poem, Sappho wants to entreat Hera for Charaxos' safety along with that of the cargo, herself, her interlocutor and possibly her audience (line 13: κἄμμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτ̣έ̣μ̣μεας).[59] This is exactly the context and the occasion that I have postulated for fragment 17.

Sappho Fragment 98, the Brothers Poem, and the Composition of Sappho's Audience

I have dealt so far with the *persona loquens* in the Brothers Poem, the women and girls in fragment 17, and the audience of these poems. If we accept that Sappho addresses a relative in the Brothers Poem, possibly Eurygyios, we would have a situation quite similar to that of fragment 98. Here, Sappho talks about her mother and speaks to her daughter, possibly hinting at family difficulties. Fragment 98 is a difficult text and the *obeloi* in lines 1–3 of fragment 98b (*P. Mil.* 32) prevent an easy reconstruction of poem,[60] but fragment 98a (*P. Haun.* 301) does seem to recall the words of Sappho's mother: when she was young, there was no embellishment for the hair other than a ribbon or crown of flowers. However, since wearing mitras from Sardis had recently come in vogue, this fragment apparently focuses on fashion. Fragment 98b entails several interesting possibilities as regards its possible audience.[61]

59 See Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28. As to the link between the Brothers Poem and fr. 17, see n. 52. I suggest that fr. 17 has a wider audience than Sappho and her interlocutor because of the possible social role of Sappho's poetry: in my view, e.g. frs. 1, 16, 22, 27, 31, 71, 94, and 96 offer a set of paradigmatic situations for Sappho's female group and her audience in general. So, when the poet speaks about herself or her audience, the content of her poem is also addressed to her friends and her listeners in general. See Caciagli (2011) 148–149, 175–176, 245–249. The archaic sympotic poems may provide parallels to this situation: e.g. a poem to a companion—cf. e.g. fr. 38a by Alcaeus or fr. 14 by Archilochos—may be ideologically important for the sympotic group.

60 Neri (2012) provides a recent survey of the *status quaestionis* of Sapph. fr. 98.

61 Cf. Ferrari (2007) 11–26.

4	[ ].[	
5	παι.α.ειον ἔχην πο.[	... to have ...
6	_ αἰκẹ.ṇ ποικιλασκ...(.) [	if ... decorated ...
7	ταῦτα τὰς Κλεανακτίδạ[ν]	... (the city has?) these memorials
8	φύγαṣ †ᾆ̣λις ἀ πόλις ἔχει†	of the exile of Cleanactidae;
9	_ μνάματ’· ọἶδε γὰρ αἶνα διέρρυẹ[ν]	for these ... wasted away dreadfully
1	—σοὶ δ’ ἔγω Κλέι ποικίλαν	—But for you, Cleis,
2	—οὐκ ἔχω—πόθεν ἔσσεται; –	—I have no way of obtaining a decorated
3	—_ μιτράν‹αν›· ἀλλὰ τῷ Μυτιληνάῳ	—headband; but to the Mytilenean

P. Mil. 32 = SAPPH. fragment 98b, trans. CAMPBELL, modified

The fragment is in a terrible state:[62] lines 4–6, which are actually at the beginning of the Milan fragment, possibly addresses the subject of fashion too, in that ποικιλασκ...(.) in line 6 seems to recall lines 10–11 (μ]ịτράναν ... π̣οικίλαν) of the Copenhagen fragment; Sappho probably went on to suggest that the current situation in the city (lines 8–9) is linked to the exile suffered by the Cleanactidae. Three lines with *obeloi* follow, in which Sappho says that it is impossible to find a mitra for her daughter. It is likely that these lines belong before lines 4–9 in fragment 98b and that they follow fragment 98a, which also mentions a

62 I prefer—and I follow—the reading of Mazzarino (1943) 51–61 to that of Page (1955) 102–103: see Caciagli (2011) 210–211. According to Page (1955) 102, 'Sappho tells her daughter that she cannot provide her with fashionable attire (l. 1–3); such things are indeed obtainable in Mytilene, but there the Cleanactidae are in power—they are reminders of the time when our enemies were in exile (l. 7–8) and we were in the city; now they are in the city and we are in exile; our fine clothes are all worn out, and we have no means of obtaining more'. So Page reads ạἶδε in l. 9, saying that this pronoun cannot be connected with Κλεανακτίδαν because it refers to the succeeding text in the Greek, not to the preceding one. However, in l. 9 the reading is probably ọἶδε because the *omicron* is written in the same way as those in lines 1 and 8; furthermore, a tendency is not a law, so οἶδε could in fact refer here to Κλεανάκτιδαι [cf. Alc. fr. 70.2, Sapph. fr. 27.6, Soph., *Ant.* 449, and Hdt. 1.137.1. See also Schwyzer, *GG* II 209, LSJ[9] 1198, Bailly 1350, and Gentili-Catenacci (2007) 153]; anyway, the contrast between ταῦτα and οἶδε could have a spatial meaning: see Neri (2012) 39. In Page's reading the link between the clothing and the demonstrative pronouns is vague, which does not explain the allusion to the man from Mytilene. Finally, it is unlikely that an aristocrat would have been unable to find a Lydian mitra while in exile, given that such wares were available outside Lesbos too (cf. Alcm. fr. 1.67–68); this being the case, the simple fact of the exile does not necessarily explain the poverty suffered by Sappho's family, and indeed guest-host relationships, e.g. such as those enjoyed by Sappho with Syracuse (cf. *Marmor Parium* ep. 36), provided financial help to exiles. See Neri (2012) 39–42.

mitra. These obelized lines are important for understanding the meaning and the audience of this poem. Up until this point the text seems concerned with fashion and grace, obviously a favourite theme of Sappho's. This is suitable for a performance before Sappho's 'friends' only. When the poet sings ἀλλὰ τῷ Μυτιληνάῳ (line 3), however, she marks a turning point, in effect connecting the lack of the mitra with the political situation in her city, as is implied by lines 4–9.

I suggest that it is more likely that the 'Mytilenean man' is Pittacus, who possibly enacted a sumptuary law of the type promoted by sages and lawgivers in archaic Greece.[63] If this was indeed the case, imported consumer goods such as a mitra would have been hard to find in Lesbos during his government: 'the lack of a mitra is the souvenir that the city has of the exile suffered by the Cleanactidae, because this faction is terribly scattered',[64] i.e., when the Cleanactidae were in power, the mitra was available in Lesbos. So fragment 98 would be more than a poem about *habrosyne*: it would—I suspect—address the specific difficulties of Sappho's family's faction. I also suspect that a poem like this could have had a wider audience than just Sappho's female 'friends'. Lines 4–9 of the Milan fragment suggest an audience involved in politics and concerned with the difficulties of the Cleanactidae. If the attendance of Sappho's male relatives at the performance of fragment 98 is to be seriously considered, then it is more difficult to determine the occasion of this poem: in what context would male and female relatives have attended performances in which a 'private' theme like the complaint by Sappho's daughter about the lack of a mitra would have been suitable? Given the concern expressed over the ornament, fragment 98 was perhaps sung as a religious festival was approaching, but the themes of this poem suggest a sympotic atmosphere. The presence of women and men together seems to rule out this possibility, however, especially if Sappho was an aristocrat and not a courtesan, the latter possibility have been defended by Renate Schlesier.[65] So I may suggest a family domestic gathering or, at least, a

63 See Mazzarino (1943) 44 and 51–52.

64 Sappho fr. 98b.7–9, my translation.

65 See Schlesier (2013). However, in the *corpus* of Sappho's poems there are no indications that the poet was a courtesan: frs. 1 (lines 21–23 about reciprocity), 5 (especially lines 6–8) or the Brothers Poem (esp. lines 10–12 and 17–24) show her firm adherence to the aristocratic code, while *SLG* 261a.7–11 (ἡ *scil.* Sappho δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχία[ς] παιδεύσα τὰς ἀρίστας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας) attests her aristocratic status. The idea that Sappho was a courtesan is probably a rereading by comedy and Athenian symposia: see Wilamowitz (1913) and Yatromanolakis (2007). See also Bierl's contribution to this volume (on the Brothers Song).

context that implies the concurrent presence of male and female 'friends' along with relatives outside a sacred place.

In light of this reconstruction, I suggest that the audiences of fragment 98 and the Brothers Poem are similar. Of course, in the Brothers Poem the composition of 'we' in lines 13 and 21 is problematic, as is a suitable context for its performance. To form an idea of the composition of Sappho's audience here, we have to consider the entire *corpus* of her poetry, with an eye to whether her group would have been in attendance at all her performances. In 1993 Parker proposed that Sappho had two different audiences, one that consisted of her 'friends', the other of the listeners during her professional wedding performances: he supposed that Sappho had only adult companions, and that the young women of her poems simply played an active part in wedding ceremonies. However, this division in Sappho's audience is unlikely, since fragment 27, for example, shows that her group may be attending all her performances. This poem seems to be connected to a wedding, and was probably performed before the beginning of the ceremony (cf. στείχομεν ἐς γάμον line 8). With regard to the audience, it is important to note that this poem shares with others in the Sapphic *corpus* the theme of memory (lines 4–5): as in fragments 16, 94, perhaps 95, and 96 we find in fragment 27 a person inviting someone to remember—or who herself remembers (see fragment 94)—a past related to sacral activities, musical performances, love, etc. These poems, especially fragment 94 with its οἶσθα γὰρ ὤς σε πεδήπομεν (line 8), seem to refer to the relatively stable female group of Sappho's 'friends' and companions.[66] So fragment 27 has a liminal position in the Sapphic *corpus*, between a wedding and a group's poem.[67] To me this situation suggests that Sappho's group always took part in her poetical performances: fragment 27 would imply that the addressee was a member of this group who was perhaps getting married (cf. lines 8–9) and is being invited to remind the audience (line 6 κἄμμ') of the time when she was a child. If we accept this reading, it is possible to dismiss Parker's idea of two Sapphic audiences, because the weddings concerned women who were members of Sappho's group. I have accordingly proposed that the core of Sappho's audience was stable, as was that of Alcaeus' according to Rösler's (1980) reconstruction. This would mean that Sappho's female 'friends' are likely to have attended the performance of the Brothers Poem.

66 See Caciagli (2011) 43 and n. 2.

67 See Caciagli (2009).

This general understanding of Sappho's audience provides a basis on which to reconstruct the listeners of the Brothers Poem. To complete the picture, we must add that one of the criteria for being numbered among Sappho's 'friends' was possibly membership in the political faction to which her family belonged. I mean by 'faction' a *στάσις*, i.e. an alliance of aristocratic families of which the masculine ἑταιρεῖαι were the leadership; of course, the women did not have a political role, but they could share the ideological principles and the political interests of their families.[68] In this regard, it is possible to compare Sappho fragment 71[69] with Alcaeus fragment 112 and its *scholia*: from the elements provided by them, it can reasonably be conjectured that recruitment by groups that were in rivalry with Sappho's or Alcaeus' was a consequence of familial affiliation. In the case of fragment 71, the poet blames Mika for choosing the φιλότης of women associated with the Penthilidae:[70] φιλότης is here not simply 'love', especially if we consider that it designates a relationship between a woman and a female group. This 'friendship' was the relationship that binds the members of male *hetaireiai* as well as Sappho's group.[71] Sappho's or Alcaeus' rival group is identified through a patronymic, so it may be inferred e.g. that the affiliation with the Penthilidae is the key factor for inclusion in the group of Andromeda or Gorgo. This situation, which is probably comparable to Sappho's or Alcaeus', does not mean that all the members of this kind of group were relatives; in fact, a faction consisted of both relatives and allies, the latter obviously potential relatives through matrimonial politics.[72]

These considerations make it possible that Sappho's relatives were present at the performance of the Brothers Poem, especially if the addressee is Eurygyios. This interpretation helps to reconstruct the audiences of the poems of Sappho that concern Charaxos and more generally her family poems. These poems share similar themes, i.e. the social status of Sappho's family, although they probably had different contexts. If we accept the idea that fragment 17 is connected to Charaxos, this latter poem may be part of this scenario.

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68 See Caciagli (2011) 201–232; see also Aloni 1983.

69 Sapph. fr. 71.1–3:]μις σε Μίκα /]ελα[.. ἀλ]λά σ' ἔγωὐκ ἐάσω /]ṿ φιλότ[ατ'] ἤλεο Πενθιλήαṿ.

70 See Ferrari (2007) 33, 59–61.

71 See Caciagli (2011) 56–88. Thgn. (1311–1318) is a significant parallel for Sapph. fr. 71, especially the first six lines: οὐκ ἔλαθες κλέψας, ὦ παῖ· … / τούτοισ', οἷσπερ νῦν ἄρθμιος ἠδὲ φίλος / ἔπλευ—ἐμὴν δὲ μεθῆκας ἀτίμητον φιλότητα – / οὐ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον. / ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἑταῖρον / πιστόν· καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχοισθα φίλον.

72 This reconstruction explains the frequent betrayals that characterise male and female groups of friends: when an alliance between two factions was broken, some members of these groups changed communities.

Prayers for Charaxos and Their Audience

Given the possible connection between Sappho's family poems and an extended audience, including her family members, it is interesting to analyse fragments 5 and 15 in order to reconstruct their audience. Formally, these fragments are prayers in the same way as fragment 17, and they too concern Charaxos' situation, even though they possibly refer to two different moments. Fragment 5 is challenging, even after Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) have established the text of its *incipit* and ruled out Cypris: in fact, the *Anrede* in the *incipit* (πότνιαι Νηρήιδες) differs from the address in the *explicit* (line 18 σὺ [δ]ὲ̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣). This is a very strange feature for a prayer, given the ring composition that normally occurs in this kind of text. Although it is difficult to distinguish between a real prayer and a fictional one, I suggest that this poem is a real prayer: firstly, the *incipit* of the poem is characterized by the same *deixis* as Alcaeus fragment 129 or Sappho fragments 2 and 17, which were performed—in my view—in sacral places.[73] The structure of fragment 5 is congruent with a real prayer: there are addresses in *incipit* and in *explicit* and a series of requests to the gods. The differences between this poem and e.g. Sappho's fragment 1 is evident: in this latter poem the name of the beloved is missing, while the real core of the song is Aphrodite's justice that the poet states in lines 21–24. In fragment 5, the usual deity of Sappho's poetry, Aphrodite, is summoned, but with an epiclesis, Cypris, that in general implies her connection with the sea.[74]

The poet makes two requests to the goddess: firstly, that Charaxos arrives at Lesbos without harm (line 1 ἀβλάβη[ν), assuming that a sea trip is also suggested by the address to the Nereides in line 1; secondly, that 'as much as he has previously gone wrong grant atonement for it all', i.e. probably that he ends his relationship with Doricha. In this context, it is suggestive that Sappho uses a *lexis* close to a male and political context: she talks about ἀνία not in an erotic sense, and about φίλοι and ἔχθροι in a manner similar to that of e.g. Solon (fragment 13.5–6), when she asks her brother to increase her τιμή and hints at the πολῖται, whose opinion was clearly important for an aristocrat, as Archilochus (fragment 14) also suggests. So the poem does not only concern love, which would normally be the case when Sappho mentions Aphrodite, but the social status of Sappho's family. As for the listeners, I suggest that the theme of this poem points to an audience that consisted of Charaxos' male

73 See Caciagli (2011) 136–162.

74 See Rougé (1975) 207–208.

relatives and 'friends',[75] people who were deeply affected by Charaxos' affair and its social, economical and political consequences. In any case, the address to Cypris, the goddess of Sappho's poetry, can support the idea that her group was present too: it addresses the same divinity with a different function than is usual, i.e. Aphrodite may be here εὔπλοια as in fragment 15.2. This deity played an erotic role in Charaxos' story anyway, especially because the love between Charaxos and Doricha is probably one of the reasons for the reproaches made by the citizens (line 14).

It is possible to make similar comments about fragment 15, where Aphrodite, again with the epiclesis Cypris, has a more explicitly erotic role. If Fränkel's (1928) reconstruction has merit, lines 1–8 concern a sea journey, as εὔπλọι̣[α in line 2 and λί[μ]ε̣νος in line 7 suggest. The circumstances of fragment 15 are different from those of fragment 5: the former sounds like a wish that Charaxos not fall in love with Doricha again, possibly during another stay in Egypt; in fragment 5, Sappho prays to Aphrodite to lead her brother to Lesbos without harm. Fragment 15 is possibly more personal than fragment 5, where the poet only hints at Charaxos' mistakes (in line 5), though the remarks about the audience of fragment 5 likely apply to fragment 15 too. An important question would be the kind of context that these fragments imply, since a prayer does not necessary entail a sacred place in ancient Greece. I would only suggest that fragment 5 sounds more like a proper prayer; the deixis in line 2 is potentially evidence for a shrine, especially when we consider that poems like Alcaeus fragment 129 or Sappho fragment 17 are characterised by strong deixis. However, the limited nature of the information available suggests caution in this regard. Finally, fragment 5 and 15 may be similar to fragment 17 in context and audience, although they are addressed to different goddesses: given my reading of fragment 17, this poem and fragment 5 seem to share a similar occasion, i.e. a prayer to a goddess for Charaxos's safe return from Egypt.

The Audience of Sacral Poems

The analysis of Sappho fragment 5, 15, and 17 raises the question about what kind of the audience might be implied by poems that relate to performances in sacred places. It is probable that no Greek shrine was 'private', in the sense of

75 The word φίλοι in fr. 5.6 may refer to Charaxos' friends, i.e. his ἑταῖροι, or the 'friends' of Sappho's family: at any rate, regarding the identity of the φίλοι, the *lexis* of this poem perhaps suggests that Sappho's audience included men.

being open only to a particular faction, family, *hetaireia*, or other group with a similarly narrow composition; this is particularly true of Messon, which was the federal sanctuary of the Lesbians from the archaic to the Roman age. Apart from fragment 17, the poems associated with this shrine show different situations anyway. In fragment 129 Alcaeus probably refers—through κήνων 'Ε[ρίννυ]ς in line 14—to the men who died because of Pittacus and reminds his audience of the oath that established the alliance between Alcaeus' and Pittacus' *hetaireiai*.[76] The occasion of fragment 129 is a special one, not linked to the festival calendar of Messon. This situation possibly explains the makeup of the audience: Alcaeus' group probably found in Messon asylum from Myrsilus' guards, who followed this group from Mytilene to Pyrrha after Pittacus' betrayal.[77] The audience thus seems to consist of Alcaeus' companions, who have an interest in the oath described by the poet. In fragment 130b Alcaeus complains about his loneliness and his witnessing at a distance of the female *Kallisteia*; from fragment 130a we know that the poet was alone, without 'friends' (line 1, ἀχνάσδημι κάκως. οὔτε γὰρ οἰ φίλοι) and we can imagine for these poems a different audience than of fragment 129. With regard to fragment 130b in particular, we can imagine that Alcaeus' *hetaireia* was partially scattered, with the result that the poet felt isolated.

Leaving aside Messon, other poems in the *corpora* of Sappho and Alcaeus may be connected to sacral contexts, such as Sappho fragments 1 and 2 (prayers to Aphrodite) or Alcaeus fragments 34A (to Dioscouroi), 45 (to Ebros) and 303Ab (to Apollo = Sappho fragment 99.10–21 L.-P.). Moreover, Sappho fragment 44a and Alcaeus fragments 307 and 308 may be interpreted as προοίμια. However, it is sometimes difficult to understand whether these poems are performed in a sacred place or not so that it is problematic to assign these poems to a specific context and audience: in fact, the Greeks could pray in and outside a sanctuary, as sympotic hymns show.[78] Sappho fragment 1 well illustrates this problem, because there are not deictic or pragmatic elements to connect the poem to a specific context. Of course, it is possible to speculate about the audience by analysing the theme of the poem: since in line 24 the addressee is a women and lines 19–24 seem to display the ideological *summa* of Sappho's

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76 Mazzarino (1943) 39–41 suggests that Pittacos was a member of Alcaeus' ἑταιρεία. However, it is possible that Pittacos had his own ἑταιρεία (cf. Alc. frs. 70.2–5 and 305a.23–24): Alc. fr. 129.14–20 may refer to the συνωμοσία between Pittacus and Alcaeus' groups, i.e. a sort of alliance between ἑταιρεῖαι, as Sartori (1957) 30–33 argues: cf. Caciagli (2011) 48–50.

77 See *schol.* Alc. fr. 60.

78 See Fabbro (1995) XIX–XXIII.

group,[79] the audience of fragment 1 may be congruent with female friends of the poet. Alcaeus fragments 34A and 45 are probably invocatory hymns, but it is impossible to understand the connection with the *hic et nunc* on account of the text's poor condition. Of course, these hymns may be sympotic poems, if we follow Rösler's idea that Alcaeus' poetry was entirely sympotic,[80] but it is also possible to postulate a religious context involving audiences more extended than the *hetaireia* and including the wider community of citizens. The same goes perhaps for Sappho fragment 44a and Alcaeus fragments 307 and 308. Sappho fragment 2 provides more elements to reconstruct its audience and context: the poet probably describes a sacred ἔναυλος dedicated to Cypris, where the goddess is summoned to perform a libation.[81] Sappho sketches the place of the poetic performance, with apple trees, streams, roses, meadows, horses, spring flowers and breezes, all of which have erotic associations, which is possibly a priori evidence that the target audience is Sappho's group, for whom Eros is essential. This element is obviously not explicit, but the theme of this poem probably supports this reconstruction.[82] Finally, it is possible that Alcaeus fragment 303Ab (= Sappho fragment 99.10–24 L.-P.) was performed in the temple of Apollo Napaios,[83] near Messon, but the text of this fragment is in a terrible state, so that it is impossible to speculate about its audience. Finally, a sacral context does not imply a specific audience, because its composition depends on the reasons that urge people to pray.

The Audience and the Occasion of Sappho Fragment 17

The analysis that we have provided of fragment 17 as well as fragments 5, 15 and the Brothers Poem implies that these poems are not fictional. In this regard, I should like to add that, apart from rare examples, it is quite impossible to determine whether the content of a poem is fictional or not. Greek poems are in general ambiguous: this situation is not only the consequence of the extremely fragmentary nature of archaic Greek poetry, but also of the fact that this kind of poetry was intrinsically allusive because most of the contextual elements, such as references to an historical moment, the occasion or the

79 See Caciagli (2011) 77–88.

80 See Rösler (1980) 33–41.

81 See Caciagli (2015).

82 In this respect it may be significant that Athenaeus (11.663e) comments on the quotation of the last stanza of this poem, τούτοις τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐμοῖς τε καὶ σοῖς.

83 See Koldewey (1890) 44–46.

place of the performance, were self-evident to the audience, so that the poet did not need to make them explicit. Obviously, this situation is significant for the first performance, which is the object of my analysis of fragment 17. The poet, for example, does not mention here the name of Charaxos or his story, as she does not in fragment 5, because her audience knows the occasion of the performance.

So, given that the historical evidence for archaic Greece is fragmentary, does a pragmatic approach to Greek poetry make sense? In my view, the point is not actually to divine the one correct context for a poem, but simply to raise the question about the context, for which the pragmatic and anthropological approach seems necessary. If this approach is not sufficient to reconstruct the context, we can discover it through an analysis of the themes of a poem, which has to complement the pragmatic approach. Such an analysis, of course, runs the risk of subjectivity, but I suggest that 'non-pragmatic' approaches run a greater risk, i.e. of being anachronistic. Consider Anne Pippin Burnett's (1983) charge against 'occasionalist' scholars who 'refuse the archaic singers the freedom to create their own fictions': in fact, 'archaic poets, like poets everywhere, invented both ego and occasion when they composed their songs' (p. 6).[84] This approach may generate anachronisms by attempting to associate social phenomena that belong to fundamentally different historical moments and societies.

A similar risk attends if scholars are insufficiently attentive to the performative context when they compare literary topics or themes of different poets, because in archaic Greece the meaning of a topic or a theme could change according to the occasion. Of course a pragmatic approach does not exclude fictional elements in archaic Greek poetry:[85] Sappho fragment 1, for instance, seems to be fictional, especially because the poet does not mention an essential element for a real prayer, i.e. the name of her beloved in the request to Aphrodite. However, the question to be raised is the following: what kind of fiction would emerge from archaic Greek poetry? If we postulate that Greek poems are not 'literature' in the modern sense, but acts of worship or songs that were part of social phenomena like symposia, their link to the concrete context of the performance has to be postulated, even if the content is fictional. For example, fragment 31 is probably fictional, but the opening scene can hint

84 On the New Critical approach hidden beneath Burnett's analysis see Rösler (1984) 202–203.

85 See Latacz (1985), Rösler (1990), and Calame (2005) 13–40, who provides a methodological framework for these questions.

at a typical one in the life of Sappho's group and the sufferings of the poet may be ideologically paradigmatic for her audience, probably in regard to occasion that line 17 probably implies.

Given this methodological framework, I suggest that, in the case of Sappho fragment 17, we have more information than about other poems to recreate the context, the occasion and the audience. In regard to the context, there is a fairly coherent *corpus* of poems related to Messon, with supplementary epigraphic and literary *testimonia* that make it possible to get a good sense of what this sanctuary was like; further, we have many pieces of information regarding Charaxos' affair, so a poem that addresses the difficulties of a sea trip naturally suggests Sappho's brother: both the myth about the *nostos* of the Atreids and the comparison with the Brothers Poem, fragment 5 and 15 may confirm this suggestion.

As for the audience of fragment 17, we have initially postulated that the core of Sappho's audience always attended her performances. However, a survey of her family and sacral poems shows that the composition of the audience depends on occasion. This observation is relevant to Sappho fragment 17 if we accept that this poem refers to Charaxos' affair. Lines 11–20, though fragmentary, are crucial to understanding the audience of this poem. A first person plural (line 11) says that 'we' now perform in accordance with the heroic past (line 12 τὸ πάλ̣[αιον);[86] the young and adult women of line 14 perhaps play a role in this performance, while the present festival, which reenacts the heroic one, possibly concerns holy things. So the prayer would be a request to Hera for a safe trip: just as she did for the Atreids, the goddess now must help Charaxos to return home and thereby reach (e.g. ἀπίκεσθαι) the place where fragment 17 is performed. Given these elements, it is likely that Sappho's group was present at the performance, maybe taking part in it: it is possible that the γυναῖκες and παρθένοι of line 14 were members of this group, especially if this was—as has been suggested—a female *hetaireia* consisting of both young and adult women. This hypothesis is especially appealing if the members of Sappho's group were actually recruited from a family or an alliance of families, because they would probably have been affected by Charaxos' behaviour. Thus, though Sappho's major audience probably consisted of her 'friends,' it is possible that a performance could sometimes be opened up to other listeners according to the occasion, potentially even to her fellow citizens, so that, in the present case, the members of her faction may have been in attendance at the performances that speak of Charaxos' affair.

86 Cf. Calame (2009) 6.

Finally, as for the occasion of fragment 17, we have ruled out that it was performed during the *Kallisteia* because its mythical part does not concern beauty but difficulties in a sea trip. However, the fact that the poet evokes a festival in line 2 suggests that this poem was performed in connection with a specific moment in the sacral calendar of Messon: in spite of the apparently 'private' aim of this prayer, its performance was probably radically different from that of Alcaeus fragment 129, whose occasion was linked to an accident that affected the usual audience of this poet, that is to say his *hetaireia*.

CHAPTER 21

A Poetics of Sisterly Affect in the Brothers Song and in Other Songs of Sappho*

Gregory Nagy

The Brothers Song and other new papyrus texts, including the first stanza of what is now known as the Kypris Song, reveal some heretofore missing pieces of the poetic personality whom we know as Sappho.[1] In what I have to say here about this personality, I concentrate on the identity of Sappho as sister.

My approach builds on my previous publications about not only Sappho but also Alcaeus.[2] My general argument in all these publications is that we can see the personalities of Sappho and Alcaeus come to life only if we view them as poetic creations of their songs. To say it another way, the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus were meant to be heard by the public who did hear them. They were not meant for private readers. And, in the case of compositions like the Brothers song and the Kypris Song, my specific argument is that the expressions of sisterly affect in such songs were sure to delight the listening public.

But what exactly would be so delightful about songs expressing an aristocratic woman's tormented feelings about a brother who squandered his family's wealth on a courtesan in Egypt? That is what her brother named Charaxos seems to have done, as we learn from a variety of ancient sources, starting with Herodotus (2.134–135). So, where is the delight here? In attempting to answer such a question, I focus on the mixed feelings of the sister, as expressed by the poetics of Sappho.

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1 The relevant texts have been published by Obbink (2014b) and Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) and re-edited by Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

2 Esp. Nagy (2007b).

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Poetic Expressions of Mixed Feelings

I start with the first three stanzas of fr. 5.1–11 of Sappho:

Πότνιαι Νηρήιδεϲ ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]
τὸν καϲίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεϲθα[ι]
κὤττι ϝῷ̣ θύμωι κε θέληι γένεϲθαι
κῆνο τελέϲθην,

ὄϲϲα δὲ πρόϲθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦϲα[ι]
καὶ φίλοιϲι ϝοῖϲι χάραν γένεϲθαι
κὠνίαν ἔχθροιϲι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
μηδάμα μηδ' εἴϲ·

τὰν καϲιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόηϲθαι̣
[μέ]ϲδονοϲ τίμαϲ, [ὀν]ίαν δὲ λύγραν
[...]οτοιϲι π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων

O Queen Nereids, unharmed (*ablabes*)
may my brother, please grant it, arrive to me here (*tuide*),
and whatever thing he wants in his heart (*thymos*) to happen,
let that thing be fulfilled (*telesthen*).

And however many mistakes he made in the past, undo them all.
Let him become a joy (*chara*) to those who are near-and-dear (*philoi*) to him,
and let him be a pain (*onia*) to those who are enemies (*echthroi*). As for us,
may we have no enemies, not a single one.

But may he wish to make his sister (*kasigneta*)
worthy of more honor (*tima*). The catastrophic (*lygra*) pain (*onia*)
... in the past, he was feeling sorrow (*acheuon*) ...

Here in fragment 5, the loving sister is expressing a wish that her errant brother should become a *chara* or 'joy' to her loved ones (6), not an *onia* or 'pain' (7)—a pain that is then described as *lygra* 'catastrophic' (10).[3] It should be the

3 It is possible, of course, that [ὀν]ίαν ... λύγραν is a genitive plural, not an accusative singular.

other way around, she is saying, so that the family will have the joy—while the enemies will have the pain. But the family itself should have no enemies at all—nor any pain, as expressed twice by the noun *onia* (7 and 10).

Later on in fr. 5, the speaking persona of Sappho turns to Aphrodite, addressing her as Kypris and describing her with the epithet *semna* 'holy' (cὺ [δ]ὲ̣ Κύπ̣[ρ]ι̣ ϲ̣[έμ]να, 18). Although the fragmentary state of the papyrus here prevents us from seeing the full context, it is clear that the sister is praying to the goddess to prevent further misfortune from happening to her brother, who 'in the past was feeling sorrow (*acheuon*)' (π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων, 11).

But the pain that torments the family because of the brother's misfortunes is not the only kind of torment we find in the poetics of Sappho. The same word *onia* 'pain' that refers to the torment experienced by the family of Sappho refers also to the torment of erotic love experienced by Sappho herself. In fr. 1.3–4 of Sappho, her speaking persona prays to Aphrodite to release her from such torment: μή μ' ἄcαιcι μηδ' ὀνίαιcι δάμνα, / πότνια, θῦμον (Do not dominate with hurts [*asai*] and pains [*oniai*], / O Queen, my heart [*thymos*]).

Similarly in the first six lines of the Kypris Song, the speaking persona of Sappho once again turns to Aphrodite, praying that the goddess may release her from the torment of erotic love:

> πῶc κε δή τιc οὐ θαμέω̣ϲ̣ ἄcαιτ̣ο,
> Κύπρι, δέϲ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣', ὄττινα [δ]ὴ̣ φί̣λ̣[ηcι,]
> [κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιcτα πάθα̣ν̣ χ̣άλ̣[αccαι;]
> [ποῖ]ον ἔχηcθα
>
> [νῶν] ϲ̣άλοιcι̣ μ' ἀλεμά̣τ̣ω̣ϲ̣ δ̣αΐϲ̣δ̣[ην]
> [ἰμέ]ρω⟨ι⟩ λύ{ι̣}cαντ̣ι̣ γ̣όν̣' ω̣μ̣ε.[

> How can someone not be hurt (= *asasthai*, verb of the noun *asa* 'hurt') over and over again,
> O Queen Kypris (Aphrodite), whenever one loves (*philein*) whatever person
> and wishes very much not to let go of the passion?
> (What kind of purpose) do you have
>
> (in mind), uncaringly rending me apart
> in my (desire) as my knees buckle?

The ending of this song was already known before the discovery of the new supplements for the beginning as I just quoted it. At this ending, we find the

persona of Sappho declaring the poetics of her own self-awareness: ἔγω δ' ἔμ' αὔται / τοῦτο ϲυνοίδα ('And I—aware of my own self—/ I know this', Sappho fr. 26.11–12 = Kypris Song, lines 11–12).

Such self-awareness as we find it at work in the songs of Sappho brings me back to the question I was asking from the start: what exactly is so delightful about songs expressing an aristocratic woman's tormented feelings about a brother who squandered his family's wealth on a courtesan in Egypt? I think that the answer to this question does in fact have to do with the delight of sensing that a woman's veiled self-awareness about her own feelings is making a connection here with an unveiled love story—about an upper-class man's self-destructive affair with a lower-class woman whose charms he finds utterly irresistible.

The songs of Sappho reveal an awareness of two kinds of torment. First, there is the torment experienced by a whole family in fearing a disgraceful loss of wealth and prestige. But then there is also the torment—and the delight—of a passionate love affair. This second kind of torment is experienced not only by the brother of Sappho but also by Sappho herself. The song-making of Sappho reveals here not only an awareness but also a self-awareness. And here is a special delight for the hearer of Sappho's songs—to hear about the torment of her own passionate loves.

The poetic language that expresses this torment—this *onia* and this *asa*—envelops both the errant brother and the anxious sister. Both are afflicted by the torment—and the delight—of passionate love. And this delight can be experienced by all who hear the songs of Sappho. Among these hearers, as we will see, is Herodotus himself.

Before I proceed to Herodotus, however, I am aware that I will first have to explain why I speak here of *torment* and *delight* in referring to the love story of Sappho's brother. I am thinking of Act 1 of *La traviata*, a romantic opera composed by Giuseppe Verdi (first performed in 1853), where the two lovers Alfredo and Violetta sing to each other about their passionate love affair. Both lovers express this love as a 'torment and delight', *croce e delizia*. Then, in Act 2, the father of Alfredo intervenes, confronting Violetta by singing to her an aria of his own. In this aria, the father expresses his own form of torment: how he fears that the reputation of his unmarried daughter, the sister of Alfredo, will be destroyed by the news of her brother's love affair. Here I ask myself a question. Suppose there existed an aria sung by the aristocratic sister herself: what feelings would she express? Perhaps, at first, she would be most aware of her own tormented fears about her reputation, which is now endangered by the love affair of her brother with a courtesan. But she could also be aware of the torment caused by passionate love—if she had experienced it herself. And

she could even be aware of the delight. Without pushing an analogy too far, I reconstruct here the *croce e delizia* of a woman's own passionate loves—as expressed most forcefully in the veiled but self-aware songs of Sappho. That said, I can now concentrate on the delight of hearing songs about the torment caused by such passionate love.

Starting with Herodotus

I have already mentioned the passage in Herodotus (2.134–135) where he refers to the love affair of Charaxos, brother of Sappho, with a courtesan who lived in Egypt. The historian adds that Sappho scolded Charaxos—or the courtesan—for this affair, and that the scolding was done by way of *melos* 'song': 'Sappho scolded (*kata-kertomein*) him (or her) in many ways by way of her singing (*melos*)' (ἐν μέλεϊ Cαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμηcέ μιν, 2.135.6).[4] So, how did Herodotus know about such songs of Sappho? I will be arguing that he himself could have heard such songs being sung—and was eager to show off his appreciation of the songs—but, before I can undertake such an argument, I will need to consider the possible occasions for someone like Herodotus to listen to such singing. And, even before that, I will need to consider the original occasions for singing the songs of Sappho.

In order to engage in such considerations, I will now examine the problem of *reception* in analyzing the songs of Sappho. An ideal place to start is a formulation by Dirk Obbink, who writes: 'The recorded reception of Sappho begins with Herodotus.'[5] I propose to build on this most helpful formulation by highlighting a qualification noted already by Obbink. The fact is, the text of Herodotus shows the first *recorded* case of reception. But the reception of Sappho can be reconstructed further back in time—back to earlier phases of reception. It can even be reconstructed all the way back to its original phases. The reception of Sappho, as I will now argue, goes back to the original creation of the songs attributed to her. And a similar formulation applies to the reception of Alcaeus. When I say 'original creation' here, I mean simply the earliest attested phase of the relevant songmaking. In terms of such an earliest phase, I will argue, the reception of songs attributed to Sappho and Alcaeus is *already at work* in the overall tradition of composing and performing such songs.

4 Ferrari (2014) 10 argues that the μιν here refers to the courtesan, not the brother. See also Obbink (2014b) 41.

5 Obbink (2014b) 32.

Viewing Diachronically the Reception and the Transmission of Sappho and Alcaeus

I said already in my introduction that we can see the personalities of Sappho and Alcaeus come to life only if we view them as poetic creations that are shaped by their songs. But now I argue further that this view needs to be diachronic as well as synchronic. Here I continue a line of argumentation that I have been developing in all my previous publications about Sappho and Alcaeus.[6] In using the term *diachronic*, I am applying the formulation of Ferdinand de Saussure concerning language as a system. As Saussure explains, a synchronic approach views a current phase of a system while a diachronic approach views different phases in the evolution of that given system.[7] In the case of the poetic language represented by Sappho and Alcaeus, as also in even earlier cases represented by the likes of Hesiod and Archilochus, a diachronic approach involves not two but four aspects of poetic creation: there is not only *composition* and *performance* but also *reception* and even *transmission*.[8]

In any poetic system that depends on the performance of a given composition, the reception and the transmission of such a composition can be viewed in terms of a process that I describe as *recomposition-in-performance*. In terms of such a process, a *reperformed composer* can even become a *recomposed performer*.[9] Here is what I mean. In the first place, the performer of a reperformance does not have to be the same person as an earlier performer, who can be viewed as the original composer. Still, such a performer of a reperformance can persist in appropriating to himself or herself the persona of the earlier performer—even if the historical circumstances of performance have changed. But then, in the process of recomposition-in-performance, even the persona of the performer can change over time, becoming different from the persona of the notionally original composer, and the differences in personality can be all the more pronounced if the venue of performance changes. That is how the persona of a reperformed composer can become recomposed in an

6 Esp. Nagy (2007b).

7 Saussure (1916) 117.

8 On the four factors of *composition*, *performance*, *reception*, and *transmission* in the case of the poetry attributed to Hesiod, see Nagy (2009a). For similar arguments applied in the case of the poetry attributed to Archilochus, see Nagy (2008). More on the concept of *reception* in Nagy (2008/2009) ch. 2 § 277.

9 Nagy (1996) 60.

ongoing process of recomposition-in-performance. And that is how the reperformed composer can become the recomposed performer.

This formulation, as I have just summarized it, applies to the poetic personalities of Sappho and Alcaeus, as I have argued at length in my previous publications.[10] In the context of reperformances in different times and in different places, the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus could become recomposed-in-performance, and their personae could thus become recomposed as well. That is how Sappho and Alcaeus, as reperformed composers, could become recomposed performers. And that is what I meant when I said, from the start, that Sappho and Alcaeus can be viewed as poetic creations of their own songs.

Here I return to Herodotus. In his era, dated to the second half of the fifth century BCE, the poetic personalities of Sappho and Alcaeus were already significantly different from what they had been in earlier times. In the contexts where Herodotus refers to Sappho (2.135.1 and 6) and to Alcaeus (5.95.1–2)—as also to other comparable poetic figures such as Anacreon (3.121.1)—we can see in each case that these figures were by now viewed as *poets who created monodic songs*. Such songs, in the era of Herodotus, were performed solo, and there existed primarily two kinds of venue. On the one hand, there were amateur monodic performances at *private symposia*, while, on the other hand, there were professional monodic performances at *public concerts*, the most prestigious of which were the competitions of singing self-accompanied by a string-instrument at the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia.

What I just said is a most compressed formulation of a lengthy argument that I developed in a study entitled 'Did Sappho and Alcaeus ever meet?', where I analyzed diachronically the reception and the transmission of songs attributed to Sappho and Alcaeus.[11] In terms of this argument, the poetic personalities of both Sappho and Alcaeus were actually reshaped in the historical contexts of the two venues that I have just highlighted for the era of Herodotus, namely, (1) private symposia, and (2) public concerts. In these contexts, especially as we see them take shape in Athens during the fifth century BCE, the songs originally attributed to Sappho and Alcaeus would be reperformed by performers who could re-enact the personae of Sappho and Alcaeus themselves, but, in the process of reperformance, these personae could be recomposed. That is how Sappho and Alcaeus could become recomposed performers. In the process of recomposition-in-performance, their poetic personalities could be recomposed by sympotic and concertizing performers, and, in this way, *Sappho and*

10 Nagy (1990), (1993), (1994–1995), (1996), (2004), (2007a), (2007b), (2009c).

11 Nagy (2007b).

Alcaeus themselves could be re-imagined as sympotic and concertizing performers in their own right.[12]

At a later point, I will offer further arguments to back up this formulation. For now, however, we have to deal with a more important question: how were Sappho and Alcaeus imagined before they became re-imagined as *sympotic* and *concertizing* performers? The answer is twofold. In the case of Sappho, as I have been arguing since 1990, she had been previously a *choral* personality, that is, someone who performs in a singing and dancing ensemble known as a *choros* or 'chorus'.[13] In the case of Alcaeus, on the other hand, he had been previously a *comastic* personality, that is, someone who performs in a singing and dancing and wine-drinking ensemble known as a *komos* or 'group of male revelers'. And secondarily, Alcaeus could also be a *choral* personality in his own right, like Sappho herself: a likely example is fr. 34 of Alcaeus, which is a prayer to Castor and Pollux.

Distinguishing between *Sympotic* and *Comastic* Occasions

I will now trace the ramifications of the distinction I am making between *sympotic* and *comastic* occasions.[14] The term *sympotic*, as I use it here, is meant to be generalizing. It can refer to any grouping of male drinkers who attend a symposium. I say *generalizing* because we can find no single criterion for defining a group of male drinkers who attended any ancient Greek symposium. By contrast, my term *comastic* is meant to be more specific, in the sense that male drinkers who were grouped together in a *komos* must have felt bound to each other by special ties that bind: such a grouping, as it becomes evident in the poetic language of Alcaeus, consisted of men who were *etairoi* or 'comrades' to each other.[15]

Another distinction between *sympotic* and *comastic* occasions is the fact that a sympotic song, as we see it attested in the era of Herodotus and thereafter, was ordinarily performed by a solo singer, in monodic form, to the accompa-

12 Nagy (2007b); see also Bierl (2010). On citharodic traditions in performing the songs of Sappho, see Nagy (2011b) 155–158, following Power (2010) 258–263.

13 I first used this expression 'choral personality' in Nagy (1990a) 370, with reference to Calame (1977) 367–377 (also 126–127). See also Lardinois (1996) and the remarks of Calame (2009) 5. Also Ferrari (2014) 17.

14 There is an earlier formulation in Nagy (2007b) 212.

15 Nagy (2004), with special reference to the insights of Rösler (1980) and (1985) concerning the poetics of *etairoi* 'comrades'.

niment of a wind- or a string-instrument, whereas a comastic song would have been performed by a group that could both sing and dance. This is not to say that an individuated singer—or a succession of individual singers—could not dominate the overall group performance of a *komos*. But I do insist that any exclusively solo performance of a song would have been incompatible with the mentality of a group that sings and dances in a *komos*.[16]

Distinguishing between *Sympotic* and *Choral* Occasions

A similar distinction applies in the case of *sympotic* and *choral* occasions. A sympotic song, I repeat, was ordinarily performed by a solo singer, in monodic form, to the accompaniment of a wind- or a string-instrument. By contrast, a choral song was performed by a group, known as the *choros* or 'chorus', which both sang and danced to the accompaniment of a wind- or a string-instrument.

Here too in the case of the *choros*, as in the case of the *komos*, I am not saying that an individuated singer—or a succession of individual singers—could not dominate the overall group performance. But I do insist, once again, that any exclusively solo performance of a song would have been incompatible with the mentality of a group that sings and dances. Such a group, I maintain, was the *choros*.[17]

In view of these distinctions between monodic and non-monodic performance, I reconstruct a split between the later personae of Sappho and Alcaeus, who were both pictured as monodic singers, and the earlier personae, who need to be viewed in the historical context of group performances. I have already described these earlier personae as a *choral Sappho* and as a *comastic Alcaeus*, and I have left the door open for a *choral Alcaeus* as well. But before I can say anything more about such *choral* and *comastic* personae, I first need to explore the historical circumstances of the earliest attested venue where such personae could actually come to life.

16 Nagy (2007b) 212, 218–219, 230, 240, 242.

17 Nagy (2007b) 215–216.

The Earliest Known Venue for Sappho and Alcaeus

From a diachronic point of view, the earliest attested venue for performing the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus can be located in a space known in ancient times as *Messon*, now called *Mesa*, which figured as a politically neutral 'middle ground' for the entire island of Lesbos (see Fig. 8.1, p. 199). The basic arguments proving this localization were published in a 1960 article by Louis Robert,[18] whose work has been foundational for my own diachronic analysis of the poetic venues for both Sappho and Alcaeus.[19]

The published reactions to the work of Robert have been thoroughly reviewed and tested in a 2010 article by Stefano Caciagli, whose own conclusions validate most of the original arguments advanced fifty years earlier by Robert.[20] Although he does not say so, the conclusions offered by Caciagli also validate—for the most part—what I had argued in a 1993 article entitled 'Alcaeus in sacred space', published in the Festschrift for Bruno Gentili.[21] In that article, I supported the argument, originated by Robert, that the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus actually refers to Messon—as that place existed at a time that corresponds to the traditional dating of these poetic figures, around 600 BCE.[22]

I start with the references to Messon in fr. 129 and fr. 130b of Alcaeus. The name of the place is not mentioned, but the identification is clear. The songs refer to the place as a *temenos* 'precinct' (τέμενος, fr. 129.2 and 130b.13), pictured as a great federal sacred space that is *xynon* 'common' (ξῦνον, fr. 129.3) to all the people of the island of Lesbos. The precinct is sacred to three divinities: they are Zeus, 'the Aeolian goddess', and Dionysus (fr. 129.5–9). As we will now see, the Aeolian goddess (Αἰολήιαν … θέον, fr. 129.6) must be Hera.

I highlight already here another relevant reference, this one in fr. 130a of Alcaeus, to the same precinct: it is called the *teichos basileion* 'the queenly wall' (τεῖχος βασίληιον, line 15), glossed as 'Hera's wall' in a scholion written next to the text (τὸ τῆς Ἥρας). I translate *basileion* here as 'queenly', not 'kingly', in

18 Robert (1960b). His article is prominently featured in a collection of influential French research papers translated into English, edited by Loraux, Nagy, and Slatkin (2001) 240–248. In the first footnote there, *grecques* needs to be corrected to *anciennes*.

19 See esp. Nagy (1993), (1994–1995), (2004), (2007a), (2007b).

20 Caciagli (2010) 228, 238. See now also Liberman (1999) I 61 n. 127.

21 Nagy (1993); this article is not mentioned by Caciagli (2010), who cites only one of my relevant works on Sappho and Alcaeus, Nagy (2007b). At a later point, I will have to disagree slightly with what he says I argue in Nagy (2007b).

22 Nagy (1993); I elaborate further in Nagy (2007b).

the light of what we read in the newly-found Brothers Song of Sappho: the speaking Sappho in this song says that she needs to be sent off to pray to *basilea Hera* 'Queen Hera' (βαcί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἤ̣ραν, line 10 [6]). As I will argue at a later point, the queenly status of the goddess Hera subsumes even the kingly status of her consort, the god Zeus, who is described as the *basileus Olympo* 'king of Olympus' in the Brothers Song (βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω, line 17 [13]).

I continue my argument that the queenly residence of the goddess Hera must be the precinct at Messon. In the Brothers Song, it is in this precinct that Sappho will pray for the safe return of her brother Charaxos from a sea voyage. Even as she pictures herself as praying, she expresses the hope that the brother is sailing his way back home (lines 11–12 [7–8]). Where is home? It is a place that is signaled by the deictic pronoun *tuide* 'here' in the words of the Brothers Song (τυίδε, line 11 [7]). And where is 'here'? The answer, in terms of my argument, is that this place 'here' is Messon.

Sappho will not be praying alone to Hera. She will be part of a procession that must be sent off to the precinct of the goddess, as we can see from the expression *pempen eme* 'send me' in the Brothers Song (πέμπην ἔμε, line 9 [5]), which I argue refers to the sending of not one person in this case: rather, it is the sending of a *procession*, the classical Greek word for which would be *pompe*. Not only will Sappho be a part of a procession; she will also have the leading part, as indicated by the focus on 'me' in the expression *pempen eme* 'send me' (πέμπην ἔμε, again, line 9 [5]).

Once the sacred procession reaches the precinct of the goddess, as we will now see, *the processing ensemble will transform itself into a chorus of singing and dancing women* who are charged with the sacred imperative of supplicating Hera, as expressed by the word *lissesthai* 'implore': πόλλα λί̣ccεcθαι ̣ βαcί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἤ̣ραν ('to implore [*lissesthai*] Queen [*basilea*] Hera over and over again', Sappho Brothers Song, line 10 [6]). In fragment 1.1–7 of Sappho, we see a comparable situation where Sappho is supplicating a goddess—this time, it is Aphrodite—and again the word for the ritual action that I translate as 'implore' is *lissesthai* (2):

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Αφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίccομαί cε,
μή μ'ἄcαιcι μηδ' ὀνίαιcι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,

ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰc ἔμαc αὔδαc ἀίοιcα πήλοι
ἔκλυεc, ...

> You with pattern-woven flowers, immortal Aphrodite,
> child of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I implore (*lissomai*) you,
> do not dominate with hurts (*asai*) and pains (*oniai*),
> O Queen, my heart (*thymos*).
>
> But come here (*tuide*), if ever at any other time,
> hearing my voice from afar,
> you heeded me …

Here too in fr. 1, we see the deictic pronoun *tuide* 'here' (τυίδ', 5). Sappho implores the goddess Aphrodite to come *tuide* 'here' to the place where she is praying, just as she will implore the goddess Hera to bring back her brother *tuide* 'here' to the place where she is praying in the Brothers Song (τυίδε, line 11 [7]).

Processing to the Precinct of Hera

A moment ago, I started to argue that Sappho's prayer to Hera in the Brothers Song can be seen in the overall context of a sacred procession that proceeds to the precinct of Hera, at which place the processing ensemble will transform itself into a chorus of singing and dancing women who are charged with the sacred imperative of supplicating the goddess. As I will now argue further, *the procession is in fact already a chorus in the making*. Pursuing this argument, I now cite a parallel kind of event that took place at the precinct of Hera—not the one at Lesbos but the one near the city of Argos. I start by quoting a description of the *pompe* 'procession' of the Hekatombaia, which was the Argive name for the seasonally recurring festival of the goddess Hera at Argos, from a scholion to Pindar *Ol.* 7.152d.1:

> Ἑκατόμβαια δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν λέγεται ὅτι πομπῆς μεγάλης προηγοῦνται ἑκατὸν βόες, οὓς νόμος κρεανομεῖσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις.

> This festival-of-competitions (*agon*) is called Hekatombaia because one hundred cattle are led forth in a grand procession (*pompe*), and their meat is divided by customary law among all the citizens of the city.

The name of this festival, *Hekatombaia*, refers to a *hekatombe* 'hecatomb', which is the sacrificial slaughtering of one hundred cattle in honor of Hera. And the procession that led up to this sacrifice in honor of the goddess at her festival

in Argos culminated in a choral performance of Argive girls who participated in that procession. This culminating ritual event can be reconstructed on the basis of what we read in the *Electra* of Euripides.[23] The role of the chorus that is singing and dancing in this drama is twofold: the performers in the chorus here represent not only the girls of Argos in the mythical past but also the girls of Argos who participated in the rituals of the seasonally recurring festival of Hera in the historical present of the drama composed by Euripides. In the *Electra* of Euripides, the male Athenian chorus of his drama is representing a female Argive chorus participating in a contemporary version of Hera's festival, and this female Argive chorus is in turn representing their prototypical counterparts in the mythical past. Already back then, in that mythical past, a chorus of Argive girls is participating in the festival of Hera. In the *Electra* of Euripides, there are explicit references to the upcoming choral performance of these mythical girls at Hera's festival.[24] And the festival itself, as we will now see, is explicitly called a *thysia*, meaning literally 'sacrifice' (172). Here is the way the word is used in the song that is sung and danced by the chorus of Argive girls in Eur. *El.* 167–174:

> Ἀγαμέμνονοϲ ὦ κόρα, ἤλυθον, Ἠλέκτρα,
> ποτὶ ϲὰν ἀγρότειραν αὐλάν.
> ἔμολέ τιϲ ἔμολεν γαλακτοπόταϲ ἀνὴρ
> Μυκηναῖοϲ οὐριβάταϲ·
> ἀγγέλλει δ' ὅτι νῦν τριταί-
> αν καρύϲϲουϲιν θυϲίαν
> Ἀργεῖοι, πᾶϲαι δὲ παρ' Ἥ-
> ραν μέλλουϲιν παρθενικαὶ ϲτείχειν.

> O Electra, daughter of Agamemnon, I (= the chorus, speaking as a singular 'I') have arrived / at your rustic courtyard. / He has come, a milk-drinking man, he has come,/ a Mycenaean, one whose steps lead over the mountains. / He announces that, on the third day from now, / a sacrifice (*thysia*) is proclaimed / by the Argives, and that all the girls (*parthenikai*) to Hera must proceed (*steichein*).

23 What follows here recapitulates what I say in Nagy (2015b) ch. 4 §§149–150 concerning relevant passages in the *Electra* of Euripides.

24 For more on the self-representation of the chorus as chorus in the *Electra* of Euripides, see Baur (1997).

The word *thysia* here (172) is referring to the ritual centerpiece of the festival, which is the *hecatomb*, that is, the sacrifice of one hundred cattle. But the same word *thysia* is also referring, by way of metonymy, to the entire festival. Each and every girl from each and every part of the Argive world must *steichein* 'proceed' to Hera—that is, to the festival of Hera. Each girl personally must make the mental act of proceeding to the goddess. Each girl collectively must join in, that is, join the grand procession that will lead to the precinct of the goddess, where the hundred cattle will be slaughtered in ritual sacrifice. We see here a religious mentality that shapes the idea of the *pompe* 'procession' as we just saw it described in the scholia for Pindar *Olympian* 7.

It is this procession of girls from Argos that leads to the festival proclaimed by the Argives at line 172 of the *Electra*. The relevant words, to repeat, are *pompe* for 'procession' and *thysia* for 'sacrifice'. And the word *thysia*, as we have just seen, is a metonymic way of saying 'festival'. After the procession reaches the precinct of Argive Hera, what happens next is the sacrifice of one hundred cattle, followed by festive celebrations. *And these festivities will include the choral singing and dancing performed by the girls of Argos*. So, the *pompe* 'procession' extends into the choral performance, by way of the sacrifice that will take place after the entry of the procession into the precinct. We see here a validation of the formula proposed by Anton Bierl concerning processions as represented in Greek theater: he argues that *any procession that leads into a choral performance will thereby become part of the choral performance*.[25] There is a metonymy at work here.[26] Further, in the case of the drama composed by Euripides, Electra is potentially the *prima donna* who will lead the procession that will be transformed into the choral performance of the Argive girls when they reach the precinct of Hera. In fact, the word that Electra herself uses in referring to the upcoming performance of the girls at the precinct is *choros* (χορούς, 178). For the moment, though, Electra declines the 'invitation to the dance' (178–180).[27]

A Festival for Hera at Lesbos

Similarly in the Brothers Song of Sappho, I propose that Sappho herself is potentially the *prima donna* who must lead a procession to the precinct of

25 Bierl (2009) 57 n. 152, 107, 272–273, 284, 294–295, 318–319. See also Bierl (2011c).
26 Nagy (2015b) ch. 4 §150.
27 For more on the *Electra* of Euripides, see Zeitlin (1970).

Hera at Lesbos, and, once this precinct is reached, the procession will then be transformed into a choral performance of girls celebrating a festival that climaxes in the sacrifice of one hundred cattle to the goddess. And the leader of this choral performance must be Sappho herself, just as she must be the leader of the procession that leads up to the performance.

Such a role for Sappho, as a *prima donna* who leads the procession to the precinct of Hera and who then leads a chorus of girls who sing and dance there to celebrate a festival held in honor of the goddess, is based on a precedent, as it were, that goes back to the age of heroes. To explain such a precedent, I start with a point of comparison involving the traditions of Argos.

In the text of a fictional narrative attributed to Dictys of Crete, we find a detail that can be reconstructed as part of a local Argive myth concerning the precinct of Hera at Argos. According to the myth as retold by the fictional Dictys (1.16), it was in this precinct that the hero Agamemnon was chosen to lead the expedition to Troy.[28] Such a formal beginning that takes place at the precinct of Hera, where the festival of the goddess was celebrated by the Argives, must have been a sacrifice, which can be identified with the seasonally recurring *thysia* at the festival of Hera in Argos. Here I must highlight again what I already highlighted in the text I quoted from Euripides: the word *thysia* refers metonymically to the festival itself, though its basic meaning is 'sacrifice'.

This detail about the precinct of Hera at Argos is a most valuable piece of comparative evidence, since it helps us understand what happened once upon a time in the corresponding precinct of Hera at Lesbos—not in the age of Sappho but in the heroic age. As we are about to see, there existed a local myth about what happened there in that precinct, and *this myth functioned as an aetiology for a festival—and for the ritual centerpiece of that festival, which was a sacrifice of one hundred cattle*.

I will postpone until later my working definition of *aetiology* and, for the moment, I will concentrate instead on the festival that is being aetiologized. I will show that this festival, celebrated in honor of Hera at Lesbos, highlighted a sacrifice of one hundred cattle inside the precinct of the goddess. A reference to both the festival and the sacrifice, I argue, has been preserved in the Alexandrian lexicographical tradition, as represented by Hesychius. In the dictionary of Hesychius (v. 2 p. 652 ed. Latte), we find the entry *mesostrophoniai hemerai*, which I translate as 'days that turn at the middle' (μεσοστροφώνιαι ἡμέραι), and this entry is defined as follows: 'these are the days during which the people of

28 Nagy (2009/2010) 294.

Lesbos arrange (*epitelein*) a *thysia* that is common (*koine*) to all of them' (ἐν αἶϲ Λέϲβιοι κοινὴν θυϲίαν ἐπιτελοῦϲιν).[29] In the wording of this definition, the word *thysia* refers not only to the sacrifice but also, metonymically, to the festival itself.

The Festival in Fragment 17 of Sappho

Fragment 17 of Sappho actually refers to a myth about this festival at Lesbos. The myth is telling about a time in the heroic age when the Atreïdai 'Sons of Atreus'—that is, Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus—made arrangements for the institution of a festival of Hera to be celebrated inside her precinct at Lesbos after their victory at Troy. Here is the relevant text (fr. 17.1–16):

πλάϲιον δη μ̣[. . . . .] . . .οιϲ' α[. . . .]ω
πότνι' Ἦρα, ϲὰ χ[. . . . . .]ϲ̣ . ἐόρτ[α][30]
τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έϊδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηϲαν
τόι[31] βαϲίληεϲ,

ἐκτελέϲϲαντεϲ μ[εγά]λ̣οιϲ ἀέθλοιϲ̣
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ Ἴ̣[λιον]· ἄψερον δ̣έ̣
τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τεϲ, ὄ]δ̣ο̣ν γὰρ̣ εὔρη̣[ν]
οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο˩,

πρὶν ϲὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ίαον] π̣εδέλθην̣
καὶ Θυώναϲ ἰμε̣[ρόεντα] π̣αῖδα·
νῦν δὲ κ[αί. . . . .]] . . .πόημεν
κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον

29 There may be a connection between the semantics of *mesostrophoniai* and Messon: see Robert (1960b) 303–304, also Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28 n. 13.

30 Ferrari (2014) 16 proposes to read ἐόρτ[αν], but this alternative reading does not affect my interpretation here.

31 West (2014) 4 suggests that we read π̣ό̣ηϲάν τοι, not π̣ό̣ηϲαν τοί. But I defend the accentuation preserved in the new papyrus. As I will argue, we see here an emphatic use of the pronoun, 'for *you*', not an enclitic use. This reading τόι (with the accute accent preserved in P. GC inv. 105 fr. 2) differs slightly from the reading τ'οι as accepted by Obbink, ch. 1, this volume. I interpret the acute as a marker of a rise in the melodic contour, and such a rise here indicates an emphatic use of the pronoun.

ἄγνα καὶ κα̣[*c.* 12 ὄ]χλος
παρθέ[νων *c.* 12 γ]υναίκων
ἀμφις̣.[…]
μετρ' ὀ̣λ̣[ολύγας].[32]

Close by, …,
O Queen (*potnia*) Hera, … your […] festival (*eorta*),
which, vowed-in-prayer (*arasthai*),[33] the Sons of Atreus did arrange (*poiein*)
for *you*, kings that they were,

after first having completed great labors (*aethloi*),
around Troy, and, next (*apseron*),
after having set forth to come here (*tuide*), since finding the way
was not possible for them

until they would approach you (Hera) and Zeus lord of suppliants (*antiaos*)
and (Dionysus) the lovely son of Thyone.
And now we are arranging (*poiein*) [the festival],
in accordance with the ancient way […]

holy (*agna*) and […] a throng (*ochlos*)
of girls (*parthenoi*) […] and women (*gynaikes*)
on either side …
the measured sound of ululation (*ololyga*).

Although the first line of fr. 17 here is too fragmentary to be understood for sure, the next line makes it clear that the persona of Sappho is praying to Hera herself, speaking to her about the *eorta* 'festival' (ἐόρτ[α], 2) that is being arranged in honor of the goddess. The speaking Sappho goes on to say that the festival that 'we' in the present are arranging (πόημεν, 11), as 'we' offer supplications to Hera, is being arranged 'in accordance with the ancient way' (κὰτ τὸ πάλ̣[αιον], 12) of arranging the festival, just as the heroes of the past had arranged it (π̣ό̣ησαν, 3). In these contexts, I am translating the word *poiein* 'make'

32 On this restoration, I follow Ferrari (2014) 18.

33 In the analysis that follows, I will fine-tune this translation 'vowed-in-prayer' for *arata*(*n*), which is a verbal adjective of the verb *arasthai* 'pray'.

in the specific sense of 'arrange', with reference to the *observance of a ritual*. I find in Thucydides (2.15.2) a striking parallel in wording: 'and the Athenians, continuing what he (= Theseus) started, even now arrange (*poiein*) for the goddess (= Athena), at public expense, the festival (*heorte*) named the Synoikia' (καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν). In the case of the *eorta* 'festival' at Lesbos, the heroes who 'arranged' it were the Atreïdai or Sons of Atreus, that is to say, Agamemnon and Menelaus, and they made these arrangements primarily for the goddess Hera, who is indicated here by way of the emphatic personal pronoun *tói* 'for *you*' in the dative case (τόι, 4). (Below, I will defend this reading *tói* 'for *you*', which is actually transmitted in the new papyrus fragment.) Similarly, in the wording of the passage I just cited from Thucydides, the seasonally recurring arrangements of the Athenian *heorte* 'festival' known as the Synoikia are being made 'for the goddess' in the dative case (τῇ θεῷ).

So, what kind of a festival did the Sons of Atreus arrange 'for' Hera? To formulate an answer, I start with the word that describes the *eorta* 'festival' at line 2 of fr. 17: it is the verbal adjective *aratos* in the feminine gender, ἀράταν (3), which I translate for the moment as 'vowed-in-prayer' and which is derived from the verb *arasthai* 'vow-in-prayer'. My initial translation of this adjective *arata* as 'vowed-in-prayer' is based on the Indo-European linguistic heritage of the verb *arasthai* and of its synonym *euchesthai*. Most relevant here is a chapter entitled 'The Vow' in a book by Emile Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*, where the analysis focuses on Greek *euchesthai* and its Latin cognate, *vovēre*.[34] The Latin verb *vovēre* can be translated as 'vow' in contexts where someone is *praying to a divinity* and asking for a favor to be granted, in return for which favor a vow is made to do something that is meant to gratify the divinity. Such a translation also applies in comparable contexts of the Greek verb *euchesthai*. So, when *you make a vow in a prayer*, as expressed by way of the word *euchesthai*, you are saying to a divinity that *you will do or are doing or have done something* in the hope that the divinity to whom you are praying will grant *what you are wishing for*. For a most pertinent example in the *Iliad*, I cite a situation where the hero Pandaros is being urged (misleadingly, by Athena in disguise) to make a vow-in-prayer as expressed by the verb *euchesthai* (εὔχεο, 4.101): this hero, by way of making a vow-in-prayer to Apollo, would be vowing that he would perform an animal sacrifice (4.102) in the hope that the god would grant him what he is wishing for, which is a safe homecoming

34 Benveniste (1973) part 6, sub-part 4. For the online version of this chapter, see http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3967.

(4.103). Pandaros then goes ahead and makes a vow-in-prayer (εὔχετο, 4.119), vowing that he will in fact perform an animal sacrifice (4.120) in hopes of a safe homecoming (4.121). So, as Benveniste says about the meaning of *euchesthai*—and his formulation applies also to the synonym *arasthai*—'the "prayer" is not distinguished from the "vow": it is one and the same operation'.[35] Or, as I would prefer to say it, the *wish-in-prayer* is not distinguished from the *vow-in-prayer*. I can paraphrase in terms of the Latin noun *vōtum*, translated as 'vow', which is a derivative of the Latin verb *vovēre*, translated as 'vow'. When you pray to a divinity, the word for *what you vow to do* is *vōtum*, but the word for *what you wish for* is likewise *vōtum*.[36] In the case of the hero Pandaros in the Homeric *Iliad*, his wish—and therefore his prayer—is a failure, since he will soon be killed on the battlefield (5.290–296).

Here I must stop to adjust the formulation of Benveniste. As Leonard Muellner has shown, the English translation 'vow' for such words as *euchesthai* works only in situations where the human who prays to a divinity is announcing an act that will happen in the future.[37] But the fact is, the act of gratifying a divinity can happen in the present or even in the past. What you announce in prayer does not have to be a promise about the future: it can also be an announcement about the present or even about the past.[38] So, the translation 'vow-in-prayer' for *euchesthai*—and for *arasthai*—does not cover the full range of meanings for these verbs. From here on, accordingly, I will translate these verbs simply as 'announce-in-prayer', not 'vow-in-prayer'. And I must emphasize that, in each case of an *announcement-in-prayer*, the other side of the coin is a *wish-in-prayer*.

With this background in place, I return to the noun *eorta* 'festival' at line 2 of fr. 17 of Sappho, and to the verbal adjective *arata* that describes this festival at line 3 (ἀράταν). Now translating *arata* as 'announced-in-prayer', I interpret the wording here to mean that Agamemnon and Menelaus, the two Sons of Atreus, had once upon a time announced-in-prayer the celebration of the festival or *eorta* that is still being celebrated in Sappho's song. And, by virtue of making this announcement-in-prayer, these two heroes were simultaneously making a wish-in-prayer. So, what did they wish for? The wording makes it quite clear that their wish was to find *the best way to make a safe homecoming*, literally, 'to

35 Again, Benveniste (1973) part 6, sub-part 4.

36 In the light of this Indo-European semantic background, we can better understand the following attestation of the verb *arasthai* in the diction of Sappho: 'they wished (*arasthai*) all the best for the bridegroom' (ἀράσαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔσλα / γάμβρωι, fr. 141.6–7). In other words, *they wished-in-prayer that the best possible things should happen to the bridegroom*.

37 Muellner (1976) 55–56.

38 For a survey of Homeric examples, see Muellner (1976) 36–37, 55–56.

find the way' ([ὅ]δ̣ο̣ν ... εὔρη[ν], 7). Thus the verbal adjective *arata* here refers simultaneously to the festival that the heroes *announced-in-prayer* and to the safe homecoming that they *wished-in-prayer*.

Accordingly, I disagree with the idea that the adjective *arata* (ἀράταν) at line 3 of fr. 17 of Sappho is combined here with a supposedly enclitic *toi* (τοι) at line 4, as if the combination had meant 'wished by you', that is, by the goddess Hera. Such an idea is advocated by Martin West, who emends the wording π̣ό̣ηϲαν τόι as written in the text of the new papyrus and reads instead π̣ό̣ηϲάν τοι.[39] And I defend the accentuation that is actually preserved in the new papyrus, τόι.[40] As I will argue, we see here an emphatic use of the pronoun, 'for *you*', not an enclitic use. This non-enclitic and emphatic *tói* 'for *you*' (τόι) at line 4 goes with the verb *poesan* 'arranged' (π̣ό̣ηϲαν) at line 3, indicating that the Sons of Atreus arranged the festival for the goddess Hera.

Now I offer further support for my resisting the idea that the adjective *arata* (ἀράταν) at line 3 of fr. 17 is combined with a supposedly enclitic *toi* (τοι) at line 4. If we look at uses of the dative case in combination with this adjective, we can see that such a dative refers to the human who offers an announcement-in-prayer, not to the divinity who might have wished to receive such a prayer. In Homeric diction, we can see situations where this adjective *aratos* describes what is *wished for*—or *wished away*—by way of an announcement-in-prayer. In positive contexts, for example, I cite the compound form *poly-aretos* in *Odyssey* 6.280, with reference to a god whose coming is wished-for in prayer.[41] And here is an even more telling example, where Eurykleia is narrating what she as the nurse of the infant Odysseus had once upon a time said to the boy hero's grandfather, Autolykos (*Od.* 19.403–404):

> Αὐτόλυκ', αὐτὸς νῦν ὄνομ' εὕρεο, ὅττι κε θεῖο
> παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλῳ· πολυάρητος δέ τοί ἐστι.

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39 West (2014) 4; see also Ferrari (2014) 17.

40 The acute accent appears in the new P. GC inv. 105 fr. 2, but not in the older PSI 123 and P. Oxy. 1231; see the critical apparatus of Obbink, ch. 1, this volume.

41 In negative contexts where something is wished-away, not wished-for, the non-compound form *aratos* is more usual (as in *Iliad* 24.741); but *poly-aratos* too is attested in negative contexts (as in Theognis 819). Such uses of *aratos*, derived from *arasthai*, correspond to some specialized uses of *euktos*, derived from *euchesthai* 'pray', as we see in the gloss of Hesychius: ἀπάρατον· ἀπευκτόν, where both forms refer to something to be wished away; see also Chantraine (1999) s.v. εὔχομαι. This example can be added to the discussion of Neri (2014) 15–16 regarding the attested uses of *arasthai*.

> Autolykos! You yourself must find a name, whatever name you give him,
> for the dear child of your child, since he is the one who has been very
> much wished-for (*poly-aretos*) by you (*toi*).

The dative *toi* here (τοι, 404) refers to the maternal grandfather himself, who had been very much wishing for a grandchild. As we can see most clearly from this Homeric example, the dative refers to the human who makes an announcement-in-prayer, not to the divinity who is offered that prayer.

I should add that, when a divinity actually grants something that is wished for in an announcement that is made in prayer, this granting of a wish does not come without an obligation to return the favor, as it were, in terms of the system of gift-giving that is inherent in any prayer. *So, the thing that you wish for may have to be dedicated to the divinity who granted you the wish.* Let us return to the example of *poly-aretos* in *Odyssey* 19.404: here we see that Odysseus, as the maternal grandchild that Autolykos had always wished for, will have to become, as soon as he is born, a devotee of the divinity who granted the wish to the grandfather. In this case, that divinity was Hermes, to whom Autolykos had offered sacrifices of sheep and goats (19.396–398).

In this example, we see most clearly a situation where the sacrifice that was announced in prayer was an event that happened in the past—not an event that was promised for the future. I emphasize here once again the importance of the fact that whatever you announce in prayer does not have to be a promise about the future: it can be, to repeat, an announcement about the present or even about the past. That is why, as I already argued, the translation ‘vow-in-prayer’ for *euchesthai* and *arasthai* does not cover the full range of meanings for these verbs. And that is why I have substituted the translation ‘announce-in-prayer’, the other side of which is ‘wish-in-prayer’.

A moment ago, I used the expression *return the favor* in referring to the consequences of a situation where a divinity heeds a prayer offered by a human, thus doing a favor for the human. In such a situation, the human will feel obligated to *return the favor*. Conversely, as we will soon see, the divinity to whom a human prays is not obligated to heed a prayer. So, the divinity is not obligated to return the favor of, say, a sacrifice that is announced-in-prayer. The making of a sacrifice that you announce in prayer—whether that sacrifice takes place in the past, present, or future—does not guarantee that you will get your wish from the divinity to whom you are praying.

Applying these comparanda to fr. 17 of Sappho, let us consider again the wording at lines 2–4: πότνι’ Ἦρα, cὰ χ[. . . . .]c̣ ἐόρτ[α] / τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έϊδα]ι̣ π̣ό̣ηcαν / τόι βαcίληεc. I now fine-tune my translation: ‘O Queen (*potnia*) Hera, … your […] festival (*eorta*), / which, announced-in-prayer (*arasthai*), the Sons

of Atreus did arrange (*poiein*) / for *you*, kings that they were …'. So, the *eorta* 'festival' (ἐόρτ[α], 2) was *arata* 'announced-in-prayer' (ἀράταν, 3), and the Sons of Atreus 'arranged' it, *poesan* (π̣ο̣ήϲαν, 3), for the goddess Hera, that is, *tói* 'for *you*' (τόι, 4). This form *tói*, as I have argued, is non-enclitic and emphatic.

If, on the other hand, we were to accept West's interpretation, the text would read: τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι̣ π̣ο̣ήϲάν / τοι βαϲίληεϲ, and the supposed meaning would be 'which (= the festival), wished by you (= Hera), the Sons of Atreus, kings, made'. As I argue, however, the interpretation 'wished by you', where the supposedly enclitic *toi* 'you' refers to a wish that is supposedly made by Hera, is unjustified. Also, it would be difficult or perhaps even impossible to justify the postponed word-order of such an enclitic *toi*.

For the moment, in any case, I prefer to follow the reading of the text as written in the new papyrus fragment. In terms of this reading, as we have seen, the use of *poiein* in the active voice (π̣ο̣ήϲαν, 3) means that the Sons of Atreus 'arranged' the festival 'for' the goddess Hera in the dative, that is, 'for *you*' (τόι, 4), and this syntactical construction corresponds to the use of the active voice of *poiein* that we already saw in the wording of Thucydides (2.15.2) regarding the festival 'for' the goddess Athena, likewise in the dative: 'and the Athenians, continuing what he (= Theseus) started, even now arrange (*poiein*) for the goddess (Athena), at public expense, the festival (*heorte*) named the Synoikia' (καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦϲιν).[42]

A Sacrifice of one Hundred Cattle as the Centerpiece of the Festival for Hera

As I reconstruct it, the seasonally recurring festival for Hera at Lesbos would have centered on a grand sacrifice, comparable to the sacrifice of one hundred cattle for the festival of Hera at Argos. I will argue that *the centerpiece of the festival of Hera at Lesbos was a hecatomb, comparable to the centerpiece of the festival of Hera at Argos*. And a word that suits the essence of such a festival is *thysia*, which as we have already seen means simultaneously 'sacrifice' and 'festival'. I repeat here the precious information we find in the dictionary of Hesychius, where the term *mesostrophoniai hemerai*, which I translated as 'days

42 This context of *poiein* in the active voice with *heorte* as direct object is I think different from contexts of *poieisthai*, in the middle voice, again with *heorte* as direct object, as in Hdt. 1.150.1 and Pl. *Resp*. 1.327a. In those two cases, the emphasis is on the participation of the community in *celebrating* a festival, whereas, in the case of *poiein* in Thuc. 2.15.2, the emphasis is on the actual *arranging* or *organizing* of the festival.

that turn at the middle' (μεϲοϲτροφώνιαι ἡμέραι), is glossed as follows: 'these are the days during which the people of Lesbos arrange (*epitelein*) a *thysia* that is common (*koine*) to all of them' (ἐν αἷϲ Λέϲβιοι κοινὴν θυϲίαν ἐπιτελοῦϲιν). We see here a seasonally recurring event of a *sacrifice*, which is at the core of the *festival* described in fragment 17 of Sappho—a festival that the Sons of Atreus themselves had 'arranged', as expressed by the word *poiein* 'make' at line 3, when the two of them announced-in-prayer the performing of the very first such sacrifice. With regard to this usage of *poiein* 'make' in the context of 'arranging' a festival that centers on a sacrifice, an obvious semantic parallel comes to mind: in Latin, the verb *facere* can mean not only 'make' but also 'sacrifice', as we can see most clearly in the case of the derivative noun *sacrificium* 'sacrifice'.[43]

The project of a prototypical sacrifice at Lesbos, as envisioned in fr. 17 of Sappho, would have required a great deal of effort, commensurate even with the earlier effort that went into the grand project of conquering Troy. In the case of that earlier effort, the Sons of Atreus had been faced with the *megaloi aethloi* 'great labors' of the war itself (μ[εγά]λ̣οιϲ ἀέθλοιϲ̣, 5)—'and, next' (ἄψερον δ̣ἐ̣, 6), there was now the later effort, which was the arranging of a grand sacrifice at Lesbos—a sacrifice that was meant to make it possible for the Sons of Atreus to find the best way to achieve a successful homecoming. For the arrangement of such a sacrifice, an announcement-in-prayer would be needed. As I will argue, this prayer originally took place before the Sons of Atreus ever came to Lesbos, while they were still at Troy, but then there was an iteration of the prayer at the time of actually sacrificing one hundred cattle in the precinct of Hera at Lesbos.

As we see from the wording that survives in fr. 17 of Sappho, the Sons of Atreus needed to perform their prayer of supplication to Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus (9–10). And, in terms of my argument, their announcement-in-prayer was correlated with a sacrifice that became the foundation for the festival of Hera at Lesbos. According to the myth that is signaled in fr. 17 of Sappho, such a sacrifice, as announced in a prayer expressing a wish to find the best possible way to achieve a homecoming from Troy, became the foundational act for creating the festival of Hera as it is still celebrated in the present, when the speaking persona of Sappho must perform her own prayer of supplication to the goddess Hera (11).

It is in the context of this prayer in the present, as actually performed in fr. 17 of Sappho, that we can understand the announcement-in-prayer that was once performed by heroes in the heroic age. Once upon a time, according to

43 Benveniste (1973) part 6, sub-part 1. For the online version of this chapter, see http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3964.

the myth, the Sons of Atreus needed to perform their prayer to Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus, in that order (again, 9–10), and, in their prayer, these conquerors of Troy announced the arrangement of a 'festival', *eorta* (ἐόρτ[α], 2), which was thus 'announced-in-prayer', *arata* (ἀράταν, 3). And it is at this festival that the persona of Sappho is 'even now' praying to Hera, *nyn de* (again, 11). As Claude Calame observes, 'the temporal return of the heroic past to the present of the cult performance of the poem is ensured by the expression *nyn de*'.[44] This expression is what I have just translated as 'even now' (νῦν δὲ ..., 11).

A 'Smoking Gun' in the Homeric Narrative

For me the 'smoking gun' in the Homeric narrative about the sea voyages of Agamemnon and Menelaus after Troy in *Odyssey* 3 and 4 is an action taken by the goddess Hera. As said explicitly in *Odyssey* 4.512–513, Hera acts as the savior of Agamemnon in the course of his own final sea voyage. The salvation is temporary, since Agamemnon is killed after he makes his landing, but this salvation-at-sea is explicitly highlighted in the *Odyssey*. By contrast, the corresponding sea voyage of Menelaus fails to bring him back safe and sound to his homeland right away. The many detours experienced by Menelaus at sea are narrated in *Odyssey* 3 and 4. This contrast between success and failure in the sea voyages of the Sons of Atreus is correlated, I argue, with a contrast between a complete and an incomplete performance of a sacrifice to Hera at Lesbos. The successful sea voyage of Agamemnon matches his observance of the sacrifice, whereas the unsuccessful sea voyage of Menelaus matches a non-observance. Only the final phase of his sea voyage turned out to be successful for Menelaus. In the end, he succeeded because he finally got around to making a perfect sacrifice of one hundred cattle in Egypt (4.581–586).

The fact that the narrative of *Odyssey* 4 shows Hera as the savior of Agamemnon at sea signals a Lesbian origin for this part of the overall Homeric narrative—but only for this part. The other parts of the narrative are adjusted to fit other versions that originate not from Lesbos. A salient example is the fact that the savior of Nestor in *Odyssey* 4 is certainly not Hera but Poseidon, who is the principal divinity of the sea in the overarching Homeric narrative. That is why Nestor arranges for a sacrifice of bulls to Poseidon as his act of thanksgiving to that god for letting him sail safely from Lesbos to Euboea (178–179).

44 Calame (2009) 6.

I argue, then, that the role of Hera as a savior of Agamemnon at sea signals, exceptionally, the connection of the narrative in *Odyssey* 4 with the worship of Hera at Lesbos. And I must add that, from the new evidence of the Brothers Song, we can see clearly that Hera was worshipped in Lesbos as a divinity of the sea. In this song of Sappho, her persona speaks of praying to Hera by imploring the goddess to save her brother at sea—and to save also his ship and its cargo and thus even the wealth of his family (lines 5–6 [1–2], 9–13 [5–9]). And I highlight here the independent evidence showing that Hera was worshipped in her function as a divinity of the sea elsewhere as well in the Greek-speaking world.[45]

Praying Before Sacrificing

A question remains: did Menelaus fail in the performance of a sacrifice at Lesbos? And, if so, did he fail also in the performance of the announcement-in-prayer that came before the sacrifice? Here I consider two different explanations.

According to one explanation, Menelaus did indeed fail to perform such a prayer, and he did not attend the sacrifice of the hundred cattle, which would have been preceded by an introductory prayer.

As for an alternative explanation, which I prefer, it allows us to keep the reading of the text as transmitted in the papyrus. As I read fr. 17 of Sappho, Menelaus as well as Agamemnon did plan to make a sacrifice at Lesbos, and that is why we see at line 3 the plural form of the verb π̣ό̣ηcαν 'they arranged', the direct object of which is the relative pronoun referring to the festival that was 'announced-in-prayer', ἀράταν. In terms of the syntax, the subject of this verb is Ἀτρέϊδαι̣, a nominative plural referring to 'the Sons of Atreus', further defined at line 4 as βαcίληεc 'kings' and then further described at line 5 as the achievers of great tasks like the capture of Troy. To my mind, this word for 'kings' must refer to Agamemnon and Menelaus together, who not only achieved the conquest of Troy together but then set out for Lesbos together: we can see this detail at line 7, where we read τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τεc] 'having set forth to come here (*tuide*)'. So the two brothers must have planned together the sacrifice that led to the festival that is described as 'announced-in-prayer', ἀράταν. When I say *planned together* I could also say *wished together*, in that the sacrifice was wished by the two of them together. But the problem was, the sacrifice was

45 See Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28, with reference to de Polignac (1997); see also Caciagli (2010) 236, and Boedeker, this volume. (This is note 61 in the longer version.)

not performed by the two of them together. Earlier, I had said that 'wishing-in-prayer' is the other side of 'announcing-in-prayer' as expressed by verbs like *euchesthai* and *arasthai*. And now we see that this two-sidedness of prayer can help explain why ἀράταν 'announced-in-prayer' *both applies and does not apply* to Menelaus: this hero wished that Hera would let him find the way for a safe homecoming, but he did not get to perform the final announcement-in-prayer that comes with the wish-in-prayer, since he did not get to participate in the sacrifice where the final announcement was made by Agamemnon. But the wish is there, and Menelaus surely participated in the wish expressed by way of the adjective ἀράταν 'announced-in-prayer' that describes the festival that was 'made' by both brothers, according to this reading.

In terms of this explanation, there were at least two phases of the announcement-in-prayer here. First, the two Sons of Atreus jointly made the prayer when they were still at Troy, expressing their shared wish for a safe homecoming and at the same time making a commitment to the sacrifice that would be performed at Lesbos. But then, by the time the sacrifice was finally performed there, it was Agamemnon alone who performed it. And this sacrifice would have been introduced by a reiteration of the announcement-in-prayer that had originally been made at Troy. As I said before, following the formulation of Muellner, what you announce in prayer does not have to be a promise about the future: it can also be an announcement about the present or even about the past. And something that is wished for can be prayed for many times, as we see even from the contexts of *poly-aratos*, which I have so far translated simply as 'very much wished-for'. As we see from those contexts, we could also translate 'very often wished-for'.

Choral Performance in the Precinct of Hera at Lesbos

I now turn to the question: how are we to envision the performance of song at the festival founded by the Sons of Atreus? As I will argue, Sappho as the main speaker of fr. 17 is the main performer of such a song and, as such, she is speaking for all of Lesbos in the context of a grand sacrifice that replicates the hecatomb that had once been announced-in-prayer by the Sons of Atreus. And such a grand sacrifice is already anticipated, I argue, in the Brothers Song, where the speaking persona of Sappho refers to the procession that will lead to the precinct of Hera as the site of a choral performance that will celebrate the hecatomb.

I start by highlighting here a relevant detail that we find in the new evidence of the supplemented version of fr. 17 of Sappho and in the older evi-

dence of fr. 130b of Alcaeus: in both songs, the women of Lesbos made a ritual cry of *ololyga* ‘ululation’ in the context of celebrating the festival of Hera in the precinct of the goddess at Lesbos (Sappho 17.15 and Alcaeus 130b.20). As I argued in my previous work on Alcaeus fr. 130b, such ululation is an aspect of the choral performance of women who are participating in the festival.[46] And I now add that the actual cry of ululation could signal a climactic moment in an overall choral performance. One such moment is *when cattle are slaughtered at a sacrifice*. A striking example is the description in *Odyssey* 3 of a bovine sacrifice arranged by Nestor at Pylos: at the moment when the slaughter actually takes place there, the womenfolk signal that moment by performing a ululation (ὀλόλυξαν, 450).[47]

I conclude, then, that the sacrifice to Hera that takes place in her precinct on the occasion of her festival in Lesbos is a hecatomb, that is, a sacrifice of one hundred cattle. It was this sacrifice that Agamemnon and Menelaus had vowed-in-prayer to perform for the first time, according to the myth retold in fr. 17 of Sappho.

And here I can come back full circle to a myth, originating from Argos, about the precinct of Hera at Argos. According to the myth, as retold in Dictys of Crete (1.16), it was inside this precinct that Agamemnon was chosen to lead the expedition to Troy. This formal beginning within the precinct of Hera, where the festival of the goddess was celebrated by the Argives, must have been a sacrifice, corresponding to the seasonally recurring *thysia* at the festival of Hera in Argos. As I have already shown, this word *thysia* refers to the festival itself, though its basic meaning is ‘sacrifice’. At Argos, such a sacrifice is what was called a hecatomb, that is, the ritual slaughter of one hundred cattle. In the story as reflected in fr. 17 of Sappho, on the other hand, Agamemnon is inside the precinct of Hera at Lesbos, not at Argos. Together with Menelaus, Agamemnon had vowed-in-prayer to perform a hecatomb at Lesbos to signal a correct ending for the war by expressing a formal wish to find the best way home. But, in terms of my reconstruction (in the longer version of this essay as published online), Menelaus failed to arrive in time for the actual sacrifice.

46 Nagy (1993). For more on ululation as an aspect of choral performance by women, I refer to Bierl, this volume. (This is note 62 in the longer version.)

47 For still more on ritual ululations performed by women, see the seminal observations of Burkert (1983) 5, 12, 54 and (1985) 56, 72, 74. (This is note 63 in the longer version.)

Looking Back Diachronically at the Precinct of Hera

In analyzing the aetiological myth that motivated the seasonally recurring festival of Hera at Lesbos, I have taken into account the evidence of the new textual supplements to fr. 17 of Sappho together with the evidence of indirect Homeric references to the festival in *Odyssey* 3 and 4. With this evidence in place, I now proceed to analyze diachronically the basics of what we now know about the venue for the festival, understanding that this venue was the precinct of Hera.

I start with the order in which the speaking persona in fr. 17 of Sappho names the three divinities: they were Hera herself, addressed as 'you' (9), and then Zeus (again, 9), and then Dionysus (10). These three divinities in fr. 17 of Sappho are the same three divinities whose sacred space is the *temenos* 'precinct' that we see pictured in fr. 129 of Alcaeus. The speaking persona in fr. 129, Alcaeus himself, is literally pointing to this *temenos* (129.2) with the deictic pronoun *tode* 'this here' (τόδε ... τέμενος, 129.1–2) as he identifies the three divinities that occupy the sacred space of this precinct:

1) The first divinity to be identified is Zeus, who is given here the epithet *antiaos* (ἀντίαον, 5), which is the same epithet we saw in fr. 17 of Sappho (Δί' ἀντ[ίαον], 9). There I translated this epithet as 'lord of suppliants', and now we can see why such a translation applies: a scholion in the papyrus explains this word *antiaos* here in fr. 129 of Alcaeus as meaning *hikesios* (ἱκέϲιον) which is a classical Greek epithet meaning 'receiving suppliants'.
2) The second divinity is 'the Aeolian goddess', who is addressed as 'you' by the speaking persona (ϲὲ δ' Αἰολήιαν ... θέον, 6). As I have already argued, this 'Aeolian goddess' must be Hera herself.
3) The third divinity is Dionysus (Ζόννυϲϲον, 9), about whom the speaking persona speaks as 'this one here' (τόνδε, 8).[48]

So, 'this precinct here' in fr. 129 of Alcaeus (τόδε ... τέμενοϲ, 1–2) matches the place signaled in fr. 17 of Sappho as the setting for a sacrifice once announced-in-prayer by Agamemnon and Menelaus. The prayer of the kings in fr. 17 had addressed the same three divinities, offering a supplication (9–10) by announcing-in-prayer (*arasthai*) a festival (*eorta*) to be held at this precinct (2), and the kings thus established (*poiein*) the festival 'for you' (τόι, 4), that is, for Hera.

48 On the epithet *omestes* 'eating raw flesh' applied to Dionysus in fr. 129 of Alcaeus (ὠμήϲταν, 9), see Henrichs (1981). (This is note 64 in the longer version.)

And, just as we saw in fr. 129 of Alcaeus, we see also here in fr. 17 of Sappho a deictic reference that ties the speaker—in this case, Sappho herself—to the place that Louis Robert identified as Messon in Lesbos: according to fr. 17 of Sappho, it was announced in heroic times that the festival of Hera should take place *tuide* 'here' (τυίδε, 7). In this context, I draw attention to the fact that Hera, occupying her own place in the sacred space 'here', is addressed directly as 'you' by the speaking persona of Sappho (τόι, again, 4; also, at line 11: cέ). And the *eorta* 'festival' of Hera is signaled as 'your' festival (cὰ … ἐόρτ[α], 2). As Claude Calame remarks, most incisively, about the use of the grammatical second person here in fr. 17 of Sappho, 'Hera is always present as *you*'.[49]

As the eternally present 'you' of the precinct, the identity of the goddess Hera subsumes even the identity of her consort, the god Zeus, who is in this context ranked after rather than before Hera in the Brothers Song. Zeus functions as the coefficient of Hera in bringing favorable winds for voyagers at sea (lines 13–20 [9–16]), and, in this role, he is described as *basileus Olympo* 'king of Olympus' (βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω, 17 [13]). By now we can see that even this role of Zeus as *basileus* 'king' is subordinate to the role of Hera as *basilea* 'queen' (line 10 [6]). Here I return to the reference in fr. 130a of Alcaeus to the precinct of Hera as the *teichos basileion* (τεῖχοc βαcίληιον, 15), glossed as 'Hera's wall' in an adjoining scholion (τὸ τῆc Ἥραc). In the light of this gloss, I had already translated *teichos basileion* as 'the queenly wall', not 'the kingly wall'.

So, all aspects of Hera's precinct at Lesbos are understood primarily in terms of her omnipresence. Even more than that, the entire island of Lesbos belongs to Hera as its queen, and that is why, just as Zeus belongs to Hera as his queen, so also he belongs intimately to the landscape of her island. A case in point is the epithet of Zeus, *basileus Olympo* 'king of Olympus', in the Brothers Song (βαcίλευc Ὀλύμπω, again, line 17 [13]). The fact is, *this Olympus is a mountain local to Lesbos*. It is situated to the south of Messon and to the west of Mytilene, and it is still called Olympus to this day (the Modern Greek name remains Ὄλυμποc). Unlike the Panhellenic Olympus of Homeric poetry, which is situated on the European mainland of Greece, this Olympus of Lesbos is part of an integrated local mythological landscape that fits the local ritual landscape of Hera's precinct.

I should add that the dyad of Hera and Zeus in the local mythology of Lesbos is a model of divine coefficiency, as we can see even from sources exterior to the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus. A shining example from the early Hellenistic era is a decree recorded in an inscription from the city of Mytilene in Lesbos,

49 Calame (2009) 6. (This is note 65 in the longer version.)

SEG 36.750, dated to the 330s BCE,[50] where we see that the goddess Hera was predominant among the gods of the city, since even her consort, Zeus himself, is qualified by way of the epithet *Heraios*, which means 'belonging to Hera' (τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ἡ|ραίωι, 6–7).[51]

I turn next to the god Dionysus, third in the triad of divinities who figure in fr. 17 of Sappho (line 10). The relationship of this divinity with the dyad of Hera and Zeus is not clear at first glance, but, in this case as well, I see a pattern of syncretism where the status of Dionysus, like that of Zeus, is subordinated to the predominant status of Hera. A sign of such subordination, as I am about to argue, is the fact that the poetic language of Sappho and Alcaeus as spoken in the precinct of Hera actually integrates the idea of an omnipresent Hera with the idea of a selectively present Dionysus in moments of heightened emotion.

Choral Performance by Girls and by Women and by Sappho Herself in the Precinct of Hera at Lesbos

Now that I have considered the omnipresence of Hera as a 'you' in the precinct of the goddess at Lesbos, I turn to the 'we' who celebrate the festival of Hera on the occasion marked by fr. 17 of Sappho. Who are the 'we' here? My answer, in general, is that the 'we' stands for the people of Lesbos. More specifically, however, the 'we' in fr. 17 stands for both the speaking persona of Sappho and the attending *ochlos* 'throng' of *parthenoi* 'girls' together with *gynaikes* 'women' ([ὄ]χλος … παρθέ[νων … γ]υναίκων, 13–15). I see an imitation of this concept of *ochlos* 'throng' in the Ovidian *Letter* 15.199–202, referring to a *turba* 'throng' (202) of *Lesbides* 'Lesbian women' (199, 120, 121), described as *nupturaque nuptaque proles* 'soon-to-be-married and already-married offspring (of the island)' (202). I highlight, as a new piece of evidence, the wording I have just quoted from fr. 17 (13–15). We see here a collocation of the words for 'girls' and 'women', situated in a context where the persona of Sappho herself is speaking for all of them. In this role of speaking on behalf of all the women of Lesbos, Sappho is the lead singer of a choral performance at the festival of Hera within a space

50 The text is printed by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 28–30, with commentary. (This is note 66 in the longer version.)

51 I read with interest the commentary of Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 30 on the syncretism of Zeus and Hera as reflected in the concept of *Zeus Heraios*. I would add that there is further evidence of such syncretism in Homeric poetry, as in the epithet of Zeus as *posis Heres* 'husband of Hera' (πόσις Ἥρης, *Iliad* 7.411, etc.). (This is note 67 in the longer version.)

that is evidently the precinct of the goddess. And, as I will argue, this choral performance represents, as it were, not only all the women but also all the people of Lesbos in general. Such is the role of the speaking 'we' of fr. 17.

The new piece of evidence, as I have just described it, concerning the participation of girls and women together with Sappho herself at the festival of Hera, can be used to counter an older interpretation of fr. 17, according to which this song did not necessarily refer to the festival of Hera as celebrated in the precinct of the goddess.[52] In terms of this older interpretation, the speaking Sappho could have been referring only to girls who were present at the precinct, not to women. But now we see in the supplemented version of fr. 17 that the speaking persona of Sappho is in fact referring to the festival of Hera as celebrated in the precinct of the goddess. And now we see also that women as well as girls are pictured as participating in this festival of Hera. Further, the collocation of the word *ochlos* 'throng' with the words *parthenoi* 'girls' together with *gynaikes* 'women' ([ὄ]χλοϲ ... παρθέ[νων ... γ]υναίκων, 13–15) is parallel to what we see in fr. 44 of Sappho describing a choral scene of celebration at the wedding of Hector and Andromache. In this song we see the collocation of *ochlos* 'throng' with *gynaikes* 'women' and *parthenikai* 'girls' (ὄχλοϲ / γυναίκων τ' ἄμα παρθενίκα[ν] τ' ἀπ[αλ]οϲφύρων, 14–15). Also, this song shows that the entire aggregate of women and girls, *pais ochlos* 'the entire throng', are participants in the celebration (παῖϲ ὄχλοϲ, 14).[53]

Here I return to fr. 129 and fr. 130b of Alcaeus, referring to a *temenos* 'precinct' (τέμενοϲ, 129.2 and 130b.13) that is *xynon* 'common' (ξῦνον, 129.3) to all the people of the island of Lesbos. As we have seen, fr. 130b says that this precinct is sacred to three divinities: Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus (5–9). Evidently, then, the setting here is the same as the setting in fr. 17 of Sappho, which likewise shows that the precinct is sacred to these three divinities (9–10).

Further, in fr. 130b of Alcaeus, we see a reference to *Lesbiades* 'women of Lesbos' (Λ[εϲβί]αδεϲ, 17) who are explicitly described as *gynaikes* 'women' (γυναίκων, 19). According to the older interpretation that I just mentioned, this wording refers to an event involving only women at the precinct—and not to any event involving girls. In terms of this older interpretation, fr. 130b of Alcaeus

52 For background, see Caciagli (2010) 239 and (2011) 155–156. (This is note 68 in the longer version.)

53 It may be that the actual groupings of women and girls are separate from each other in the rituals of participation. In fr. 17, I note the form ἀμφιϛ[...] (line 16): as Leonard Muellner points out to me, this form may mean 'separately' here. I see a comparable situation in fr. 44, where the ritual actions of the daughters of Priam are signaled by the expression χῶριϲ δ' αὖ (line 16), meaning 'separately'. (This is note 69 in the longer version.)

excludes girls just as fr. 17 of Sappho supposedly excluded women. But now we know, on the basis of the supplemented version of fr. 17, that the event to which fr. 17 refers does in fact include women as well as girls, and that this event is in fact the festival of Hera.

That said, I am ready to argue that fr. 130b of Alcaeus, like fr. 17 of Sappho, is referring to a choral performance by the women of Lesbos at the festival of Hera that is being celebrated in the precinct of the goddess. Bruno Gentili had drawn attention to two words in this fr. 130b of Alcaeus that actually refer to choral performance: the first word is *ololyga* ([ὀ]λολύγας, 20), with reference to the 'ululation' of the women of Lesbos, and the second word is the accompanying epithet *ira* 'sacred' (ἴρα[ς], 20).[54] A third word that is relevant here in fr. 130b of Alcaeus is another epithet that accompanies *ololyga* 'ululation': the ritual cry of the women of Lesbos is not only *ira* 'sacred' (ἴρα[ς], 20), it is also *eniausia* 'yearly' (ἐνιαυσίας, again, 20). On the basis of these three words, we can see that the ritual described in fr. 130b must have been a part of the seasonally recurring festival of Hera, featuring some kind of choral performance by the *Lesbiades* 'women of Lesbos', as indicated by the reference to 'the sacred seasonally-recurring ululation'.[55] And now the new textual supplements for fr. 17 of Sappho show decisively that girls as well as women participated in choral performance at the festival of Hera. Moreover, these new supplements show also that the choral performance of the *Lesbiades* 'women of Lesbos', as they are called in fr. 130b of Alcaeus, involves not only the girls and the women of Lesbos in general but also, even more important, the speaking persona of Sappho in particular. In fr. 17 of Sappho, as we can see in the light of the new textual supplements, this persona speaks for both the girls and the women of Lesbos.

The newly-supplemented evidence of fr. 17 of Sappho, showing the choral performance of girls and women and Sappho herself at the festival of Hera, fits what we already know from the wording of an anonymous poem in the *Greek Anthology* (9.189). This poem refers explicitly to a choral performance led by Sappho herself at the precinct of Hera in Lesbos. Sappho is pictured as the lead singer in a *choros* 'chorus' (χορόν, 3) of *Lesbides* 'women from Lesbos' (Λεσβίδες, 2) who in turn are pictured as dancing inside a *temenos* 'precinct' sacred to the goddess Hera (τέμενος … Ἥρης, 1).

54 Gentili (1988) 220, 306 n. 30. In Nagy (1993) 222, I highlight the argumentation of Gentili. (This is note 70 in the longer version.)

55 Nagy (1993) 222–223. This argument is recapitulated in Nagy (2009/2010) 238. (This is note 71 in the longer version.)

In my 1993 essay on fr. 129 and fr. 130b of Alcaeus, 'Alcaeus in sacred space', I backed up the argument published in the 1960 article of Louis Robert concerning the points of reference that we read in the poem taken from the *Anthology*.[56] Robert had connected the choral scene as described in that poem with a ritual event we see described in the scholia for *Iliad* 9.30: 'the people of Lesbos celebrate a beauty contest (*agon*) of women (*gynaikes*) in the precinct (*temenos*) of Hera, and it is called the *Kallisteia*' (Παρὰ Λεϲβίοιϲ ἀγὼν ἄγεται κάλλουϲ γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ τῆϲ Ἥραϲ τεμένει, λεγόμενοϲ Καλλιϲτεῖα).[57] Supporting Robert, I argued that the ritual event of this 'beauty contest' at Lesbos was a kind of choral performance in its own right, matching the description of the choral performance in the poem taken from the *Anthology*. And now, on the basis of the new evidence supplementing the text of fr. 17 of Sappho, I argue further that both this beauty contest of the *Kallisteia* and the choral performance of the *Lesbiades* in fr. 130b of Alcaeus were integral parts of one and the same festival of Hera in Lesbos.

In making this argument, I now consider yet another reference to such a beauty contest. In the dictionary of Hesychius (v. 3 p. 213 ed. Hansen), we find this entry: '*pylaiídees*: this is the name for those who are judged (*krinesthai*) in a beauty contest of women and who win (over the others)' (πυλαιΐδεεϲ· αἱ ἐν κάλλει κρινόμεναι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ νικῶϲαι). The wording here is strikingly similar to the wording in fr. 130b of Alcaeus, where the female participants in the choral performance taking place at the precinct of Hera are described as 'women of Lesbos, judged (*krinesthai*) for their beauty' (Λ[εϲβί]αδεϲ κριννόμεναι φύαν, 20). Taking into account such similarities in wording, I now have further reason to argue that the beauty contest of the *Kallisteia* is a choral event, just as the performance of song and dance by Sappho together with her chorus of *Lesbides* in the poem taken from the *Anthology* is pictured as a choral event.

A Diachronic View of Hera's Festival at Lesbos

Essential for my argumentation here is the use of the word that refers to the festival of Hera in fr. 17 of Sappho, *eorta* (ἐόρτ[α], 2). The same word for 'festival', in its Attic form *heorte*, is attested in another reference to the local custom of organizing beauty contests in Lesbos. The reference comes from Theophrastus, fr. 564 Fortenbaugh, as cited by Athenaeus 13.610a, where we

56 Nagy (1993) 222, with reference to Robert (1960b). (This is note 72 in the longer version.)

57 Nagy (1993) 222. (This is note 73 in the longer version.)

read about 'judgments of women' (κρίcεις γυναικῶν) held at Lesbos, and where it is specified that the contest is 'concerning beauty' (περὶ … κάλλουc). In the context of what is also said in Athenaeus 13.610a, which is the text that frames this reference from Theophrastus, other examples of such beauty contests are also cited, and it is made clear that the actual setting for these events is a *heorte* 'festival', as in the case of a seasonally recurring beauty contest held in honor of the goddess Demeter in Arcadia, highlighted in Athenaeus 13.610f (ἑορτῇ).

Most remarkably, the reference from Theophrastus as cited by Athenaeus specifies that the observance of such a custom, where local women participate in a beauty context, is typical of two ancient Greek communities in particular. Besides highlighting the people of Lesbos as practitioners of beauty contests, the same report highlights, symmetrically, the people of Tenedos Athenaeus 13.610a: 'just as it (= the custom) is observed in the regions of the people of Tenedos and of the people of Lesbos' (καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Τενεδίοις καὶ Λεcβίοιc).

Here it becomes vitally important for me to emphasize that the island of Tenedos, like the island of Lesbos, was an Aeolic community. For background, I now refer to a separate project that focuses on the Aeolic traditions of Tenedos.[58] Here are two details that I highlight from that project. The first detail comes from the testimony of Strabo 13.1.32 and 13.1.46. As you travel south along the Asiatic coastline near Troy, passing a site named *tò Achílleion*, which means 'the place of Achilles', you come to a region named *tò Achaïon*, meaning 'the place of the Achaeans'.[59] This region, Strabo says, is the *peraia* of Tenedos, by which he means the part of a 'mainland' that belongs to an outlying island. In this case, the outlying island is Tenedos, and Strabo refers to the city of this island-state as a *polis Aiolis* 'Aeolian city', highlighting its two harbors and a shrine that is sacred to Apollo Smintheus (13.1.46).

The second detail comes from Pindar's *Nemean* 11, a song created for the praise of an aristocrat from the island of Tenedos. According to the song, this aristocrat was descended from ancestors who came from Amyklai with Orestes to settle Tenedos (34), and these settlers of the island are imagined as 'a bronze-clad horde of Aeolians' (Αἰολέων cτρατιὰν χαλκεντέα, 35).

These two details about Tenedos, in view of the Aeolic traditions of this island, are relevant to the report we read from Theophrastus (again, fragment 564 as cited in Athenaeus 13.610a) concerning the parallelism between the

58 Nagy (2009/2010) 184–185. (This is note 74 in the longer version.)

59 Already at the first mention of *Achaïon*, Strabo combines the name with the article *tò* (13.1.32 c506; see also 13.1.46 c604, 13.1.47 c604). (This is note 75 in the longer version.)

traditions of Tenedos and Lesbos in celebrating beauty contests for women. In view of the existing parallelism, I am ready to argue that the beauty contests held in Aeolic Tenedos were choral events, just as I argue that the beauty contests held in Aeolic Lesbos were choral events. Further, since the choral events at Lesbos were part of a festival that was aetiologized, as I argue, in a myth about a sacrifice arranged by the Achaeans when they visited the island of Lesbos, as mentioned in fr. 17 of Sappho, I can also argue for a parallel at Tenedos: there too, the beauty contests would have been choral events that were part of a festival that was aetiologized in a myth about a sacrifice arranged by the Achaeans when they visited the island of Tenedos. And such a pairing of aetiological narratives would correspond to the pairing of epic narratives in *Odyssey* 3 and *Odyssey* 4 about the visits of Achaean heroes to the Aeolic islands of Tenedos and Lesbos after their victory at Troy.

Ultimately, the Homeric narrative privileged the local myth of Aeolic Tenedos over the local myth of Aeolic Lesbos. In *Odyssey* 3, the grand sacrifice that took place after the conquest of Troy is localized at Tenedos (159). Only Menelaus participated in that sacrifice, while Agamemnon stayed behind at Troy in order to make his own separate sacrifice there and not at Tenedos. In terms of this version, evidently derivable from Tenedos, Agamemnon was planning to make his sacrifice to Athena at Troy. In terms of the version derivable from Lesbos, on the other hand, he was planning to make his sacrifice to Hera at Lesbos.

By contrast, in *Odyssey* 4, neither Agamemnon nor Menelaus is shown in the act of making any grand sacrifice that is localized at Lesbos, and the island is mentioned only in the context of accentuating, without explanation, the lateness of Menelaus in arriving at that island (168). This way, in terms of my argument, Homeric poetry slights the prestige of the grand sacrifice that was annually observed in the precinct of Hera at Lesbos—a prestige that continued to be recognized in fr. 17 of Sappho.

A Synchronic View of Hera's Festival at Lesbos

From a diachronic point of view, then, I have argued that the institution of beauty contests was in fact a traditional aspect of the festival of Hera as celebrated at her precinct in Lesbos. Accordingly, I think there is no reason to doubt that the word referring to the festival of Hera in fr. 17 of Sappho, *eorta* (ἐόρτ[α], 2), signals a set of ritual events that includes the beauty contests of women. But there is likewise no reason to doubt that this same set of ritual events also includes the choral singing and dancing of girls. From a synchronic

point of view, as we have already seen in the text of fr. 17, the word *eorta* signals the participation of girls as well as women in the celebration of Hera's festival.

And what unifies the roles of girls and women in the course of this celebration is the role of Sappho herself as the speaking persona who leads the choral singing and dancing. The clearest example is fr. 17. This song of Sappho, by way of her speaking persona, is presenting itself as a choral event. And, whether or not the girls and the women of Lesbos need to be pictured as performing separately from each other, the figure of Sappho remains the notional leader of the choral singing and dancing performed here by all the women of Lesbos, including the girls. Sappho is speaking for the female choruses of Lesbos, and these choruses are in turn speaking for all of Lesbos. As I noted already, I have ever since 1990 argued that Sappho is *a choral personality*.[60] Such a personality, we now see, comes to life in the context of fr. 17 of Sappho, where the speaker is attending the festival of Hera as celebrated in the precinct of the goddess.

Sappho, Alcaeus, and the Theology of Hera's Precinct at Lesbos

Now that we understand more fully the importance of Hera in myths and rituals centering on the precinct of this goddess at Lesbos, I am ready to consider the 'theology' of this precinct—as reflected in the poetics of Sappho and Alcaeus considered together. When I say *theology* here, I mean *the system of myths and rituals* shared by the overall community that identifies with the precinct of Hera. And, when I say *community*, I mean what was meant in the songs attributed to Sappho and Alcaeus, where the precinct of Hera was notionally a common ground for the entire island of Lesbos.

To anticipate the kinds of misunderstandings that I expect to encounter, I must add here two qualifications, which are both formulated from a diachronic perspective:

1) When I say that the theology of the precinct of Hera at Lesbos is a system, I am keeping in mind the fact that any system *changes over time*, and that any changes in a system are conditioned by historical vicissitudes.

60 Again I cite Nagy (1990a) 370, with reference to Calame (1977) 367–377 (also 126–127). See now also Lardinois (1996) and the remarks of Calame (2009) 5. Also Ferrari (2014) 17. (This is note 76 in the longer version.)

2) Just as the theology of Hera's precinct is a system, so also the poetics that generated the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus is a system. Further, just as the theology changes over time, so also this poetic system *changes over time*, and the changes are likewise conditioned by historical vicissitudes.

These two diachronic considerations affect what I have to say both about the theology of the precinct of Hera and about the poetics of Sappho and Alcaeus. My thesis is this: *the theology and the poetics originally coexisted with each other, as systems, but they eventually had a parting of the ways*. Originally, the theology of Hera's precinct, which Louis Robert succeeded in identifying as the sacred space called Messon, not only coexisted with the poetics of Sappho and Alcaeus: more than that, *the theology originally interacted with the poetics*.

When I say 'originally' here, I have in mind once again the conventional dating for the era of Sappho and Alcaeus, which as we already saw can be placed around 600 BCE. As time went by, however, the system of poetics that we see at work in the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus broke free of its interactive theology as it started spreading, by way of poetic reception and transmission, beyond the historical context of Messon in Lesbos. By the time of Herodotus, who flourished in the second half of the fifth century BCE, the reception and the transmission of songs attributed to Sappho and Alcaeus had already long ago extended to such diverse places as (1) the city of Athens,[61] (2) the island state of Samos,[62] and (3) the interpolitical Greek emporium of Naucratis in Egypt.[63] In the venues of such diverse places, the poetic personae of Sappho

61 On the Athenian transmission of the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus, see Nagy (2007b) 218–219, 226–227; also Nagy (2009c). (This is note 77 in the longer version.)

62 On the Samian transmission of the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus, see Nagy (2007b) 227–232. (This is note 78 in the longer version.)

63 In another project, I plan to focus on the reception of the songs of Sappho at Naucratis, especially by way of Samos and Lesbos. On the roles of Samos and Lesbos (Mytilene) in the Hellenion at Naucratis, the primary source is Hdt. 2.178.2 (there is a useful commentary by Lloyd [2007] 373 on the importance of the Samian presence at Naucratis). In my project, I argue that the reportage of Herodotus (2.134–135) on the songs of Sappho about her brother's affair with the courtesan Doricha shows an awareness of such a reception. Also aware was Hecataeus, who is I am sure the missing link in what Herodotus says about the courtesan Rhodopis. The lore about this courtesan is evidently linked to Naucratis, and this lore is relevant to the reception of Sappho at Naucratis. Such a reception needs to be viewed in the context of ongoing traditions in the sympotic performance of Sappho's songs. In this regard, I think that the conflation of lore about Rhodopis and Doricha can be traced back to Hecataeus. Most relevant here is a reference we read in Athenaeus 9.410e

and Alcaeus could break free of their original venue just as readily as the poetics of their songs broke free. I was saying earlier, for example, that Sappho's original songs, as performed chorally in the context of Hera's precinct at Lesbos, were later reperformed monodically at private symposia and at public concerts in Athens, and, as a result, Sappho could now be re-imagined as a sympotic or a concertizing performer of monody.[64]

After the theology and the poetics had a parting of the ways, the theology could continue to maintain its existence—now a separate existence—in the myths and rituals of Lesbos during the centuries that superseded the original era of coexistence between the theology and the poetics. On the basis of ongoing research concerning the myths and rituals connected with the precinct of Hera at Lesbos, we can see that the theology of this precinct lived on, and dynamically so, well into the Hellenistic era of Lesbos. I have already mentioned, as an example from the early Hellenistic era, a decree recorded in an inscription from Mytilene, *SEG* 36.750, dated to the 330s BCE, where we see that the goddess Hera was predominant among the gods of the city.

But such a separate existence of the theology as it continued to live on in Lesbos was not symmetrical with the separate existence of the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus, which had already found a new life outside of Lesbos. The theology of Lesbos could of course have no control any more over the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus. But such a loss of control would not stop the songs from pointing back to the old theology—pointing back even to the old landmarks of the precinct of Hera as renewed markers for the here and now of an ongoing poetic imagination. If we consider Alcaeus, a perfect example of such pointing back is his fr. 130b, where the speaking persona actually visualizes the choral performance of the women of Lesbos at the festival of Hera in the precinct of the goddess, highlighting their ritual cry of ululation, *ololyga* (line 20).

As I suggested in my essay 'Did Sappho and Alcaeus ever meet?', the visualization of such a choral event in fr. 130b of Alcaeus is voiced by a speaking persona that is not only *choral* but also *comastic*, and such a comastic voice is connected with the worship of Dionysus.[65] Here I return to the fact that Dionysus, along with Zeus, shares in the occupancy of Hera's precinct at Lesbos, as we see from the explicit wording of fr. 129 of Alcaeus (lines 1–9). Such a theological

to the remarks of Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 358 = test. 15b Fowler) about Sappho fr. 101. (This is note 79 in the longer version.)

64 More in Nagy (2007b); also Bierl (2010). (This is note 80 in the longer version.)

65 Nagy (2007b) 215, with reference to a most helpful consultation with Anton Bierl (*per litteras* 2006.08.22), some of whose relevant observations I quote there. (This is note 81 in the longer version.)

coexistence of Dionysus and Hera at the precinct of Hera corresponds, I argue, to the performative coexistence of comastic and choral voices as represented by Alcaeus and Sappho respectively. In the case of fr. 130b of Alcaeus, for example, the voice of Alcaeus, speaking *to* his comrades in comastic performance, can simultaneously speak *about* a choral performance of local women in the context of one and the same festival that is being celebrated in one and the same precinct. Thus the context of comastic performance, which is sacred primarily to Dionysus, can be syncretistic with the context of choral performance, which is sacred primarily to Hera. And such performative syncretism is made possible by the theological syncretism of the precinct in which the performances take place.

In terms of such theological syncretism, I am now ready to argue that the poetic language of Sappho and Alcaeus, as spoken in the precinct of Hera, integrates the idea of an omnipresent Hera with the idea of a selectively present Dionysus in moments of heightened emotion. In the case of fr. 130b of Alcaeus, for example, the comastic voice signals not only the presence of Dionysus but also the omnipresence of Hera—by way of pointing to the choral performance of the local women of Lesbos in the precinct of the goddess. And the speaking persona of Alcaeus in fr. 130b is visualizing such a choral performance in a context where he, addressing his comrades in his own comastic voice, expresses his own highly emotional state of mind as a way of acknowledging most dramatically the presence of the god Dionysus.[66]

The presence of Dionysus comes alive not only in comastic performance. The god can cross over into choral performance, as when the persona of Sappho in fr. 1 speaks of her erotic passion as a kind of maenadic possession, describing her own *thymos* 'heart' as *mainoles* 'frenzied' (18: μαινόλαι θύμωι). We can appreciate the heightened emotional effect in this context when we consider the fact that this word *mainoles* 'frenzied' was a ritual epithet of Dionysus (e.g. Cornutus, *Theol. Gr.* 60 Lang).[67]

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66 As I argued in Nagy (1993) 223–225 (also Nagy [2009/2010] 237–238), the emotional self-dramatization of Alcaeus in fr. 130b—as also in fr. 129—is a function of his status as a cult hero who is imagined as speaking from the dead to his former comrades about future generations of women who are singing and dancing in choral performance to celebrate the goddess Hera in her precinct. Elsewhere too in archaic Greek poetry, as in Theognis 1209–1210, we see comparable situations where an alienated poet is imagined as speaking from the dead: see Nagy (1996) 212–213, with references to parallel situations in Celtic traditions. (This is note 82 in the longer version.)

67 See Nagy (2007b) 256–257. (This is note 83 in the longer version.)

The Power of Mimesis in the Songs of Sappho and Alcaeus

The presence of such a Dionysiac theme in a song of Sappho shows that choral songmaking can actually make a mimesis of themes that belong to comastic songmaking. I am using the modern word *mimesis* here in the ancient sense of the Greek word *mimesis*, which simultaneously conveyed the primary idea of a dramatic 're-enactment' as well as the secondary idea of a mechanical 'imitation'. Relevant to these two meanings of *mimesis* is what I argued in an essay on the mimetic power of the chorus in general, as indicated by use of the verb *mimeisthai* 'make mimesis' in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (163) with reference to a chorus of Delian Maidens, who figure as the local Muses of Delos, sacred island of Apollo.[68]

Conversely, as I have argued at length in 'Did Sappho and Alcaeus ever meet?', the comastic songs of Alcaeus can make a mimesis of themes that belong to the choral songs of Sappho.[69] And such a pattern of mimesis only intensifies in a later era when the choral and the comastic songs of Sappho and Alcaeus respectively are transformed into monodic songs performed at private symposia and at public concerts. So, it should come as no surprise that we can find examples of monodic mimesis when we trace the reception of Sappho and Alcaeus forward in time, into the classical era of songmaking in fifth-century Athens.[70]

In the context of Athenian reception, I must add, the figures of Sappho and Alcaeus can now even 'meet' each other at symposia and at concerts, as we see when we consider a suggestively maenadic picture of the two of them interacting with each other in a simultaneously sympotic and concertizing duet performance: this picture of the pair graces one side of a red-figure vase of Athenian provenance, dating from around 480–470 BCE, while the other side features a symmetrical pairing of Dionysus and a maenad.[71]

68 Nagy (2013b). See also Peponi (2009). (This is note 84 in the longer version.)

69 Nagy (2007b). At this point in my argumentation, I propose to correct a misunderstanding that might have been created, unintentionally, in the article of Caciagli (2010) 228 (n. 6) and 248 (n. 75): I need to put on record that I did not argue, in Nagy (2007b), that Sappho and Alcaeus personally 'met' at Messon in Lesbos. Such a 'meeting' is made possible, I argued, in the context of the reception that we can trace diachronically for the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus. (This is note 85 in the longer version.)

70 Again, Nagy (2007b). See also Nagy (2009/2010) 238 and Bierl (2010). (This is note 86 in the longer version.)

71 Munich, Antikensammlungen no. 2416; *ARV*[2] 385 [228]; commentary in Nagy (2007b) 233–237. On the iconography, see also Yatromanolakis (2007) 73–81. (This is note 87 in the longer version.)

A Salient Example of Choral Mimesis in a Song of Sappho

Moving backward in time, I now return to the original reception of Sappho and Alcaeus, which needs to be viewed in the context of Hera's precinct at Lesbos. In this context, as I have argued, the speaking voice of Sappho maintains a choral personality that is still actively engaged in the overall myths and rituals connected with the precinct. As I prepare to bring my essay to a close, I highlight one particular example where this choral personality asserts itself in a most salient way. The example comes from the Brothers Song of Sappho, where her speaking voice says that she needs to be sent off to pray to *basilea Hera* 'Queen Hera' (βαςί̣λ̣η̣αν Ἤ̣ραν, line 10 [6]). As we have already seen, it is in the precinct of Hera that Sappho will pray for the safe return of her brother Charaxos from his sea voyage. Even as she prays, as we have also seen, she is wishing that the brother is sailing his way back home (lines 11–12 [7–8]). In this personal moment, then, Sappho reveals her sisterly affection for her brother, despite all the frustrations. And such a self-revelation can be seen as a masterpiece of mimesis, where a choral voice re-enacts a personal experience.

But the experience of Sappho here in the Brothers Song is not only personal. It is also public. The whole song is staged as a choral performance, which is public, and the speaker will be speaking as a choral personality in the precinct of Hera, which is a public place that is notionally common to all the people of Lesbos. So the personal dimension of Sappho as a caring sister who retains her affection for her brother must be viewed together with her public dimension as a choral personality who speaks for the entire community in the sacred precinct of the goddess Hera. Both the personal and the public dimensions of Sappho are re-enacted in the mimesis of choral performance.

In brief, then, the emotions of Sappho as a sister in the Brothers Song are not only personal but also public, since her personal life is channeled by the poetics of choral performance, which is public. This is what I had meant when I chose the wording *a poetics of sisterly affect* in the title of my essay.

The Name of Sappho

The poetics of sisterly affect are so deeply rooted in the songs of Sappho that even her identity as a choral personality is shaped by such poetics. I say this because the name of Sappho seems to be a function of her poetic role as a sister. On the basis of linguistic evidence concerning the form *Sappho*, I propose that her name is derived from a word that actually means 'sister'. And, in line with my argument about the poetics of sisterly affect in the songs of Sappho, I

propose further that this word for 'sister' is a term of affection, a *baby word* that derives from affectionate *baby talk*.[72]

I start by considering a pattern of alternation, attested in Greek epigraphical texts stemming from the Roman era, in the formation of names given to women. My point of reference is the name Sappho, which I consider here in contexts where the naming apparently has nothing to do with the famous Sappho.[73] For example, we find a name like *Aurelia Sappho* (Αὐρηλία Cαπφώ)[74] coexisting with names like *Aurelia Apphion* (Αὐρηλία Ἀπφίον)[75] and *Aurelia Apphia* (Αὐρηλία Ἀπφία).[76] Such coexistence is most suggestive. As we know from the Greek lexicographical tradition, the noun *apphion* (ἀπφίον) is a neuter diminutive variant of the onomatopoetic form *appha* (ἄπφα), which means 'sister'.[77] Clearly, both *appha* (ἄπφα) and *apphion* (ἀπφίον) are onomatopoetic *baby words*, meaning something like 'little girl'.[78] Another derivative of *appha* (ἄπφα) is *apphia* (ἀπφία), which can be explained as a feminine adjective. So, we can see that the names *Apphion* (Ἀπφίον) and *Apphia* (Ἀπφία) are based on these baby words *apphion* (ἀπφίον) and *apphia* (ἀπφία) respectively. And such baby words can apply not only to sisters in particular but also to beloved little girls in general—or even to beloved women. For example, the words *apphion* (ἀπφίον) and *apphia* (ἀπφία) are both explained by lexicographers as *hypokorismata* 'terms of endearment' (ὑποκορίcματα) referring to a 'young mistress of the household' (νέαc δεcποίνηc).[79] Another traditional way of defining the diminu-

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72 I use the expression *baby word* as a parallel to the expression *Lallwort* as used by Zuntz (1951), who considers and then rejects the possibility that *Sappho* is a *Lallname*. Although there is no proof, he thinks that this name *Sappho* originated from some non-Greek language of Asia Minor (this theory is noted by Caciagli [2011] 271), and that this particular language had an initial *s*- (as in *Sappho*) that was not pronounced the same way as was Greek initial c-. I am grateful to Timothy Barnes for sharing with me his impressions of this learned article by Zuntz. For more on word play in Sappho, see Nagy (2009b) 69–72. (This is note 88 in the longer version.)

73 Besides the examples that I am about to show, there are also other such attestations, e.g. *SEG* 39.840. (This is note 89 in the longer version.)

74 E.g., *IG* XII.4 (Paton-Hicks 141); also *I. Leukopetra* 45, 47, 83. (This is note 90 in the longer version.)

75 E.g., *IG* XII.4 (*Inscr. di Cos* [*Fun.*] EF 308); also *TAM* 199. (This is note 91 in the longer version.)

76 E.g., *Ephesos* 2221; also *SEG* 57.1494. (This is note 92 in the longer version.)

77 Eust. *Il.* 3.591.7 (ἄπφαν τὴν ἀδελφήν); 2.111.14 (οἷον ἄπφαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀττικῶς μόνη ἡ ἀδελφὴ εἴποι ἄν); see also Photius, *Lexicon* α 2759 (ἄπφα· ἀδελφῆς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ὑποκόρισμα). (This is note 93 in the longer version.)

78 *DELG* s.v. ἄπφα. (This is note 94 in the longer version.)

79 Pollux, *Onomasticon* 3.74.3. (This is note 95 in the longer version.)

tive *apphion* (ἀπφίον) is to say that it is a *hypokorisma* 'term of endearment' (ὑποκόρισμα) for a girl or woman who is an object of sexual desire (ἐρωμένης).[80] Lastly, the word *appho* (ἀπφώ), morphologically symmetrical with the name *Sappho* (Σαπφώ), is explained by lexicographers as another word for 'sister'.[81] Here I return to such variations as *Aurelia Apphion* (Αὐρηλία Ἀπφίον) and *Aurelia Sappho* (Αὐρηλία Σαπφώ): these names are as symmetrical with each other as are the nouns *apphion* (ἀπφίον) and *appho* (ἀπφώ), both of which could mean 'sister'.

What is still missing in this set of linguistic evidence is a common noun shaped **sappho* (*σαπφώ), which would mean 'sister'. (When I say *common noun* here, I mean a noun that is *not a name*, as opposed to a *proper noun*, which is a *name*.) In the case of a proper noun like *Apphion* (Ἀπφίον), however, we know for sure that it is based on the neuter diminutive common noun *apphion* (ἀπφίον), meaning 'little sister' or 'little girl'. So, I am ready to argue that the proper noun *Sappho* (Σαπφώ) was likewise based on a similar common noun **sappho* (*σαπφώ), so far unattested, which would be a variant of the attested common noun *appho* (ἀπφώ), meaning 'sister'.

But the question remains: why is the form *Sappho* (Σαπφώ) attested only as a proper noun? My answer is that the form *Sappho* (Σαπφώ) survived phonologically as a proper noun only because it was a functional variant of another proper noun, *Psappho* (Ψαπφώ), which is attested as a variant form of *Sappho* (Σαπφώ) in the textual tradition of Sappho. If *Sappho* (Σαπφώ) had not been a functional variant of *Psappho* (Ψαπφώ), it would have become *Appho* (*Ἀπφώ) at an early stage in the history of the Greek language when word-initial *s*- (as in **s-appho*) became *h*- (as in **h-appho*), which in turn became simply a glottal stop (as in *-appho*) by way of 'psilosis'. I propose, then, that the form *Psappho* was in fact a playfully affectionate phonetic variant of the form *Sappho*. The variation of *Psappho* / *Sappho* (Ψαπφώ / Σαπφώ) is comparable to such variations as *psitta* / *sitta* (ψίττα / σίττα), which are onomatopoetic calls.[82] We

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80 Eust. *Il.* 2.111.17 and 3.591.7. (This is note 96 in the longer version.)

81 Didymus Caecus (Migne [1857–1866] vol. 39, p. 656, line 5). (This is note 97 in the longer version.)

82 This onomatopoetic alternation *psitta* / *sitta* (ψίττα / σίττα) is mentioned by Zuntz ([1951] 17 n. 31), who compares the modern alternation *psst!* / *sst!*—but who in the end rejects the relevance of such examples to the alternation *Psappho* / *Sappho*. Olga Levaniouk has found another example of such onomatopoetic alternation: in the dictionary of Hesychius under the entry *sellizesthai*, we see an equation being made with *psellizesthai* (σελλίζεσθαι / ψελλίζεσθαι). The attested meanings of both these words show clearly that they derive from the onomatopoetics of baby talk. For example, Aristotle explicitly uses the word

read in the *Onomasticon* of Pollux (9.122.3, 9.127.1) that *psitta Maliades psitta Rhoiai psitta Meliai* (ψίττα Μαλιάδες ψίττα Ῥοιαί ψίττα Μελίαι) is a game played by *parthenoi* 'girls' as distinct from *gynaikes* 'women'. According to Pollux, the *Maliades* and *Rhoiai* and *Meliai* are nymphs, and girls call out their names, punctuated by the intervening calls of *psitta*, in footraces that they run, urging each other to speed ahead. Also, in Theocritus 8.69, a herdsman calls out *sitta* (σίττα) to his herd, and the scholia (5.3b) explain that *sitta* (σίττα) as well as a variant form *psitta* (ψίττα) is a sound made by a herdsman when he calls out to his herd.

The point is, just as the variant form *psitta* (ψίττα) prevents, by analogy, a phonological change in the variant form *sitta* (σίττα), which would otherwise be expected to change from *sitta* (σίττα) to **hitta* (*ἵττα) to **itta* (*ἴττα), so also the variant *Psappho* (Ψαπφώ) prevents, again by analogy, a phonological change in the variant *Sappho* (Σαπφώ), which would otherwise be expected to change from **sappho* (*σαπφώ) to **happho* (*ἁπφώ) to *appho* (ἀπφώ) in the case of common nouns—but not in the case of hypocoristic names where the alternation of *Psappho* / *Sappho* (Ψαπφώ / Σαπφώ) is maintained.[83]

I conclude, then, that the name *Sappho*, like the names *Apphion* and *Apphia*, was originally an onomatopoetic *baby word* derived from terms of endearment addressed to a sister. For an interesting parallel in English usage, as attested in some regions of the United States, I point to such women's names as *Sissy*, even *Sister*.

In the case of ordinary women who happened to be called *Sappho* in the Greek-speaking world, there would be of course nothing extraordinary about their name if it really meant 'Sister'. Such a meaning becomes extraordinary, however, when we find it embedded in the poetics of a choral personality who, once upon a time, called herself by the name of 'Sappho'. Hers was an extraordinary persona who could speak to all the people of Lesbos, unveiling her sisterly affections just as memorably as she veiled her womanly desires.

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psellizesthai in referring to childish speech patterns (*Historia animalium* 536b8). (This is note 98 in the longer version.)

83 In the case of the form *Psappho* (Ψαπφώ), which reflects the spelling that survives in the textual tradition of Sappho, we might have expected some kind of formulaic alternation with the form *Sappho* (Σαπφώ). Within the system of Aeolic songmaking, the placement of *Sappho* might have been needed after short word-final vowels in order to avoid 'making position', whereas *Psappho* could be used wherever there was no need to avoid 'making position'. (This is note 99 in the longer version.)

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